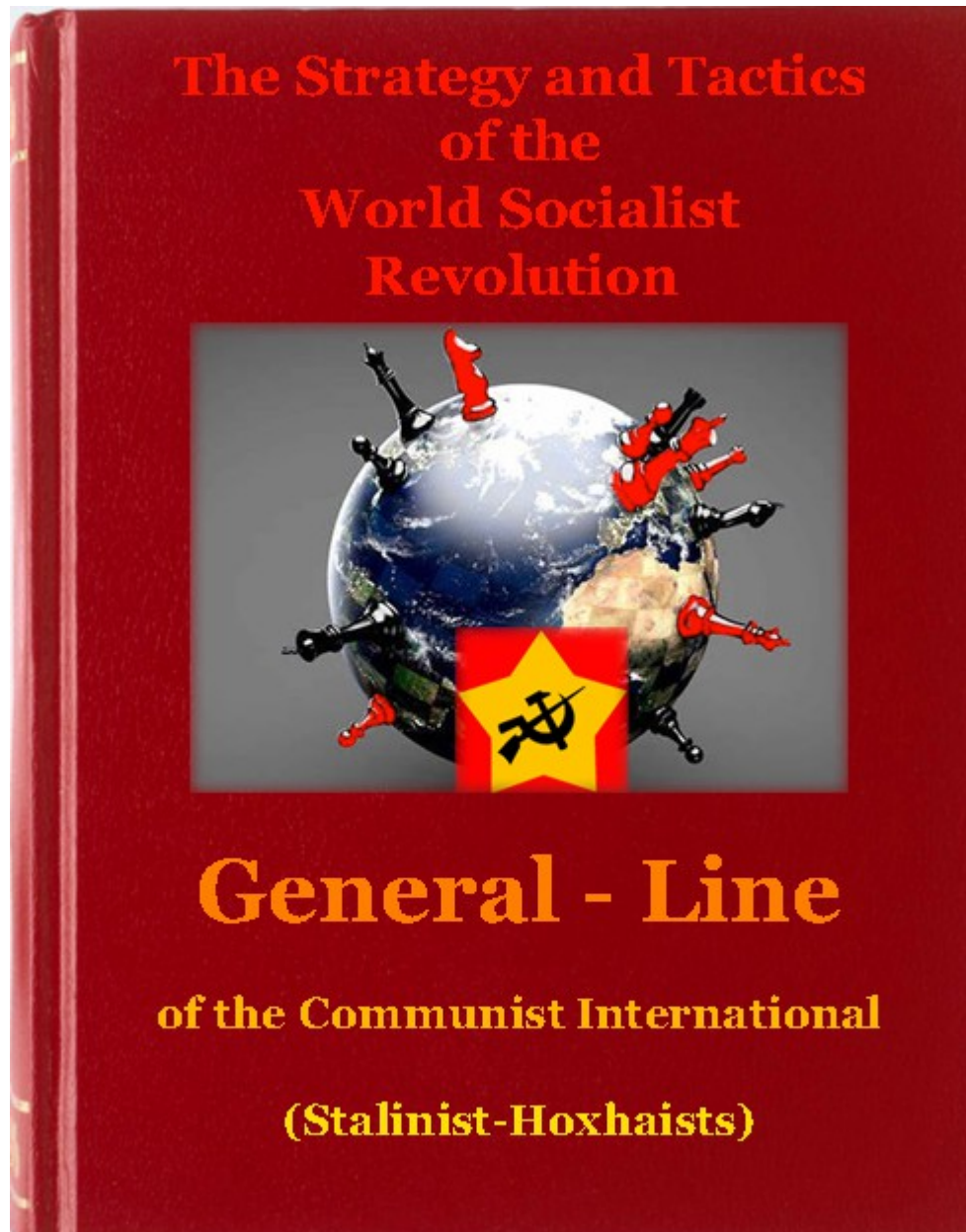


**Proletarians of all countries – unite!**

**World proletariat – unite all countries !**



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written and translated by Wolfgang Eggers

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= renamed: „Comintern (SH)“ in 2009]

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## Movement

### - Hymn of the International -

*Once we already broke through the imperialist chain successfully and liberated individual countries from capitalism for half a century. The workers fulfilled their dream to live in a country without capitalism but they could not yet fulfill their dream to live in a world without capitalism at the first on set.*

*The storm of class struggle havocked the first socialist islands. Once emerged they sank back into the world-imperialist sea. However, we shall reclaim our beloved socialist land by draining the world-imperialist sea.*

*The world revolution brings about the rebirth of socialism on a global scale -*  
WORLD SOCIALISM !

**The Red October brought socialism into being.**

**Capitalism was restored with the help of revisionism.**

**Socialism will be restored by the world proletariat on a global scale.**

**The abolishment of the inevitableness of revisionism renders capitalism`s restoration impossible.**

**The world socialist revolution will end the era of world capitalism**

**- heralding the era of world socialism**

**- establishing the world dictatorship of the proletariat**

**which will be indispensable for the whole transitional period between world capitalism and world communism!**

**Long live the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism**

**Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha!**

The General-Line of the Comintern (SH)  
is deeply rooted in the spirit of the “*Communist Manifesto*” of Marx and Engels,  
is guided by the invincible teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism and inspired by the great experience of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.  
The Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) differs from all the other proletarian parties only in its chief concern of emphasising and showing off the global interests of the whole proletariat independently from its nationality, on the one hand, and representing the interests of the over-all movement in the miscellaneous stadiums of the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, on the other hand.  
The Communist International has the capacity to understand and to prejudge the conditions, the course and the general results of the revolutionary proletarian world movement.  
This General-Line of the Comintern (SH) is faraway from drawing up any artificial subjectivistic „guidelines“, and sectarian „principles“ - which contradict with the objective interests of the world proletariat. We categorically reject such idealistic experiments of “transmogrifying” the objective development of the world proletarian movement.  
The General-Line of the Comintern (SH) is the Marxist-Leninist guideline for entering into the second epoch of socialism, is the guideline of the Communist world conquest.

## Preface

The history of the victory of socialism in its first epoch was the history of the victory

of the proletariat in single capitalist countries.

**The history of socialism in its second epoch is the history of the victory of the world proletariat over world capitalism.**

History proved that it is not the proletarians of this or that country which guarantee the victory over the capitalism. The establishment of the all-round hegemony of the world proletariat is the main factor of socialism's guarantee on this globe.

The proletarians of all countries form up by their unification to the world proletariat taking their new quality as a global class.

This is the general-line for the liberation of the whole world proletariat in *all* countries of the world.

The general-line of the Comintern (SH) is the common, general-line of the proletarians of all countries - exclusively in this meaning.

No need to say that a general-line is basically necessary for leading global class struggle to its success.

There is no world revolution without its precedent theoretical draft on its strategy and tactics.

Doubtless, in its very beginning stadium the general-line's draft cannot be "perfect". There are still a lot of unanswered issues and unavoidable mistakes. However, it can be stated that the general-line consists already of almost all the chief cornerstones of strategy and tactics which are basically needed for leading the world revolutionary movement on the battle field of global class struggle.

Long ago, the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism have readily formulated the tasks and aims of world communism and the historical role of the world proletariat - completely, precisely and in principle. The general-line is only an update of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on strategy and tactics - in consideration of present globalised circumstances. It shall prove both to be suitable for action and to be strong enough to resist opportunist ideological influences of all branches. Just as the 5 Classics, the Comintern (SH) developed the general-line by drawing a clear ideological demarcation-line against all open and hidden bourgeois and petty-bourgeoisie influences.

The problem is always the same: The opportunists allegedly "respect" such a general-line, word for word, pretending to be "true" Marxists-Leninist but in deeds they do everything conceivable to distort and betray the general-line in its revolutionary spirit, in its world proletarian class-nature. The general-line is their "shield" for covering and hiding

their reactionary intentions behind “world revolutionary” phraseology. The opportunists are forced to mislead the world proletariat by means of the general-line. This is their order as agents of the bourgeoisie. They always make use of more polished methods and arguments. It is necessary to expose it before it can spread within the world revolutionary movement. Again and again, the exploiting and suppressing classes will try to prevent the proletariat in the most underhanded way to liberate itself independently by means of global unification. Due to grievous experiences of the history of the communist and workers' - world movement the non-observance of the fight against the revisionism would be the death sentence for the liberation of the working class and the re-erection of socialism.

The proletariat has all the means to become the ruling class of the world, and is self-conscious enough to follow its own victorious way by resisting successfully any bourgeois and petty bourgeois influence. It will recognize this class-strange influence as such, will disassociate itself from it consciously and fight it correctly and sustained.

So our general-line which is led by Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, is basically a general-line which correctly disassociates itself from any opportunism, both in the Marxist-Leninist world movement and particularly in its ideology, in its strategy and tactics, in the organizational question and in the programmatic and perspective question, too.

The general-line always disassociates itself from the **interplay** of the right opportunism, the “left” opportunism and the centrism in all these important tasks .

A Communist International which succeeds to prepare itself against the dangers of the right, the “left” opportunism and centrism, will defeat revisionism and create a save basis for putting the general-line into correct action.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defeated modern revisionism in all countries wherever the revisionists have shown up and the Comintern (SH) soldiers on Comrade Enver Hoxha' s anti-revisionist way.

The revisionism still goes and stands to the way of the world revolution to reverse the world wheel of history but we are alerted. Capitalism succeeded in the restoration of capitalism in “one” socialist country but restoration of capitalism in a global scale will be much more difficult for them. This is of great world-historical advantage for the world proletariat. The world proletariat is unbeatable if it learns from the history of revisionist degeneration and if it overcomes all the hindrances which came up after the dissolution of the Comintern.

So the general-line of the Comintern (SH) is an ***international declaration of war*** **against world revisionism.**

**Proletarians of all countries - unite against revisionism!**

**Fire on the revisionist betrayal!**

**Let 's lift up the victorious anti-revisionist banner of comrade Enver Hoxha!**

In all conscience, comrades: The world proletariat cannot be wiped out. And therefore the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, proletarian internationalism, cannot be wiped out, too. As long as the world proletariat exists, the Communist International will exist as well. The future belongs to the world proletariat and the revolutionary world movement of the proletarians of all countries cannot be hold back by the revisionists, at long last. Revisionism all ends on the dustbin of history.

As far as the Comintern (SH) has not yet worked out a new programme or at least a political platform , we `ll set out from the most important programmatic principles which we perform here in the general-line. That `s the reason for the extraordinary size of the text. It `s a long and complicated process coming to terms with the past of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. This cannot be shortened. After we have succeeded to unite the Marxist-Leninist world movement then we can shorten this general-line, of course. But as long as we have to account for the past and as long as all the immanent controversial conclusions are not clarified, we have to go into detail and back to the roots.

Furthermore the general-line is written in the context with the historical teachings of the Comintern and the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The Comintern (SH) defends the tradition of the Comintern and the Marxist Leninist world movement of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Comintern (SH) is the **direct successor organisation of the Comintern** - to give the Marxist Leninist world movement new impulses and impetus and to serve it faithfully.

The **chapter about the historical teachings of the communist world movement** is *attached* to the general-line and also very extensive but there is no way. Too much time has passed since the dissolution of the Comintern. We must come to terms with the past of the Comintern.

Please note that all our theses, guidelines and prospects weren't numbered within the general-line. This is impossible. They could neither be closed in a grant total "exhaustively" nor be put in any "order of ranking". Because: firstly, our herewith presented



number is incomplete. Broader points could be added arbitrarily. And secondly, it isn't all about ticking single points off barely for us.

It is rather meaning and purpose to understand all parts of the general-line in their unit - "*ensemble as elements* « which have to be poured into a firm mould by the world revolutionary actors themselves so that the general-line gets more flexible; and in this way we try to avoid a mile-long enumeration of dogmatic theorems.

Only in its dialectical combination all points can be activated as a closed unit. This allows us to take effect on the revolutionary world movement and its permanent changing concretely by analyses of historical snapshots which in turn allows generalizations and conclusions for the respectively required main chain-link and ... which we take up to derive all other tasks of the Comintern (SH) and to follow the general-line, safely.

All other things would be stringing together dogmatic theorems in the style of "*quotations of chairman Mao*" and this would be anti-dialectically.

The general-line of the Comintern (SH) is based on the dialectical and historical materialism, was developed on its bases, but the general-line can be useful only for those who are able and willing to transform it into the theory and practice of the world revolution, correctly.

We have developed a general-line on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, which shows our common interests and as well the direction how to carry it out, but the Comintern (SH) cannot practice the general line vicariously and independently from its Sections.

We go forward in the same rhythm, however, every section has to consider its own particular, national conditions to adopt the transformation of the general-line in its own country. Every Section participates in the development of common and mutual fight-forms and develops its own specific forms of fighting according to the particular situation of its own country. The Comintern (SH) cannot design fight-forms of different countries at the drawing-board. The transformation of global fighting-forms have to be carried out by the Sections themselves under the leadership and with the help of the centralized organisations of the Comintern (SH). Global and national fight-forms are to be treated dialectically and according to the principles of the democratic centralism.

So the general-line is only in such a way good, as it is helpful for all sections to fulfil their common internationalist tasks to serve the world revolution of the world proletariat. A general-line is unavoidably necessary to guide the class struggle of the world proletariat, in general, but it is not enough to restrict it on globally general tasks. Democratic centralism controls the interplay of solving global and national tasks dialectically.

The general-line as the instruction of practice proves itself by the co-operation of the Section`s struggle. This is the general-line of a world-fight-party, no pure propaganda party.

The general-line doesn't lay the claim to know the complete, exact way to the world revolution and can't claim it either, however, it can show the right direction.

We lay the claim to walk along the way to the world revolution determinedly and to fight for communism inevitably and unstoppably, though. Also difficult times can not frighten us, just as little as defeats and steps backward.

If we should lose the Comintern (SH) in the fight, we will replace it by an even better one. We are prepared for everything and are ready to defend the Comintern (SH) against every enemy. We cannot exclude faults but with a 100 per cent certainty we will fight with all means and strengths for running a tight world proletarian ship and that the Comintern (SH) does not get out of hand.

Help us to regain the confidence in communism which was destroyed by the revisionists. Our fight against the world bourgeoisie will win because it is unable to claim its power without the support of the revisionism - and this support will fall in our anti-revisionist struggle!

## **CHAPTER I**

- Short definition of the general-line of the Comintern (SH)
  - „*Arise you workers from your slumbers!*“
- The Albanian struggle for socialism's restoration and the foundation of the Comintern (SH) for socialism's restoration on a world scale

## **What is the general-line of the Comintern (SH) ?**

[ abridgement ]

**The general-line of the Comintern (SH) is the strategy and tactics of the global liberation of the proletariat, is the instruction for the unification of the proletarians of all countries to form the class of the world proletariat in the spirit of proletarian internationalism for the world revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie with the aim to unchain the world productive resources from their private capitalist imperialistic character, to socialize the production means, to transfer capitalist**

**private property into world proletarian socialist property, into global property of the socialist society.**

This takes effect by the conquest and reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the victory of the proletarian, socialist revolution of all countries inclusively pre-conditional and still unavoidable, miscellaneous revolutionary transition forms of temporary revolutionary national struggles for liberation.

The world proletariat counts on the teachings of the 5 Classics Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, counts on the tactics of the world Bolshevism.

**The old Marxist Leninist theory of the world revolution valid for the *first* epoch of socialism has to be replaced by a new Marxist-Leninist theory of the world revolution which is valid for the *second* epoch of socialism.** The theory of socialism in “one” country is not any more valid for the re-conquest of socialism in a global scale. So the general-line for the fight of socialism in “one” country (first epoch of socialism) cannot be mixed up with the general-line of the fight for the global socialism (second epoch of socialism). It is the revisionists who replace the necessary Marxist-Leninist revision of the old general-line by a bourgeois revision with the aim to attack the new general-line, to fight against the general line of the *globalized* socialism.

We cannot ignore that: firstly, over 100 years have passed between the present development stage of the world imperialism and its time of origin and secondly that the continuous development of socialism was interrupted by the revisionists between the first and the second epoch of socialism.

Today, one of the most important tasks of the general-line is the reconstruction of the strategical and tactical bridge between the first and second epoch of socialism which was swept away by the revisionists. The re-conquest of socialism is impossible without convincing the world proletariat how to overcome the betrayal of the revisionist. The reconstruction of confidence in Communism is based on strengthening the anti-revisionist consciousness of the proletariat and the masses. Without its anti-revisionist character the general-line would lack fundamentals and could not be defined completely. The Marxist-Leninist general-line in the hands of the world proletariat is directed against the revisionist general-line of the world bourgeoisie' s agency within the ranks of the world proletarian class.

The revisionists were able to cheat the proletariat in the period of the restoration of capitalism however the revisionists are called to account for their betrayal one fine day. The scores of the world proletariat with the revisionist are not yet settled historically. The anti-revisionist struggle of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism goes on and will prevail

over revisionism by means of the general-line of the Comintern (SH).

The anti-revisionist merits of Enver Hoxha do not only consist in defending the four Classics of Marxism-Leninism faithfully but moreover in stepping forward in the struggle of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat against revisionists at power, against social-fascism and social-imperialism at power within the period of the restoration of capitalism in general and in particular under the conditions of the liquidation of the dictatorship the proletariat in the Soviet Union. **Applying to the teachings of Enver Hoxha guarantees the victory of the renaissance of socialism which makes impossible the renaissance of revisionism at power. The great renaissance of socialism is based on the great renaissance of the anti-revisionist struggle.**

The teachings of Enver Hoxha are the teachings of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism in the period of the restoration of capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist teachings of the restoration of socialism are based upon the teachings of the struggle against modern revisionism.

The teachings of the restoration of socialism are the teachings of the removal of the unavoidableness of capitalist restoration. We are living in the epoch of global revolutions which herald the second epoch of socialism, the beginning of the history of world socialism, the history of the political power of the global proletariat.

**Our general line is the world proletariat`s strategic and tactical guidance for entering the global stage of socialism's history.**

**Global revolutions herald the second epoch of socialism...**

***„Arise ye workers from your slumbers !“***

– **Determination of our position -**

– **PLATFORM OF THE COMINTEN (SH) [2009]**

Due to the first incontrovertible fact,

...that the Marxist-Leninists, the Marxist Leninist parties and organizations are totally conscious about the inevitability of joining the Communist International, about establishing a centralized general staff of the organized revolutionary world proletariat, about creating and strengthening the World Bolshevik Party;

... that the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world are totally conscious about the inevitability of defeating commonly all the open and hidden enemies who struggle against the Communist International with their intention to isolated and split the preparation and organisation of the socialist proletarian world revolution;

... that the Marxist-Leninists are totally conscious about the inevitability of class-struggle on profound and principled basis of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism for supporting global proletarian actions, for forcing world-proletarian cooperation, confraternity and co-action of all countries, guided by a common general-line, a common strategy and tactics, a common programme which systematically paves the global way to the victory of the socialist proletarian world revolution;

Due to the second incontrovertible fact,

... that the final victory of socialism is impossible in “one” country and therefore only possible through the overthrow of the *international* bourgeoisie;

... that the revolution in “one” country is always means and support of the development of the victory of the revolution in *all* countries, the victory of the socialist world revolution;

... that the proletariat becomes more and more conscious about the necessity of its common struggle against bourgeois-revisionist influence which estrange them from their own world-socialist matter and which had demoralized them in their united struggle for the removal of world capitalism,

... that the proletarians of the whole world fondly remember the heavy won victory of their unforgettable dictatorship in “one” country and the victory of the socialist world camp under the leadership of comrade Stalin, and its great achievements which were destroyed by the restoration of capitalism;

... that the restoration of capitalism prolongs life of capitalism but does not protect from its final fall; capitalist restoration leads unavoidable to a deeper destruction of its own capitalist foundations and thus to a more profound victory of the restoration of socialism;

... that the proletarians rediscover their internationalist, world-socialist class-consciousness, that they again believe in their own global strength, that they are – globally united – an invincible force which shall continue the October Revolution successfully and which they shall crown by the victory of the socialist world-revolution;

... that the proletarians commonly create their global, novel proletarian dictatorship , based on the great experiences and achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and Albania;

... that the historical period of socialism 's prosperity in “one” country was only interrupted by the modern revisionists, which means nothing else but the irrevocable continuation of the first period of socialism' s prosperity by a second one, a global one;

... that the main contradiction between the capitalist and socialist world-camp can only be solved by the forces of socialism and not by those of capitalism;

... that this main contradiction is still existing in form of the struggle of forces of the restoration of capitalism on the one side and the forces of the restoration of socialism on the other side;

... that the victory of the forces of the restoration of socialism over the forces of the restoration of capitalism is inevitable.

... that the proletarian dictatorship of even a small country like Albania had resisted successfully against the encirclement of the whole capitalist-revisionist world, for over 40 years. Thus, in comparison with this historical fact, it is not at all difficult to bring to mind the thousandfold potential of power of the *world-proletarian* dictatorship.

Due to the third incontrovertible fact,

... that the proletarians realize the increasing and polarizing, the worldwide and basic contradictions between world-bourgeoisie and world-proletariat, between global capital and global labour; between social character of the world production and the private character of its disappropriation.

... that they realize the coherence between the globalization of capital and the globalization of proletarian class-consciousness;

... that strengthening of the global capitalists on the one hand relates to the strengthening of the global labourers on the other hand;

... that the world proletariat becomes conscious about the world-revolutionary meaning of its existence as a global class which is in antagonistic opposition to the global class of the world-bourgeoisie;

... that the development of the global capital involves the existence and future of the proletarians of all countries;

... that the liberation of the proletarians of all countries from global capital implies their formation as an united global proletarian class. Without the leadership of the united world proletariat it is impossible to socialize world capital on a global stage. The overthrow of all world capitalist relations is only possible through the united class-struggle of the whole world proletariat;

... that the world proletariat becomes conscious about its world-historic mission and

leading role for the liberation of the peoples from world imperialist slavery; the world-alliance of the bourgeoisie can only be destroyed by the world-alliance of the proletariat;

... that the emancipation of the working class is not a local or national task however an international, a global task. The victory of the whole matter of the proletariat depends on the victory of the common actions of the proletariat of all countries; the victory of the working class is unavoidable and inevitable on a global stage.

... that the world proletariat is the bearer of the world revolution, the builder of the new, future world-society, and the world-bourgeoisie is the bearer of the old world capitalist society;

... that the world bourgeoisie, is doomed to die, that the old capitalist world society will be removed globally by the new world-socialist society as a global system – thus on the ruins of the capitalist global system;

... that the world revolution is a universal revolution and therefore changing the world society universally;

... that the national crossing barriers of the revolutionary movement shall fall to become the world-revolutionary movement, the movement of the “global gravediggers” of the global capitalism;

... that only the proletariat can solve the present problems of the world, that the world proletariat is able to create and demonstrate international solidarity, social safety, liberty and peace, for the future prosperity of world-community of the peoples.

Due to the fourth incontrovertible fact,

... that the ruling world order is luring on to the destruction of its own capitalist bases, that it deprives the peoples of their livelihood, that it drives them to distress and poverty,

... that it destroys nature – the foundation of mankind' s existence;

... that – beyond all bearing - the peoples experience capitalist degeneration firsthand, the increasing contradictions between the rich and the poor; between the rich and the poor themselves, between liberty and slavery, war and peace,

... that mankind experiences firsthand, that the division between slave holders and slaves, between capitalists and labourers, between the exploited and oppressed classes and the ruling classes, cannot be abolished by the re-conciliation of exploiters and exploited within the capitalist world-system, however only by its destruction through the socialist world revolution;

... that capitalism is based on private ownership over the means of production, and

that the world revolutionary abolishment of this private ownership is the key for the liberation of the socialized productive forces from the chains of the capitalist relations of production;

... that the revolutionary world movement can only triumph over world imperialism under the leadership of the workers, as their socialist world movement – as the owners of the means of production - otherwise it will fail unavoidable.

Due to the fifth incontrovertible fact,

... that the world is divided in two camps – the camp of world imperialism and the camp of the struggle against world imperialism;

... that the increasing contradictions among the global monopolies, among the multi-national companies, among the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, their rivalries for world-dominance, as well as the contradiction between the imperialist and social-imperialist nations and the oppressed and exploited nations, between the revisionist and capitalist countries etc. etc. - all these increasing contradictions deepen the capitalist world crises and are inevitably speeding up the process of the socialist world revolution;

... that the U.S. imperialism is still the main enemy of the exploited and oppressed classes all over the world, that the US-imperialism is still the main enemy of the socialist world revolution;

... that the main enemy can only be successfully removed by the removal of the inevitability of the regeneration of some new hegemonic class-enemies of the exploited and oppressed classes, by the total removal of the whole imperialist world-system;

... that world imperialism is the last and highest stage of capitalism – globally characterized by its monopolies, by its inevitable parasitic, rotten, decaying, dying process;

... that all attempts of capitalist restoration and regeneration do only lead to more deepening of its crisis, brings it nearer to fall, because the oppressed and exploited classes will not and cannot put up the burdens of the crises, neither in “peaceful” and nor less in war-times;

... that the world is already divided among the imperialists and that the struggle for world-hegemony is unavoidable connected with the rivalry in their striving for maximum profit among the imperialist camp;

... that this leads to imperialist and social-imperialist wars as the most extreme forms of their foreign rule and to fascism and social-fascism as the most extreme forms of their domestic rule;

... that this leads - vice versa – to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist and anti-



socialimperialist resistance combined with anti-fascist and anti-socialfascist resistance of the exploited and oppressed classes, leads to the armed global civil war between the forces of world socialism and world capitalism, between world revolution and world counter-revolution – which ends up unavoidably by the victory of the world proletariat over the world bourgeoisie;

... that the globalized masses are the gravediggers of the capitalist globalizers!"

... and finally that it is impossible for the revisionists of all hues to put the wheel of socialist history into reverse, that revisionism is a creation of the bourgeoisie which will die away together with the bourgeoisie itself.

All these basic irrefutable facts – summarized in this general-line - are based on the science of socialism, developed and advanced by the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. They all prophesied and proved scientifically that the time of capitalism' s defeat will come and that capitalism is finally not able to keep socialism away from the workers. They all heralded the inevitable bright victory of the world proletariat and its socialist world revolution.

The 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism foretold that the world proletariat shall take world socialism by assault, that the global uprising is the highest form of the world revolutionary movement, that the Marxist-Leninists of the world – united in the Communist International – shall lead the world revolutionary movement of the global proletariat in the struggle for the destruction of world capitalism, that the Marxist-Leninists shall restore the dictatorship of the proletariat as the standard bearer of the great proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union led by Lenin and Stalin, and that of Albania led by Enver Hoxha.

With the new Communist International and its general-line there will be created better conditions for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a global scale for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only in a socialist world, which has victoriously overcome the capitalist world, it will be possible to avoid any form of aggression and military interference against other states; only then it will be possible to eliminate all colonial exploitation, any form of paternalism, national oppression and racial segregation. Only then the self determination of peoples, national sovereignty and equality of all countries is ensured, only then friendly and supportive international relations all over the world can be maintained. We communists struggle for the abolishment of all exploitation and oppression of man by man. Only the abolition of the class-society on a global scale opens the door to the world communist society.

The Albanian struggle for national liberation and socialism' s restoration  
... and the foundation of the Comintern (SH)  
for liberating the world from capitalism and for socialism' s restoration  
on a world scale

Guided by this clear communist general position the Communist International (which was dissolved in 1943) saw – again - the light of the day on December 31, 2000.

The foundation of the Comintern (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) took place in an international situation which was created by the valorous revolutionary struggle for liberation of the Albanians against imperialism, social imperialism and social-fascism, for the defence and restoration of socialism. Neither the imperialists nor their revisionist agencies, nor the “left” opportunists, nor the centrists could prevent the Comintern (SH) from the internationalist battle cry: “Red Inter-Brigades to Kosova!”

To be able to develop the relationship of brothers-in-arms between the Marxist-Leninists in the world and the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, the Comintern (SH) had to draw a clear demarcation-line between the Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists of all hues. And this is only possible if one energetically supports this struggle for the defence and restoration of socialism in the spirit of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Lenin taught:

**“An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more”**  
(Lenin, Works, Volume 21, page 156, English edition).

Because of this, all Neo-Revisionists are a mortal peril.

They of all people betray Comrade Enver Hoxha in this sharp class-struggle for national liberation which is combined with the struggle for the restoration of socialism.

They followed the traitor Ramiz Alia, this henchman of the world imperialists.

They tell a pack of lies about the alleged “*errors of Enver Hoxha*” in the same manner which the modern revisionists have done about the alleged “*errors of Stalin*”.

They characterize Comrade Enver Hoxha allegedly as a “*less whole Marxist*”.

They try to debase the outstanding international meaning of Comrade Enver Hoxha

by poor regional meaning.

They allegedly “respect” comrade Enver Hoxha in words, however betray him in deeds.

They are adversaries of the internationalist struggle for the restoration of socialism.

This betrayal of the Neo-Revisionists was reason enough to **elevate comrade Enver Hoxha to the Fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism**. This world historical step was the most decisive step for the foundation of the Comintern (SH). And this decision of the Comintern (SH) was not only important for the further development of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement but also necessary for the support of the Albanian struggle of the defence and restoration of socialism, for the revolutionary movement in Albania and the Kosova in particular, and for that of the whole Balkan in general – as one of the leading centres of the whole world-revolutionary movement. In this moment it was the duty of the true Marxist-Leninists all over the world to set a gesture of proletarian internationalism: *“Socialist Albania – lest we forget ! You are immortal ! We don' t give up the fight for your rebirth ! We do not capitulate as the Neo-Revisionists have done so shamefully ! We are the invincible and true banner bearers of Comrade Enver Hoxha ! The victory is ours!”*

Already legendary is our **“Call for the re-foundation of the Comintern”**. And our ideological bases of Hoxhaism were written down in the historic document:

**“Enver Hoxha, the Fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism and the foundation of the Comintern (SH)”**.

**The Albanians' struggle for liberation from imperialist occupation and betrayal at socialism became an internationalist signal for the foundation of the Comintern (SH) ... on the ideological basis of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 5th Classic of the Marxism-Leninism!**

Look at the long-suffering Albanian people and remind your destiny in yourself.

Support their national and social struggle for liberation by your proletarian internationalism of the deed. Albania and the Kosova and their revolutionary liberation struggle are a shining signal for the peoples to resist imperialism and social-imperialism, reaction, fascism and social-fascism, to struggle for the re-establishment of socialism. This national and social struggle for liberation proves itself indeed as an important motive power for the socialist revolution. Why?

Firstly,

the special feature of the liberation movement of the Albanians is its social character, on the background of the imperialist crisis of Europe on the one side and the destruction of socialism on the other side. On this continent, especially in the Kosova,

there is the most glaring contradiction between the poorest and the richest classes. Just in the historical moment in which Europe was "unified and pacified" by the imperialists, who celebrated their "victory" over Socialist Albania, armed revolutionary resistance came up there;

secondly,

the special feature of the Albanian liberation movement is its anti-fascist character, more precisely, a liberation movement which offers successfully resistance against a brutal social-fascist regime. Social-fascism oppressed and enslaved the Kosova-Albanians more brutally than any other nationality in Yugoslavia.

thirdly,

this liberation struggle is also a contribution to the liberation of other nationalities of Yugoslavia;

fourthly,

the particularity of the revolutionary liberation movement of the Albanians is the fact that they have sparked off the militant revolutionary movement in the whole Balkan.

fifthly,

the special feature of the national liberation movement of the Albanians is their contribution to the anti-imperialist fight. They made use of the contradictions of re-ordering the former Yugoslavia and also bound the imperialist forces for improving the situation of the anti-imperialist struggle in other countries by restricting an imperialistic maneuvering ability. This Albanian contribution speeds up and strengthens the struggle against world imperialism as a whole. So the Albanians have understood excellently to activate the weakest chain-link to break through European imperialism.

sixthly,

this is the most important feature:

The social and national liberation-struggle of the whole Albanian people is combined with the re-establishment of Socialist Albania – with support of the Kosova. This particularity is incomparable in world history in general, and in the history of socialism in particular. This struggle bears the very own signature of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Fighting in his name is fighting in the name of Marxism-Leninism, is fighting with the guarantee of changing defeat into a much greater victory.

Two destinies of the Albanian people melt to one, that of social-fascist subjugation of the Albanian Kosovars and that of the destruction of the Socialist Republic of Albania which is the most serious crime in mankind's history. And first time in history, people who have lost its socialist home, are **fighting with weapons in their hands** for its re-conquest.

This is doubtless the highest form and most difficult struggle for socialism – an new historical challenge for the whole world revolutionary movement.

The Albanians survived the horrors of war. They survived the horrors of poverty in Europe. They have survived the horrors of national subjugation and genocide. They have also survived the worst horror - the betrayal at their socialism. **They fight for the re-conquest of their national freedom and unity, combined with the re-conquest of socialism, that's it, why the Albanian revolutionary movement has become the beacon of the socialist world revolution.**

This world-situation was both the current and historical time for the re-creation of the Comintern.

The struggle for the restoration of socialism is a global task. The armed struggle of the Albanian people against the imperialist interference from outside, and against the servility of the domestic class-enemies under the rule of world imperialism is the right answer to reconquer the proud, flourishing Socialist People's Republic of Albania, is the right way to force the reascended bourgeoisie to retreat, to destroy the new bourgeois dictatorship and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat by a new socialist revolution – as comrade Enver Hoxha had once taught to the proletarians of the revisionist countries. These new socialist revolutions within the Balkans bring about the future Union of the socialist Balkan-countries as member of the Union of the new world-socialist countries.

It is the steadfast attitude of the Marxist-Leninists of all countries - never giving up their confidence towards the great Albanian proletariat. We keep unswervingly to our principles and adhere to our solidarity towards this brave small "country of the eagles".

It is the common task of the Marxist-Leninisten of all countries, never giving up the confidence towards the Albanian proletariat.

The revolutionary character of the general-line is this – particularly in times of defeats which are accompanied by attempts of the bourgeoisie to demoralize the proletariat – to encourage all communists, all proletarian internationalists to do not give up the world revolutionary fight. There is nothing which is more important than a general-line constituting the internationalist duty: We shall never withdraw from our world revolutionary path, we shall defend the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism with our life, we shall defend all the comrades who hold up the banner of comrade Enver Hoxha – in spite of the revisionist betrayal and the loss of the socialist homeland.

The struggle for national liberation of the small, brave Albanian people from foreign domination, oppression and exploitation, reached its peak after a few centuries. This fight

was always directed against all of its oppressors and exploiters, but never against the neighbouring nations or any other people in the world. On the contrary, it was the Albanian comrades under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, who once shed their blood for the brotherhood in the anti-fascist partisan-war in Yugoslavia. Instead of gratitude for this proven proletarian internationalist help, the great-Serbian bourgeoisie, hid their social-chauvinist, social fascist face behind the mask of allegedly "protection from the great-Albanian threat". The Great-Serbian rulers perpetrated their genocide against Albanians long before Tito and Milosevic. The whole history of the Albanians was accompanied by displacement and predatory annexation. The Kosova-Albanians - against their will - were forced into separation from Albania. The Yugoslav federation was a social-fascist prison for all Yugoslav peoples, moreover a barbarous place of genocide for the Kosova-Albanians. The Albanian national minorities, especially the Kosova-Albanians have been eradicated, systematically massacred, persecuted, disenfranchised, discriminated against, denationalised, kept in abject poverty, and their right to self-determination is being flouted - with will and support of world imperialism.

But not enough: Tito and Milosevic did never gave up their aggressive social-imperialist policy. They tried to wipe the Socialist Albania out of the map, forcibly.

The dictatorship of the Albanian Proletariats under the leadership of the PAA with Enver Hoxha at the lead had foiled this, and this was also a world historical example of proletarian internationalism. The Albanian comrades had unmasked the Yugoslavian Tito-revisionism as a Trojan Horse in the Marxist-Leninist world movement and became a navigational light of the socialism in the world. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership helped - another milestone of proletarian internationalism - not only in the liberation of the Balkan peoples, but had also paved the way for socialism in Albania .

This created a certain degree of relative stability in the Balkans after the Second World War. Socialist Albania was the main peace - and freedom factor on the Balkans for decades. However, the Balkans, this old apple of discord became again a powder-keg by the world-imperialist re-ordering, after the defeat of the social-imperialists and social-fascists of the former Yugoslavia, after the betrayal of the revisionists who restored capitalism in Socialist Albania, and many other events in that time.

It is the people of the Kosova – with the Marxist-Leninist forces ahead - struggling for establishing the **free Republic of the Kosova** against the whole capitalist-revisionist world, against all the occupying powers in the Kosova. The armed struggle of resistance of the Kosova-people is the continuation of the anti-fascist struggle against the German

occupants and against the Serbian social-chauvinists and social-fascists. The freedom-loving people of the Kosova continue the great tradition of the victorious anti-fascist liberation war of Comrade Enver Hoxha which resulted in a victorious people's revolution and which paved the way to socialism. The Albanian people shall never forget that their socialism, freedom, independence and sovereignty was only realized by the revolution of the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**The peoples who fight for their right to their freedom and independence, are invincible, because their anti-imperialist, anti-sozialimperialist struggle is just.**

This anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist struggle of the Balkan peoples leads to the final victory of their national and social liberation under the leadership of the proletariat, if they do it together and not against each other, if they struggle shoulder to shoulder against their foreign enemies and against the enemies within their own camp.

It is clear,

firstly,

that it is necessary that all military, imperialist invaders must immediately and completely be kicked out of the whole Balkans - enforced by the struggle of a revolutionary militant, anti-imperialist and antisocial-imperialist Balkan' s united front - along with the nullification of the forced imperialist treaties ( violation of freedom, national independence and sovereign rights, exploitation of the riches of the Balkan countries, bankruptcy of the Balkan-states , social damage and pauperization of the Balkan peoples).

No foreign power has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Balkan peoples. Every Balkan State is obliged to proceed against the outer imperialistic aggressions and also to help the neighbours at it. The situation in the Balkans would improve very much if every Balkan people refuses to allow, that imperialists abuse one's own country as a concentration area against the neighbouring country. It is also the task of the Balkan peoples to stamp out nationalism and chauvinism for ever and to have to be good neighbours in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

It is clear,

secondly,

that there is an urgent need of the world proletariat - especially the proletariat of the imperialist countries of Europe - to form a revolutionary united front with the proletariat and the toiling masses in the Balkans, to destroy imperialism in Europa, to deactivate the historical reactionary powder keg in the Balkans by means of the explosion of the revolutionary powder keg in the Balkans.

It is in the interest of the socialist world revolution supporting unreserved the

national liberation struggle of exploited and oppressed peoples who want to get rid of any enslaving imperialist influence .

The revolutionary proletariat initiates a broad anti-imperialist united front, preferably with the poor peasants, but also with all the other national forces who support the anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggle under the guidance of the proletariat. This struggle ought to be led by the Communist party as a maximum requirement. And as a minimum requirement the independent struggle of the Communist party must be achieved and guaranteed. And this means expressively, neither to merge with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, nor to bow to their influence within the revolutionary movement.

The struggle of the Kosova people for their self-determination is tied due to the current conditions to the revolutionary national liberation struggle, and in a subsequent step the proletarian revolution shall receive more and more impetus. This corresponds to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the development of the popular revolution. The establishment of a Republic of Kosova is just.

In opinion of the Comintern (SH) the Kosova is inseparably part of Albania and all Albanians have the right to live in a one and only nation, if they wish this. This has nothing in common with the chauvinist "Great Albania", however this corresponds to the self-determination right of every people all over the world, primarily this concerns to those people who were exploited and divided forcibly up , slaughtered bloodily, and suppressed brutally for centuries. This does not mean, that we play into the hands of certain Albanian chauvinist and reactionary circles. On the contrary, the Comintern (SH) fights with all might against such Albanian reactionary circles. Nationalist terrorism against the peoples of the Balkans is counter-revolutionary and can only be eliminated in a revolutionary manner, through revolutionary proletarian violence.

It is clear,

thirdly,

that the united Albanian proletariat regains dictatorship of the proletariat by a violent socialist revolution of a new type (this is possible by certain combinations with 2 and 3 , or even by its merge);

It is clear,

fourthly,

that the Yugoslav social imperialism, its great power chauvinism and social-fascism must be torn up by the roots, in a long and thorough revolutionary process. This would offer a chance to get rid of the domination of the imperialist powers and the rule of the own bourgeoisie. This way, a truly union of the socialist (not social-fascist !) Yugoslav countries



**could** be established under the leadership of the proletariat. The Comintern (ML) struggles for the merger of the peoples and not for their separation. However, it is one of the Marxist-Leninist dialectical principles that unification is often not possible without some preceding demarcations (unity after demarcation). This can only happen through the revolutionary overthrow of the exploiting and oppressing classes in the former Yugoslav countries. This requires the victory of the proletarian revolution, which is led by the Marxist-Leninist party and which means: establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This provides all the peoples of former Yugoslavia, their right to self-determination, their right to secede, their right to their armed self-defence, on their own sovereign state, ie in particular the recognition of the Republic of Kosova as an independent sovereign state, if the Kosova-Albanians want this, explicitly.

Fifthly,

we are for self-determination, independence, peace, freedom and good relations among the former Yugoslav peoples. We respect their own way to choose towards socialism, related to their different conditions. **However, much more, we are for a new Socialist Union of the Balkan states on a truly Marxist-Leninist basis, thus on a basis of socialist internationalism, a triumph of the socialist world revolution over the rule of the whole capitalist-revisionist world.** We support the struggle for new socialist states all over the world and especially in the Balkans. This implies primarily the re-establishment of Socialist Albania, preferable with the inclusion of Kosova-Albania. **What we want is socialism for the whole Albanian people, for the whole Balkan, for the whole world.**

It is finally clear (and sixth),

whatever the forms are in which the revolutionary movements of the different Balkan countries shall develop, they are crowned by victory, if they are all in line with the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, if they are combined detachments of the globally guided struggle for the socialist world revolution, if they contribute to the future communist world.

"There is only one free Balkan, the '*Balkan of the type of proletarian internationalism*', under the leadership of the world-revolutionary workers' movement in alliance with the peasantry and other working people, otherwise, there will never be a free Balkans".

The Comintern (SH) expressed full sympathy and active support by the internationalist slogan: "*Red International Brigades to Kosova!*"

The imperialist countries have burnt their fingers - not for the first time in history in

the Balkans. After the NATO has maneuvered deeper into the mess it has got to do with fear.

How could it happen that the Albanian freedom fighters are so successful in the poorest part of Europe? Because they are fighting heroically for applying the lessons of Enver Hoxha of the armed Anti-Fascist National Liberation struggle and its successful transformation into a people's revolution. And that 's what the workers and peasants in Russia have done, when they correctly studied the Marxist teachings of the Western workers' movement. This way, the October Revolution had triumphed in the most backward country of Europe. The weakest link in the imperialist chain had been broken away by the first socialist revolution.

The imperialists are afraid of the anti-imperialist fraternization of Balkan peoples and they reinforce the pressure on them by stoking of animosities among each other. They do everything possible to protect themselves once more from the break through of the weakest European chain-link which is doubtless the Balkans, at present.

They also sent diverse new revisionist tendencies into action after they had to retreat from the old rotten appearance of Titoite social-fascism.

However, the revolutionary movement in the Kosova could not be deterred by revisionist lies of the social-fascists who wanted to drive wedges between the revolutionary movement in the Kosova and that for the re-conquest of Socialism in Albania, and wedges between the revolutionary movement in the Kosova and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. They wanted to denounce the revolutionary fighters of the Kosova. They call them "*not*" to be Marxist-Leninists, "*not*" to be Hoxhaists, "*not*" to be internationalists, however they would be allegedly "*sectarians*", "*nationalists*", "*terrorists*", "*separatists*", "*chauvinists*", "*traitors to the Fatherland*", "*pro-imperialists*", "*prolonged arm of the NATO*", ... etc. And simultaneously, these neo-revisionist elements denounced the Comintern (SH) because we support the revolutionary movement in the Kosova. The intention of the neo-revisionists is clear: they want to isolate the revolutionary movement of the Albanian people and to cut it away from solidarity of the world proletariat. They play the role of the fire-extinguishers and liquidators of the revolution in the Balkans with the aim to pave the way for the restoration of revisionism in power. The neo-revisionists play into the hands of the Titoite social-fascists whose influence is still dangerous within the revolutionary movement in the Balkans and elsewhere in the world.

Memories about the Second International come into mind, if so called "Marxist-Leninists" - who are opportunists in truth ! – try to denounce the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Kosova-Albanians as "*pro-imperialist*". We shall never forget that the

Yugoslav Titoites had been the really first pro-imperialists in the struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

Both, the rightist and "leftist" opportunists all over the world support the Yugoslav social-fascists against the Albanian liberation struggle ( the first ones directly and open, the latter indirectly and hidden), because this struggle of the Albanians does not fit in their political concept of the *"unity front"*. The opportunists like to add the social-fascists to their *"anti-NATO unity front"*. And according to their opportunist "logic" they denounce everybody as a *"prolonged arm of the NATO-imperialists"* who struggles against Serbian social-fascism. Exclusion of the Albanians from the support of proletarian internationalism and simultaneously feigning "anti-imperialist" slogans - this is the same old social-chauvinist spirit of the Second International !

The imperialists and their revisionist lackeys have noticed that they must protect the capitalist world against this dangerous reservoir of world-communist "infection". However, the dialectics of history teach them: the more they intensify their anti-communist propaganda, all the more they provoke unintentionally this revolutionary liberation struggle and the sympathy of the world-proletariat and the peoples with it. And the more they shoot their mouth off against the allegedly Albanian "terrorists" who bravely struggle for getting rid of their national and social chains, all the more anti-imperialist outrage shall rouse globally.

The oh-so "civilized" imperialists are afraid of such a small people that they have driven away from their homes and families, that they have ruined, that they have driven into poverty in front of the eyes of the world. The imperialists only continued what the social-imperialists had done to the people of Kosova - to abandon them to the fate of the "poor man of Europe" . Ironically they are the ones who accuse the Kosova-Albanians, they would "terrorize and slaughter" other peoples.

The social-fascist system of Milosevic, that the Yugoslav peoples want to get rid of, is not the product of socialism, but that of Tito's revisionism, the dollar-fed child of world imperialism, once used to split and weaken the Stalinist socialist world camp and the Communist world movement, and today nursed by the imperialists - under the guise of "Western-democracy" as a further bulwark against revolution in the Balkans. These civilized '*summit countries*' believe in the "blessing" of their enslaved peoples by means of the "progressive achievements" of their "democratic world order". And if they do not sell their freedom for a hand full of Dollars and Euros then they get "bombs" as a gift. If a people courageously arises against imperialism, if it rebels against the almighty imperialist "generosity", if it proves to be "ungrateful", then the whole imperialist peace-fuss collapses

like a house of cards. Then they show their true colours, swinging their world police club. If they fail to misuse the KLA for their underhanded imperialist aims, then they denounce the KLA as a *"foreign terrorist organisation"* etc. From the reactionary military point of view the Kosova is a "dwarf" in comparison with the NATO, but from the revolutionary point of view the Kosova is like David against Goliath. Kosova is not an African neo-colony, where you can buy some local dictators for a few dollars or Euro's for the slaughter of millions of people in order to increase exploitation. Fact is that the NATO soldiers came into touch with the revolutionary war of liberation and decomposition among the soldiers is the result. Fact is that NATO-soldiers have turned their guns and changed sides. NATO-soldiers fought on the side of the UCK, albeit sporadically. And there were indeed a lot of voluntary soldiers who came from all over the world to support the KLA, with weapons in their hands, too. This fact expresses the internationalist character and meaning of the struggle of the freedom-fighters in the Kosova.

Lenin taught:

**"The moment the soldier wakes up and begins to understand that he is being maimed and killed solely in the interest of the bourgeoisie, demoralisation is bound to spread among the mass of soldiers"** (Lenin, collected works, Volume 28, page 81, English version).

If NATO begins to play the role of the stranglers, and hangmen of the European peoples, this will inevitably antagonize the European proletariat - and not just the European proletariat - against NATO. Then, the fight among the NATO soldiers themselves will begin, if they become aware that they should pay for their lives to bring the imperialists the coals from the fire.

If the U.S. imperialists play the role of the executioner and policeman in Europe - and they have begun to play this role since the end of the Second World War and thus long before the Kosova-sortie, then this certainly contributes to their own political collapse, even if they take advantage of the European imperialists by means of the NATO and even if they make a deal with them concerning reordering the division of imperialist interests in the Balkans. With other words: The revolutionaries in the Balkans shall take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialists. Firstly, this will quicken the appetite of the European imperialists. They will try to divide the united European "cake" more rapidly among each other, and secondly, the U.S. imperialism - in return - will receive a larger bite from the European imperialists somewhere else in the world.

With the liberation war in the Kosova, the European and therefore also the international revolution comes closer, closer than ever, and that's exactly why we do not

give up the solidarity and support of this liberation war. In the contrary, we shall strengthen our solidarity, because the fight in the Kosova is far from decided.

The imperialists can build a Chinese wall around the Kosova, however this would never hinder the revolutionary "bacillus" to penetrate and "infect" the whole Europe. The imperialists impose their military censorship on the revolutionary events in the Kosova - in the same manner as they use to do this all over the world. But the truth cannot be censored, it also will reach the back of the imperialists namely there, where the native proletariat stands ! And the lies which are spread around the globe will punish them in their own country ! The international demagoguery meets unavoidably its final collapse with any unmasked scandal of the military censorship. It is losing its credibility and becomes a boomerang.

**The Comintern (SH) understands the struggle of the Kosova Albanians, the liberation struggle of the whole Balkan peoples, as part of the struggle against world imperialism and its lackeys. Just as the Comintern (SH) supports the revolutionaries in the Kosova, we declare our solidarity with the revolutionaries in all the other countries as part of the common international struggle, as part of the overall struggle against world imperialism, as part of the proletarian, socialist world revolution.**

**Creation of a general staff as a united and organized force of all internationalist fighter for worldwide mobilization of vast masses against world imperialism - this is the task with which we are faced and which we have to solve.**

Lenin taught:

**"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lips-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is."**

**"The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot be* anything other than an outburst of mass-struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it – without such participation, *mass struggle is impossible*, without it *no revolution is possible* – and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (Though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which**

**in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately 'purge' itself of petty-bourgeois slag"** (Lenin, collected works, Volume 22, page 356, English edition).

Lenin pointed out further:

**"The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an *independent* factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the *real* ant-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene"** (Lenin, collected works, Volume 22, page 357, English edition).

The Comintern (SH) would be a bad international, if we do not understand to take advantage of the revolutionary crisis in the Balkans, if we would not support the Albanian liberation struggle both against the Yugoslav and Albanian bourgeoisie and the occupants of the NATO - in the interest of the world socialist revolution - even if we do not succeed to match the particular degree of maturity of the national liberation struggle of the Albanians with the general degree of maturity of the All-European proletarian revolution.

**"Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught, just as certain strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc. ..."** (Lenin, collected works, Volume 22, page 358, English edition).

**"If we do not want to betray socialism we *must* support every revolt against our chief enemy, the bourgeoisie of the big states, provided it is not the revolt of a reactionary class. By refusing to support the revolt of annexed regions we become, objectively, annexationists. It is precisely in the 'era of imperialism', which is the era of nascent social revolution, that the proletariat will today give especially vigorous support to any revolt of the annexed regions so that tomorrow, or simultaneously, it may attack the bourgeoisie of the 'great' power that is weakened by the revolt"** (Lenin, collected works, Volume 22, page 333, English edition).

And one cannot seriously be claiming that the Kosova Liberation struggle is a matter of a "reactionary" class. so:,

**“National wars *against* the imperialist powers are not only possible and probable; they are inevitable, *progressive* and *revolutionary* ...”** (Lenin, collected works, Volume 22, page 312, English edition).

# CHAPTER II

## The proletarian socialist world revolution

1

Definition of the proletarian socialist world revolution

2

World Revolution and negation of the negation

3

World Revolution and revolution of the single countries

4

World Revolution and international counter-revolution

5

World Revolution and the break-through of the weakest chain-link of the imperialist chain

6

World Revolution and the creation of the world revolutionary chain of socialism



## 7

World Revolution and Lenin 's teachings on the imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism

## 8

World Revolution and the role of the global masses; the role of the workers' -, peasants' - and soldiers' Soviets; the role of the Marxist-Leninist party

## 9

World Revolution and Lenin' s teachings on the state

## 10

World Revolution and imperialist war

hint:

To study Lenin's theory of world revolution in detail, please look at this article:

[“LENINISM - AN INFALLIBLE SIGNPOST FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION”](#)

## **CHAPTER III**

**Strategy and Tactics of the Comintern (SH)**

**- 18 strategic guidelines / - 18 tactical guidelines**

- a) tactical methods
- b) tactics of the economic fight
- c) tactics of the political fight
- d) tactics of the ideological-theoretical fight
  - against the strategy and tactics of the right opportunism
  - against the strategy and tactics of the „left“ opportunism
  - against the strategy and tactics of reconciliationism and centrism

\* \* \*

The international strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism is the doctrine of the leadership of the revolutionary struggle with which the world proletariat, and especially the vanguard of the world proletariat, does arm itself. The basis for this are the relevant writings of the Classics from the Paris Commune to the present day, especially the documents of the Comintern. The strategy and tactics of the Comintern (SH) are based on the Marxist thesis of fighting for the achievement of the immediate purposes and interests of the world proletariat, but at the same time representing in the present world workers' movement its future , the ultimate goal, of the movement.

## **Our tactics**

is the doctrine of determining the correct choice of the appropriate means at the particular moment of the tide or ebb of the movement for the optimal use of all the revolutionary forces available in the whole world . Tactics does not aim at the goals of the world revolution as a whole, but serves to win the individual battle, the individual skirmish, the individual campaign or action in the respective concrete situation of the international class struggle. The tactic is applied in the present, constantly developing revolutionary movement:

"Bolshevism is `a pattern of tactics for all' (Lenin). Following this pattern, under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, the communist parties of all countries are arming themselves for the decisive struggles of the new cycle of revolutions and wars, fighting heroically against fascism and social democracy, for the majority of the working class, for the USSR - the fatherland of all toilers -, for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the communists of the whole world are building and consolidating the Bolshevik World Party. The Communist International embodies the victory of Leninism, the victory of the principles of Bolshevik partisanship

(party loyalty) and irreconcilable revolutionary spirit in the international workers' movement" ("30 Years of the Bolshevik Party; 1903-1933" in "Under the Banner of Marxism", Volume VIII, No. 1, March-April 1934, Organ of the Comintern, Moscow-Leningrad – German edition).

Lenin: „We cannot be content to have our tactical slogans limp behind events and to their being adapted to events after their occurrence. We must have slogans that lead us forward, light up the path before us, and raise us above the immediate tasks of the moment. To wage a consistent and sustained struggle the party of the proletariat cannot determine its tactics from occasion to occasion. In its tactical decisions it must combine fidelity to the principles of Marxism with due regard for the progressive tasks of the revolutionary class.“ (Lenin, Volume 9, page 153)

Lenin: „A line of conduct can *and should* be grounded in theory, in historical references, in an analysis of the entire political situation, etc. But in all these discussions the party of a class engaged in a struggle should never lose sight of the need for absolutely clear answers—which *do not permit of a double interpretation*—to concrete questions of our political conduct: “yes” or “no”? Should this or that be done right now, at the given moment, or should it not be done?“ (Lenin, Volume 9, page 262)

Lenin: „What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognises the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not “concoct” them, but only generalises, organises, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation, changes. In this respect Marxism *learns*, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim what ever to *teach* the masses forms of struggle invented by “systematisers” in the seclusion of their studies. We know—said Kautsky, for instance, when examining the forms of social revolution—that the coming crisis will introduce new

forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee.

In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national-cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position.

These are the two principal theoretical propositions by which we must be guided. (Lenin, Volume 11, page 213)

Lenin: „The basis of socialist tactics in time of revolution consists in the progressive class, the proletariat, marching at the head of the people’s revolution.“ (Lenin, Volume 11, page 458)

The defeat of the international communist movement in general, and especially that of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, „was a great defeat that taught the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary class a real and very useful lesson, a lesson in historical dialectics, a lesson in an understanding of the political struggle, and in the art and science of waging that struggle. It is at moments of need that one learns who one’s friends are. Defeated armies learn their lesson. Of all the defeated opposition and revolutionary parties, the Bolsheviks effected the most orderly retreat, with the least loss to their “army”, with its core best preserved, with the least significant splits (in point of depth and incurability), with the least demoralisation, and in the best condition to resume work on the broadest scale and in the most correct and energetic manner. “ (Lenin, Volume 31, “Left-Wing” Communism: an Infantile Disorder; The Principal Stages in the History of Bolshevism; The years of preparation for revolution 1903–05)

The Comintern (SH) achieved this only because we ruthlessly exposed and expelled the neo-revisionist phrase-mongers: „***For the strategy and tactics of comrade Enver Hoxha in words but against it in deeds.***“

Lenin: „One will readily agree that any army which does not train to use all the weapons, all the means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses, or may possess, is behaving in an unwise or even criminal manner. This applies to politics even more than it does to the art of war. In politics it is even harder to know in advance which methods of struggle will be applicable and to our advantage in certain future conditions. Unless we learn to apply all the methods of struggle, we may suffer grave and sometimes even decisive defeat, if changes beyond our control in the position of the other classes

bring to the forefront a form of activity in which we are especially weak. If, however, we learn to use all the methods of struggle, victory will be certain, because we represent the interests of the really foremost and really revolutionary class, even if circumstances do not permit us to make use of weapons that are most dangerous to the enemy, weapons that deal the swiftest mortal blows. Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal methods of struggle are opportunist because, in this field, the bourgeoisie has most frequently deceived and duped the workers (particularly in “peaceful” and non-revolutionary times), while illegal methods of struggle are revolutionary. That, however, is wrong. The truth is that those parties and leaders are opportunists and traitors to the working class that are unable or unwilling (do not say, “I can’t”; say, “I shan’t”) to use illegal methods of struggle in conditions such as those which prevailed, for example, during the imperialist war of 1914–18, when the bourgeoisie of the freest democratic countries most brazenly and brutally deceived the workers, and smothered the truth about the predatory character of the war. But revolutionaries who are incapable of combining illegal forms of struggle with *every* form of legal struggle are poor revolutionaries indeed. It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when revolution has already broken out and is in spate, when all people are joining the revolution just because they are carried away, because it is the vogue, and sometimes even from careerist motives. After its victory, the proletariat has to make most strenuous efforts, even the most painful, so as to “liberate” itself from such pseudo-revolutionaries. It is far more difficult—and far more precious—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle *do not yet exist*, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organisation) in non-revolutionary bodies, and quite often in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. To be able to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will *lead* the masses to the real, decisive and final revolutionary struggle—such is the main objective of communism in Western Europe and in America today. (Lenin, Volume 31, “Left-Wing” Communism: an Infantile Disorder; Several Conclusions)

## **Our strategy**

... is the doctrine of the orientation of the present, uninterruptedly taking place, international class struggle towards the future, essential aims of the world proletariat - from the determination of individual stage aims up to the full concentration on the final aim of

the last, decisive battle, the world revolution - which also includes the respective determination of alliances and reserves:

Where a revolution has objectively and subjectively matured and is breaking out, the imperialist chain is to be broken at the weakest link and the main forces are to be concentrated where the enemy is most vulnerable. There, a force potential has to be built up as a base that binds the forces of the enemy and gives a maximum of support to other countries in order to be able to tackle the blasting of the next weakest chain link of imperialism all the more easily. Every revolution must always go beyond the framework of the individual country in order to make possible the overcoming of imperialism in all other countries step by step and thus to enter together into the last, decisive stage of the world revolution.

Main forces of the revolution, are the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country or in some countries.

Main reserves are the semi-proletarian and small peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movements in the countries subjugated and dependent on imperialism. Direction of the main blow: Isolation of the forces that collaborate with imperialism openly or covertly.

Plan of deployment of forces: alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in the countries subjugated and dependent on imperialism.

The strategy and tactics of the Comintern (SH) are to be directed in a planned manner towards the intensification of the international class struggle, through the unification of the three main directions:

(a) practical-economic struggle against the world capitalists,

b) political and militant struggle against reaction, fascism, military interventions and imperialist wars, national liberation movements

c) theoretical and ideological struggle

Without revolutionary theory no revolutionary practice: No correct strategy and tactics can be developed at all if we do not understand that Marxism-Leninism is not something closed and untouchable, that the Comintern (SH) and its sections must jointly develop the foundation of the proletarian WORLD outlook in all directions in order to correctly build their victorious strategy and tactics on it and to steer the class struggle in the right direction. If we fail in this important task, we will fall behind the world revolution with the most sophisticated strategy and tactics. However, bringing the general foundation of the proletarian WORLD outlook up to date with the latest science is not enough. The theory of revolution must also be developed in each individual country in all directions together AND dialectically linked to the general foundation of Marxism-Leninism before each individual country can develop its own strategy and tactics to the maximum. The Comintern (SH) and its sections must be guided by proletarian internationalism in their common, dialectically linked struggle. Thus, they must link the question of the practical solution of the revolution in the countries of the sections and look at it from the point of view of the world revolution and in no way in isolation from each other. Experience shows that in this question one must proceed very carefully and cautiously, so that decisions are taken neither at the expense of the individual country nor at the expense of the common interest and one or the other side then suffers damage. Above all, under no circumstances must those countries be neglected in which no sections are yet working. The Comintern (SH) must, without exception, involve and support ALL countries in their struggle for socialist revolution, in their struggle for national liberation from world imperialism, without reservation and with all the forces at its disposal. The Comintern (SH) makes its greatest contribution to the world proletarian revolution by remaining faithful to the principles and aims of the world revolutionary proletarian movement, i.e. by being absolutely open, friendly, cordial, equal and, above all, in solidarity with each other, and by making every effort to support the workers and labourers of each country in their social and national liberation against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and to gather and unite all the revolutionary currents of the world into the mighty stream of world revolution for the overthrow of world imperialism, and which flows back and disperses again into the individual currents of the countries. The strength of the revolution in the Soviet Union and in Albania consisted in the support, the alliance of the proletarians of all countries. How enormous was the importance of the alliance of the proletarians of the Soviet Union or Albania with the proletarians of all the other countries for the construction of socialism! Socialism can only be built in alliance with the world proletariat. And when the proletarians of Lenin's and Stalin's USSR or Albania consolidated their dictatorship of the proletariat

and defended it against the opportunists and revisionists, this was a tremendous support for the proletarians of all countries, for their struggle against capitalism, for their struggle for power, the socialist states form a tremendous factor for the world revolution. This factor is absent today and has brought about the blackest and worst reaction in all capitalist countries. so the communists must spur the proletarians on to take back their dictatorships at all costs. The unity of the sections of the Comintern (SH) is not based primarily on joint declarations of intent and consultations, but these serve the purpose of joint action, joint actions on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The strategic line of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is based on a conception of proletarian internationalism that with every solidary support of the revolution in another country not only the revolution in one's own country but the world revolution, i.e. the revolution in every country of the world, is developed forward, that the international support of the most advanced revolutionary movement in the world, the international support of the world centre of the revolution, is the precondition for the revolutionary movement to develop better and better also in the last corners of the earth. The October Revolution proved that the proletariat cannot liberate itself without liberating itself together with the oppressed peoples. The October Revolution ushered in the epoch of revolutionary liberation of the oppressed peoples in alliance and under the leadership of the world proletariat by means of the proletarian international method, ushered in the era of the awakening of the proletariat and its hegemony in the oppressed countries. In view of the more than 80 years of development from the beginning of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism to the imminent end of imperialism, is it not clear that the Comintern (SH) and its sections will base themselves on the foundations of the strategy and tactics of the October Revolution and develop them further in order to bring it to a victorious end?

## **18 strategic guidelines**

### **1.**

Revolution is a question which is practically up for solution, said Enver Hoxha and Stalin showed the two opposite standpoints of two lines on the practical significance of the question on the preconditions of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries:

Stalin: "From the standpoint of practice, two lines appear before us. One line is the line of our party, which calls upon the proletarians of the individual countries to prepare



themselves for the coming revolution, to follow the course of events vigilantly and to be ready, under favourable circumstances, to break through the front of capital independently, to seize power and to shake the foundations of world capitalism.

The other line is the line of our opposition, which sows doubt as to the advisability of an independent breakthrough of the capitalist front and calls on the proletarians of the individual countries to wait for the 'big cladderadatsch'.

While the line of our party is the line of strengthening the revolutionary onslaught against its own bourgeoisie and unleashing the initiative of the proletarians of the individual countries, the line of our opposition is the line of passive waiting and fettering the initiative of the proletarians of the individual countries in their struggle against their own bourgeoisie.

The first line is the line of activating the proletarians of the individual countries.

The second line is the line of weakening the will of the proletariat to revolution, the line of passivity and waiting." (Stalin Works, German edition, Vol. 9, page 97)

The Comintern (SH) is not only the world party of the revolutionary uprising of the international proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also the world party of the revolutionary, armed reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries where it was lost, in the Soviet Union and in socialist Albania, and in the countries which still failed in the successful implementation of the socialist revolution and the establishment and building of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle against revisionism in the first attempt. The Comintern (SH) and its sections exclude from their common struggle all those groups and organisations which, in open and hidden forms, put to sleep, demoralise or weaken the proletariat and try to save bourgeois socialism instead of eliminating it; it drives the proletariat not to bow to the idols of legality, democracy, national defence, etc., which cover the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Comintern (SH) likewise cannot accept into its ranks those organisations which, while recognising the dictatorship of the proletariat in their programme, nevertheless lead a policy which counts on a peaceful solution to the historical crisis. The mere recognition of the council system does not solve any questions. The revolutionary force lies in the proletariat itself. It is absolutely necessary that it rises to revolt and conquer power; only then can the council organisation display its advantages as an incomparable weapon in the hands of the proletariat.

Lenin: "Either the international revolution comes to our aid, and then our victory is quite certain, or we do our modest revolutionary work in the consciousness that even if we are defeated we will serve the cause of the revolution and that our experience will be of

use to the other revolutions". It was clear to us that without the support of the international world revolution, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible. Even before the revolution and afterwards we thought: Either immediately, or at least very quickly, the revolution will come in the rest of the countries, in the capitalist, more developed countries, or else we must perish. Despite this consciousness, we did everything to maintain the Soviet system at all costs and under all circumstances, because we knew that we were working not for ourselves but also for the international revolution." (Lenin, Speech on the Tactics of the CPR (B) at the III Congress of the Communist International, 5.7. 1921)

For the final victory of socialism in a country, it is necessary to overcome or at least neutralise the international bourgeoisie. However, the proletarians of a country are not capable of overcoming the international bourgeoisie by their own efforts. The question of the final victory of socialism is a question of overcoming the international bourgeoisie. When the movement of the international bourgeoisie is not only on the decline but on the precipice, the final victory of socialism is possible not only in a single country but even in many and finally even in all countries. Breaking through the imperialist front all along the line could be quite conceivable, for example, already after a 3rd world war, the danger of which exists concretely today, as the (thwarted) attempt to form a socialist camp after the Soviet Union's Patriotic War proves historically. For this, of course, the subjective factors must also mature, not in a self-run, as we know, but eg. above all through the struggle for the construction of the Comintern (SH) and its sections.

## 2.

We live historically in the stage of the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but this victory march was temporarily beaten back by revisionism. The Comintern (SH) assumes, however, that at least in a single country the dictatorship of the proletariat will soon be victorious again and that precisely this will be tackled in a strategically and tactically correctly prepared manner. What is true for the ideological basis of the leading revolutionary world centre is equally true for the strategy and tactics of the first socialist country, which will herald the new period of coming socialism "in all countries". Here, in principle, the experience of the founding of the Soviet Union and the Comintern and the common strategy and tactics elaborated by them apply. Today, however, it is much easier to develop a corresponding strategy and tactics, because the Comintern (SH) can draw on the rich historical experience and prevent a renewed slide into the opportunist quagmire, into revisionist betrayal. The Comintern (SH) bases its strategy on the theory of renewed socialist revolution, on the theory of the regeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat,

which already existed.

### 3.

In the imperialist, social-imperialist or revisionist countries, the working class and its communist party are immediately faced with the strategic task of preparing and carrying out the proletarian, socialist revolution. It is the task of the Comintern (SH) to help the sections of these countries to develop and apply a common strategy and to build a solidary front against the common enemy. The Comintern (SH) analyses the revolutionary conditions of each country and can concentrate forces where the revolutionary situation is most acute or the revolution is most advanced, where a leading centre is emerging and the section operating there needs special support from the other sections. The main enemy among the imperialists, their world control centre and high command is - still - the US imperialism. For weakening, decomposing and eliminating this centre, a special strategy and tactics must be developed, which will be dovetailed with the general strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Here, as in other metropolises of imperialism, the strategy is similar to that of the other capitalist countries, but they differ from each other in detail and have a key position for the strategy of the world revolution, thus also for the development of the revolution in those countries which suffer greatly from the capitalist metropolises. Particularly in Russia and Albania, where the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strategically reconquered, special conditions are present due to the former existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and corresponding special forms of struggle must be developed. In this regard, it would be necessary for the sections concerned in Russia and Albania to unite with the Comintern (SH) and its sections and to develop and implement a common strategy and tactics. In the state capitalist, revisionist countries that call themselves "socialist", there are also special but generally similar concurring conditions that require a common strategy and tactics. If we want to smash social-imperialism, we must at the same time cut the ribbon that links it to imperialism, it is necessary above all to destroy the international links of the class of the labour aristocracy. The Chinese proletariat cannot liberate itself unless it smashes social-imperialism at home. But the Chinese proletariat cannot smash social-imperialism alone without securing the support of the world proletariat. This support consists, among other things, in helping the Chinese proletariat to overcome the revisionist influence of Maoism, precisely as the ruling ideology of Chinese social imperialism. The crushing of Maoist influence has today become a task of the international proletariat and the victory over Maoism will not only be a great deed of proletarian internationalism towards the Chinese proletariat, but also a

triumph of Enver Hoxha's teachings, a victory of Marxism-Leninism over the international influence of revisionism, a sharp weapon in the struggle against social imperialism.

#### 4.

A strategic intermediate stage is necessary in the other countries, where the conditions for the immediate establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism as the strategic goal of the working class are still lacking. Due to the globalisation of world imperialism, these countries are nowhere near as far from their development as they were in Lenin's time - when imperialism first developed as the highest stage of capitalism. This means strategically 1. that some of these countries are now quite capable of going directly to socialist revolution and the proletariat has developed strongly there and 2. that the remaining countries will fulfil the necessary conditions more quickly - than they did in the times of the Comintern - to head for socialism from the intermediate stage. Thus, the creation of a new socialist camp including these countries will be objectively easier, faster and more effective in the future, dynamising the triumphal march of the world revolution.

Among the factors that make a strategic intermediate stage inevitable are: A prevalence of pre-capitalist modes of production while the capitalist sector is still weakly developed; a class structure of society in which the still weak proletariat and the still weak bourgeoisie do not confront each other as main classes, but which is characterised above all by the contradiction of the broad masses of agricultural workers, tenants, poor and middle peasants to the class of feudal landowners and nobility, this feudal reaction often being allied with imperialism; the dependence of the country on imperialism, which can be so strong that a colonial or neo-colonial status of the country can be assumed. neo-colonial status of the country; the fact that forces such as the national bourgeoisie still exert the decisive influence on the broad masses, who are more or less consistent for the liberation of their country from imperialism or feudal backwardness, but do not accept and fight the step towards socialism.

There are conditions of revolution - e.g. the fascist occupation of Albania - where the internal social contradictions are temporarily eclipsed by the people's contradictions to the bloody foreign rule, where the Albanian people had to fight against the occupiers and their quislings for their freedom, independence, sovereignty and self-determination. It is the creative application of the permanent revolution from the stage of the anti-fascist national liberation struggle and its transformation into a people's revolution, the transition from the

democratic and anti-imperialist revolution to the socialist revolution. At that time, Enver Hoxha opposed the wrong views according to which not the National Liberation Struggle would be organised, but directly the socialist revolution, after the Albanian proletariat would find capitalist conditions brought about by fascism. The Albanian communists, however, developed a general line of people's democracy in liberated Albania. The party, which faithfully adhered to the line of the National Liberation Struggle until the end, knew how to expand its social content more and more, whereby the struggle gradually took on the character of a people's revolution, which prepared the ground for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately after liberation. It should be noted that the bourgeoisie in Albania was very weak, there was not even a bourgeois party at that time, whereas today in Albania a new bourgeoisie of the restoration of capitalism has emerged with the support of imperialism, whose dictatorship can only be removed again through the armed, socialist revolution. However, these conditions of today's Albania are not transferable to the conditions of Kosova, although the Albanian bourgeoisie plays an active counter-revolutionary role there and the mutually dependent events are fluid and cannot be separated from each other. This makes it necessary that, on the basis of Enver Hoxha's teachings, the leaning on one's own forces and the revolution in one's own country ( support of the UCK), the establishment of one's own democratic state (e.g. the international recognition of the independent Republic of Kosova), also common forms of liberation and fraternal cooperation of all Albanians emerge at the same time - i.e. the unification of the revolutionary Albanian bourgeoisie. i.e. the unification of the revolutionary Albanian forces inside and outside Albania, a general line of the Albanian proletariat inside and outside Albania and its alliance with the peasants and other labourers against the Albanian bourgeoisie and the neighbouring bourgeoisies and their imperialist and social-imperialist allies. This revolutionary Albanian united front has already become reality, is growing and strengthening and is also developing its internationalist character, its international revolutionary support, of which the slogan of the Comintern (SH) is also a part: "Red interbrigades to Kosova!" This is a driving force, encouragement and help for all other peoples who are struggling under similar conditions. In the struggle against both the opportunist views of the clerical elements, who want to postpone the people's revolution to never-ending day, and the "Trotskyist-extremist" forms of the other elements, the line of the liberation struggle must serve to mobilise and organise the whole people, in order to lay the foundations of a new Kosova in the fire of the struggle for freedom, unity and independence, to organise the general armed insurrection and to create the national liberation army, to correctly link the struggle for national freedom, unity and independence

with the struggle for social liberation from every kind of exploitation and oppression. Only by applying this Marxist-Leninist line is the final national liberation, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the gradual transformation into a socialist country and the successful leapfrogging of the stage of developed capitalism possible.

## 5.

The Comintern (SH) must fight with the sections to win the leadership in the national, democratic and anti-imperialist liberation revolution in order to lead this revolution in such a way that it turns into the socialist revolution as soon as possible. If the liberation movement is directed against social-fascist states, then it is particularly important that the liberation movement does not fight socialism, but capitalism, which has put on a socialist garment to deceive the fighters of the liberation movement and kill them in the name of "socialism". It is also strategically necessary for the Comintern (SH) to prevent international revisionism from rushing to the aid of the social-fascist state to crush the liberation revolution with or without the direct help of world imperialism. The Comintern (SH) assumes that sooner or later the social-fascist countries will openly switch to the camp of world imperialism if the liberation movements do not prevent this and do not or cannot use the historical hour for the socialist revolution. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) must support the patriotic, anti-imperialist, anti-social imperialist and national liberation struggles even in those cases when they are not yet under the leadership of the proletariat and its party and therefore a very rapid transition to socialist revolution is not yet in sight. Lenin:

"Imperialism is the epoch of progressive oppression of the nations of the whole world by a handful of 'great' powers. And that is why the struggle for international, socialist revolution against imperialism is impossible without the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, without the unification of the struggle of the proletarians in the oppressing countries with the national liberation struggle in the oppressed countries. A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself (Marx, Engels). A proletariat that resigns itself to even the slightest act of 'violence' by 'its' nation against other nations cannot be socialist" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 318, German edition).

## 6.

Imperialism and social imperialism have completely and definitively transformed into a globally interlinked system of financial, economic, political and military enslavement, of

neo-colonialist oppression of the whole world, whereby the revolutionary struggle to break the chains of this globally organised enslaving system has necessarily assumed an internationalist character. The movement of the revolutionary classes and the national liberation struggles of the different peoples unfold successfully when they unite into a single stream, into an anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist united front.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has underlined "that in the present situation and in the future there exist or will exist a number of weak links in the chain of world capitalism, where the revolutionaries and the peoples must lead an uninterrupted activity, an organised, courageous and indomitable struggle to break these links one by one." (Imperialism and Revolution, German edition; page 79).

## 7.

In the interest of the unfolding of the proletarian revolution and the liberation of the peoples from imperialism, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must support the liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent ruined nations.

Lenin:

"The history of revolution in more than a hundred years has shown us that when it comes to its class profit, the bourgeoisie sells out its homeland and engages in haggling deals with any foreign power against its own people. This is the law of class interests, of the class policy of the bourgeoisie at all times and in all countries" (Lenin, Vol. 28, page 11, German edition).

The bourgeoisie receives the strength of its rule in every country through the support of the world bourgeoisie. In whatever country, the bourgeoisie can no longer be sure of its rule anywhere without the support of the world bourgeoisie. This explains our strategy to weaken and cut this bond of support from both sides!

Therefore, we must achieve to establish a worldwide united front between the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary liberation movement in the oppressed countries, ideologically, politically, organisationally, materially and above all militarily. For this, it is imperative to build a mass movement in solidarity, to rely on the masses, otherwise this will remain a sectarian act doomed to failure. Without the participation of the masses, every armed struggle ends in defeat in the long run and is not revolutionary. Only when the masses take up arms can socialism be achieved. To let the armed struggle pass away

under favourable conditions is the sin of the right deviation from the teachings of armed insurrection. To call for an insurrection without taking into account the objective and subjective factors is "leftism", adventurism, putschism.

## 8.

For the Comintern (SH) and its sections, the Marxist-Leninist theory of violent proletarian revolution is indispensable as a universal law for the transition from capitalism to socialism, but armed warfare is also indispensable in the national liberation struggle. It has to be applied correctly to the international conditions in general and to the concrete conditions in the individual countries, and in a dialectical way. The tendency is the increasing international character of the armed struggle, which must lead to strategic consequences, both in theoretical and practical terms. This alone dictates the necessity to confront the increasingly international counterrevolution in a correspondingly internationally organised way and to transform the military interventions of world imperialism into an armed civil war for social and national liberation.

Lenin:

"An oppressed class which does not aspire to gain knowledge of arms, to be trained in arms, to possess arms, such an oppressed class is only worthy of being oppressed, mistreated and treated as a slave" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 75, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution").

Stalin referred to Leninism as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution not only on a national scale, but also as the world proletarian revolution that began with the October Revolution. The restoration of capitalism in the revisionist countries does not abolish the law of violent proletarian revolution. The experience of world history shows that the anti-socialist counter-revolution may prolong the life of the old exploiting system, but in the end it only accelerates the advance of the world revolution. It is therefore the task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections to call upon the proletarians and labourers of all countries, the peoples, to rise up revolutionarily for the new world, for their world, for the socialist world. The unified development process of the world revolution requires a global strategy. This is not in contradiction with the situation in the individual countries. On the contrary, it opens new horizons for the revolutionary movements on a national scale, orientates them internationally, makes them grow into a strong unification of a world united front, which brings them closer to victory.



The world proletariat and the Comintern (SH) with its sections cannot win their soon, future world power, let alone secure world socialism, without the violent destruction of bourgeois world power, without the smashing of the bourgeois state machinery not only in the individual countries, but precisely also the international state machinery of world imperialism and without its replacement by new organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the individual countries and organs of world proletarian power, which are above all tools for the suppression of the exploiters and oppressors throughout the world.

The world revolutionary process is increasingly taking place as a unified overall process. This means that the revolutionary movement in each individual country must never be seen separately and in isolation from each other. This realisation is of extremely important and decisive significance today for the world revolutionary strategy of the Comintern (SH) and its sections. If the enemy appears internationally - and it does so more and more intensively - then it must also ultimately be defeated internationally by the proletarians of all countries. The struggle of the proletarians, which began on a national scale against the bourgeoisie, therefore inevitably expands into the common struggle of all proletarians against international capital, because all feel the international character of the rule of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, those who today want to lead the working class to national and social liberation, no longer stand up in the first place against domestic capital, but in the first place against foreign, international capital. Since there is no country in the world today where this is different, the struggle against this international capital must also be waged by the proletarians of all countries with international means of struggle, the proletarians of all countries appear as a united class of the world proletariat. the Comintern (SH) receives a correspondingly defined task of strategy and tactics in order to take this circumstance into account. The revolution in each country has become a much more important component of the world proletarian revolutionary movement at the end of the epoch of imperialism than it was in the initial period of imperialism, that is, in Lenin's time. As links of a single, unified chain of the world revolutionary process, the revolutionary movements of different characters and types have their roots and causes in the maximum aggravation of all contradictions decomposing the rotten imperialist-revisionist system today and in the all-round existential crisis of this system. The imbalance of the economic and political development of the individual capitalist countries has made the whole world imperialist system much more unstable and weakened, and has already decomposed it to the maximum extent. As a result, the world proletariat is playing an increasingly important role in the world revolutionary process. Although the degree of social, economic and political development of the countries involved in the world revolutionary process is becoming more

and more different, and although, as a result, the character and the tasks that the revolution and the national liberation movement have to solve are also different in individual regions and countries of the world, it is nevertheless the common enemy who, through his international, counter-revolutionary appearance, also unites the revolutionary forces internationally into one. Only when the solidarity of the workers of all countries is placed on a unified, Marxist-Leninist basis, when the revolutionary upheaval in the world proceeds in solidarity, can the ultimate goal of world revolution be achieved. This is what the Paris Commune teaches, this is what the October Revolution teaches.

Stalin wrote: " When the international revolution will start moving is difficult to say, but when it starts moving this will be of decisive importance." (Stalin Works, German edition, vol. 7, page 19)

An important prerequisite for it to get moving at all is to also give this movement a general staff to lead and guide the individual organisations of this movement, the building of the Comintern (SH) and its sections must be pushed forward.

In order to lead the world revolution to victory, a common front of the revolutionary movement must be formed in all countries, because the individual national fronts of capital are connected by a common chain of world imperialism. Therefore, the proletarian revolution must be seen first of all as the result of the outbreak of contradictions within the system of world imperialism, as the result of breaking the chain of the world imperialist front in this or that country. The victory of socialism in one country is the precondition for the victory of revolution in other countries. The strategy and tactics of the proletarians of Europe, for example, are derived from this. Their struggle is no longer directed solely against imperialism in their own country, but at the same time against European imperialism, because just as the bourgeoisie of the individual European countries is fighting for individual domination in Europe, at the same time they are all fighting together for domination in the world. In this struggle, there is neither pacting with European imperialism against another imperialism - for example, US imperialism - nor pacting with one against the other European imperialism. If European capital stands up against the European proletariat, the proletarians of all European countries must not only act in a united front, but must fuse into a European proletarian class, because today it is difficult for the proletariat of a European country to deal with its own bourgeoisie on its own without having dealt with the European bourgeoisie in fusion with the European proletariat.

Proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism are the two irreconcilable and opposing world views of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the solution of the national question. Nationalism is foreign to the proletarian ideology. It sows discord in the ranks of the toilers of the different countries. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand, starts from the international interests of the individual sections of the working class. In this respect, proletarian internationalism points the way to rapprochement, unification and solidarity, to the mutual assistance of the working class and the labouring masses, finally to the overcoming of class differences, up to the fusion in a classless world community of mankind, up to the withering away of the socialist nations on the basis of the complete elimination of the bourgeois nations on a world scale - not the elimination of the national, but of the bourgeois. However, proletarian internationalism does not deny national differences, it does not exclude national characteristics, it therefore opposes all national nihilism and cosmopolitanism which denies the existence of national characteristics and ignores national differences. A world outlook - but - , which ignores national forms and conditions, detaches itself from the real conditions of the respective nation, hurts national feelings and stimulates nationalist attitudes. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) and its sections equally oppose both nationalism and national nihilism. The national forms of the proletarian class struggle and the workers' movement of the individual countries do not contradict proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the international interests of the proletariat can be successfully defended. Klara Zetkin formulated "that proletarian internationalism is the highest, classical form of expression of conscious proletarian nationalism" (Klara Zetkin, Vol. II, page 661, German edition). The revisionists were fond of using this quotation to justify their national Marxism, to put it in the light of proletarian internationalism. Lenin warned against making a fetish out of nationalism. He rightly used the term nationalism - mainly in connection with the bourgeoisie, but nowhere did he speak of "proletarian nationalism" even in the necessary struggle of the proletariat against national nihilism. We always emphasise the class of the proletariat as essentially international and NOT national, and therefore place the unification and fusion of the workers of all nations into internationally united proletarian organisations in the foreground, as well as their international tasks and aims. For this reason we will warn the workers against such nationalist slogans, especially if they are given a "proletarian" value seal (and look like Kautsky's handwriting). Likewise, we reject so-called "national Bolshevism", which is fascist in character and opposed to the international nature of Bolshevism as an enemy. As far as National Socialism is concerned, one must not underestimate its rebirth in a polished form or even dismiss it as

historically settled. In determining the strategy for the solution of the national question on a world scale, the Comintern (SH) and its sections proceed from the principle that the national question is a part of the general question of the development of the revolution, that the national question has different tasks at different stages of the revolution, corresponding to the character of the revolution at any given historical moment, and that accordingly the strategy of the Comintern (SH) and its sections on the national question also changes because it must adapt to the changing conditions. The October Revolution, which emerged from the 1st World Imperialist War, merged the solution of the national and colonial question with the question of the world socialist revolution. The national and neo-colonial question can only be solved through the international class question, through the revolutionary international liberation struggle, through socialism, ultimately only through world revolution. For this purpose, the Comintern (SH) and its sections create and strengthen the necessary, friendly and revolutionary links between all workers and labourers of the highly industrialised capitalist countries and all workers and labourers of the countries of colonialism and neo-colonialism, in order to defeat world imperialism through joint efforts. The proletarians and labourers of all countries make their common, solidary contribution for the mutual help of liberation through the world revolution. First of all, it is urgent that the proletarians and labourers in the colonial and neo-colonial countries are helped in their liberation from imperialism and social-imperialism and the counter-revolutionary influence of the imperialist and social-imperialist labour aristocracy is reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, at the same time, the influence of the imperialists' lackeys in their hinterland, the reactionary classes in the colonial and neo-colonial countries, must be pulled out from under their feet. The weakening of the imperialist hinterland and the liberation from the quislings strengthens the proletarians and labourers there in their struggle for independence and in their struggle for the right of self-determination, makes it easier for them to achieve the goal of standing up to their own bourgeoisie and asserting themselves, brings them one step closer to socialism, and ultimately also helps the proletarian revolution in the metropolises of imperialism and social imperialism. The support of the national liberation movements is even a precondition for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the metropolises and an indicator of the internationalist consciousness of the workers and labourers from the oppressive countries. To the extent that world imperialism fights the liberation movements with the help of international military interventions, to the extent ( and at least to the extent!) it must also succeed that the world proletariat and especially the proletarians in the metropolises, with international help, systematically, organised and armed, take action against these

interventions, stop the connections of the military supplies of the imperialists and social imperialists, sabotage them, etc. How else will the proletarians and labourers of the oppressed countries manage to stand up to an overpowering opponent in the long run, if not through the support of its allies all over the world? The peoples of the world cannot be free as long as any people are still oppressed and exploited. The Communist International is fighting for the human right of all the peoples of the world. Thus, the Comintern (SH) and its sections take the stand that the overthrow of the power of capital and the organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the expulsion of the imperialist and social-imperialist troops from the neo-colonial and dependent countries and the securing for these countries of the right to break away and form their own national states, the overcoming of national enmity and nationalism and racism and xenophobia, as well as the strengthening of international links between peoples, the organisation of a single socialist national economy and the establishment of fraternal cooperation between peoples on this basis - that this is the best solution to the national and neo-colonial question for the perspective of world socialism:

### **Comintern-Program**

"From the standpoint of the world struggle of the proletariat, the most important strategic tasks of the Communist International are the tasks of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. This struggle presupposes the rallying of the broadest masses of the working class and peasantry of the colonies under the banner of revolution, which can only be achieved through the closest fraternal collaboration of the proletariat of the oppressing nations with the labouring masses of the oppressed peoples. By organising the revolution against imperialism under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship in the countries of the so-called 'civilised' powers, the Communist International at the same time supports every movement against imperialist rape in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries (e.g., in Latin America); it supports every movement against imperialist rape in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries (e.g., in Latin America). For example, in Latin America); it develops a lively propaganda against every kind of chauvinism and imperialist mistreatment of the large and small enslaved peoples and races (position on the blacks, the Asian workers, anti-Semitism, etc.) and supports their struggle against the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nation...

In the imperialist countries, the communist parties must systematically help the revolutionary freedom movements of the colonies and the movements of the oppressed peoples in general. In the first place, the most active help is the duty of the workers of that

country on which the oppressed nation depends financially, economically and politically. The Communist Parties must openly recognise the right of the colonies to secede and propagandise for this, i.e. propagandise for the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state. They must recognise the right of the colonies to armed defence against imperialism (i.e., insurrection and revolutionary war), propagate this defence and actively support it with all available means. The Communist Parties must pursue the same policy towards all oppressed peoples.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries themselves, the Communist Parties must wage a bold and consistent struggle against foreign imperialism, constantly promoting the idea of rapprochement and alliance with the proletariat of the imperialist countries; they must openly raise, propagate and put into practice the slogan of agrarian revolution, thus calling upon the broad masses of the peasantry to throw off the feudal yoke; they must declare war on the reactionary medieval influence of the clergy, the mission, etc. declare war. The main danger here is the independent organisation of the workers and peasants (in the communist class party of the proletariat, the trade unions, peasant unions, peasant committees and, in the case of revolutionary situations, in the councils) and their liberation from the influence of the national bourgeoisie. Temporary agreements with the national bourgeoisie are permissible only in so far as the latter does not hinder the revolutionary union of the workers and peasants and genuinely fights imperialism" (Programme of the Communist International, Section VI, Chap. 2.).

On the internationalist education of the world proletariat Lenin teaches the following:

a) "The main emphasis of the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressive countries must necessarily be that they propagate and champion the freedom of separation of the oppressed countries. Without this there is no internationalism. We have the right and the duty to treat as imperialists and scoundrels every social democrat of an oppressive nation who does not carry out such propaganda. This is an unconditional demand, even if the case of secession before the establishment of socialism were possible and 'feasible' only in one case out of a thousand.

The question of national liberation movements is strategically decided by linking it to the strategy of revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist countries within the overall strategy of smashing world imperialism through world revolution.

"The era of undisturbed exploitation of the colonies and dependent countries is over. The era of national liberation movements in the colonies has dawned, the era of the

awakening of the proletariat of these countries, the era of its hegemony.... The proletariat cannot liberate itself without liberating the peoples oppressed by imperialism. United front of the proletarian revolutions in the mother countries and the colonial revolutions in the dependent countries" (Stalin, Vol. 10, page 147, "The International Character of the October Revolution", German edition).

The victory of the revolution presupposes the existence of a revolutionary situation.

Lenin's scientific definition of the revolutionary situation is characterised by three basic features:

"1. it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule unchanged; one or another crisis of the 'upper strata', a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, which gives rise to a rift through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes break out. For revolution to occur, it is usually not enough that the 'lower classes' 'do not want to live' in the old way, it is still necessary that the 'upper classes' 'cannot live' in the old way.

2. the distress and misery of the oppressed classes are aggravated beyond the ordinary degree.

3. as a result of the above-mentioned causes, the activity of the masses increases considerably; in the 'peaceful' epoch they allow themselves to be plundered quietly, but in stormy times they are pushed to independent historical action both by the whole crisis situation and by the 'upper strata' themselves" (Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International, in: Vol. 21, page 231, German edition).

We are obliged to educate the workers to be 'indifferent' to national differences. This is undeniable. But not to the indifference of annexationists. The member of an oppressive nation must be 'indifferent' whether the small nations belong to his state or to the neighbouring state or to himself, according to their sympathies: without this 'indifference' he is not a social democrat. To be an internationalist social democrat, one must not think only of one's own nation, but must place higher than it the interests of all nations, their general freedom and equality. In 'theory' everyone agrees with this, but in practice one shows precisely an annexationist indifference. This is the root of the evil.

b) Conversely, the social democrat of a small nation must place the emphasis of his

agitation on the second word of our general formula: 'voluntary union' of nations. He can, without violating his duties as an internationalist, be in favour of both the political independence of his nation and its annexation to the neighbouring state of X, Y, Z, and so on. In all cases, however, he must fight against small-national narrowness, seclusion and isolation, for the consideration of the whole and general, for the subordination of the interests of the part to the interests of the whole.

People who have not thought their way into this question find it 'contradictory' when the social democrats of the oppressing nations insist on the 'freedom of separation', while the social democrats of the oppressed nations insist on the 'freedom of union'. A little reflection, however, shows that there is not and cannot be any other road to internationalism and the fusion of nations, any other road from the given situation to this goal." (Lenin, Vol. 22, pp. 354-355, German edition).

"When, on the one hand, the economic situation of the masses has become unbearable and, on the other hand, decay has begun and is progressing even among the small minorities of the almighty victors (...), then we see clearly that the two conditions for the world revolution are ripening" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 213, German edition).

" The decisive battle - says Lenin - can be regarded as fully ripe when " all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently confused, have sufficiently feuded with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves by the struggle which exceeds their forces", when "all the wavering, uncertain, unstable intermediate groups, i.e. the petty bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois democracy as distinct from the bourgeoisie, have sufficiently exposed themselves before the people, have been sufficiently exposed by their bankruptcy in practice", when "in the proletariat the mood of the masses in favour of supporting the most decisive, boundlessly bold revolutionary actions against the bourgeoisie has begun and is rising ever more powerfully. If this is the case, then the time is ripe for revolution, then our victory - if we have correctly assessed all the above-mentioned... conditions mentioned above and have chosen the moment correctly - then victory is assured" (Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. XXV, p. 283, Russian edition).

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must fight all idealist and subjectivist views on this question and "left adventurism" at the international and national level. But the Marxist-Leninists must also reject unjustified accusations of "sectarianism" directed against them



by the neo-sectarians, who hide the denial of revolutionary situations behind their so-called "struggle against sectarianism" and thus objectively carry on the business of imperialist counterrevolution. This is especially necessary when these neo-sectarians overestimate imperialism on the one hand and underestimate the revolutionary situation on the other, and consequently impute allegedly "pro-imperialist" character to an actually revolutionary movement.

Despite the revolutionary situation, the revolution never comes by itself. One must first prepare and fight for the victory of the revolution, as Stalin says: "But it can only be prepared and conquered by a strong proletarian revolutionary party. There are moments when the situation is revolutionary, the power of the bourgeoisie is shaken to the core, but still the victory of the revolution does not come because there is no revolutionary party of the proletariat with sufficient strength and authority to lead the masses and take power into its hands." (Stalin, Report to the 17th Party Congress of the CPSU, 1934)

This is the situation today and that is why we have to ensure as soon as possible that revolutionary parties exist which can develop sufficient strength and authority through the building of the Comintern (SH).

For a long time now, from the period of storm in the workers' movement, a period of gathering of forces has come, a period of reforming and training the proletarian army again under the banner of communism by overcoming revisionism. The work of preparing the revolution must be started in a new way. The successes of the globalisation of capitalism cannot last. As the world-wide social contradictions are growing, this globalisation inevitably results in the growth of those forces which weaken and decompose capitalism, it is necessary to form and unite these forces under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. There can be no doubt that in time the tendencies which are negative for capitalism and favourable for revolution must inevitably emerge; for imperialism is incapable of resolving the contradictions which are eating away at it, for it is less and less capable of temporarily alleviating them, so that they nevertheless emerge again and unfold with new, more violent, destructive force.

Whereas in the very first revolutions the proletariat helped the bourgeoisie to develop its rule, i.e. at a time when the division of the world had not yet ended, the first imperialist war redistributed the already divided world. The effects of the imbalance of capitalist development in the various countries brought about the October Revolution in this form.

A much worse fate befell the imperialists when communism marched into Berlin and ended the Second World War, which was a huge difference from the peace of Brest-Litovsk. How much will it cost world imperialism if it now inevitably has to start the next imperialist war? It will break its neck and then this will be its last imperialist war. The October Revolution emerged from the 1st World War, the Albanian People's Revolution emerged from the 2nd World War, what will emerge from the 3rd World War we cannot say for sure, but it will in any case accelerate the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because already our preparations to fight against the danger of war can help us to achieve a revolutionary situation, which we must use in any case, if only to finally put a stop to the world slaughter - and we can and must combine this with revolution. This is how we must look at things in the Balkans today, through which the revolution has been brought back to Europe. The landlord will not leave in the Balkans without having paid his bill!

## 11.

As history has shown, socialism can triumph in one country, but it can triumph definitively only on the basis of the victory of the socialist revolution in at least some countries and guaranteed only on a world scale. If the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country means the possibility of overcoming the internal antagonisms which a country is quite capable of overcoming, the possibility of overcoming the external antagonisms, the antagonisms between the country of socialism and the countries of capitalism - antagonisms which can only be overcome by the forces of the proletarian revolution in some countries.

## 12.

The revolution can proceed in very different ways:

for example, as a continuous process through the unfolding of mass actions, strikes, general strikes, uniting with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie and its foreign support, and either leading to victory in a short period of time or turning into a prolonged civil war;

it can begin with a partisan struggle, guerrilla warfare in the countryside and in the cities against the bourgeois state power, develop into larger struggles and lead to a general armed insurrection to overthrow the bourgeoisie;

it can develop from an imperialist, unjust war, which the proletariat answers with the just, the revolutionary war. For these and other possibilities of the outbreak and course of the revolution, the sections must prepare themselves together with the Comintern (SH). One must not exclude or reject one or the other possibility of the outbreak and course of the revolution from the beginning or stiffen it to one single possibility, because such an attitude can lead the sections and their Comintern (SH) not to use every possibility for the revolutionary struggle.

### 13.

For the victory of the socialist revolution it is necessary that the Comintern (SH) and its sections in the highly industrialised countries represent the majority of the working class, that they enjoy the confidence of the majority of the working class and that revisionism in all its varieties is reduced to a minimum, to a small minority, that the bourgeois influence of the labour aristocracy in its alliance with the radicalised petty bourgeoisie on the working masses is reduced to a minimum. Without a solution to this task, the victory of the proletarian revolution, the successful establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is unthinkable in the highly industrialised capitalist countries. For the workers to be victorious, they must be animated by a will, they must be led by a party, a party which has the undisputed confidence of the majority of the working class and the unconditional support of the world proletariat and its Comintern (SH).

### 14.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must work on the basis of a class analysis of international and national class society also among the non-proletarian classes and strata which are in contradiction with the forces of imperialism and reaction and win at least temporarily and temporarily common interests with the proletariat, lead them to struggle alongside and under the leadership of the proletariat and their party, under the leadership of the whole world proletariat and its Comintern (SH).

### 15.

In the countries where the proletariat is still weakly developed and represents a small minority, where an intermediate strategic stage of a democratic, national and anti-imperialist character is on the agenda, the mobilisation of the agricultural worker, tenant farmer, poor and middle peasant against imperialism and internal reaction assumes the

greatest strategic importance, whereby the sections must realise the leading role of the working class vis-à-vis the petty-bourgeois masses and join the international strategic front of the Comintern (SH).

## 16.

The sections must adapt the revolutionary strategy of the Comintern (SH) to the peculiarities of each country, so that it can work in the individual countries, whereby the revolutionary strategy of the Comintern (SH) must not be understood as an arithmetical sum of the strategies of all countries, but as a strategy for mobilising the entire international potential of forces at the qualitatively highest level. Great power chauvinist as well as local chauvinist and any nationalist tendencies - whether disguised or open - are alien to the world proletariat, and contradict the strategy of the Comintern (SH) and its sections and are incompatible with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

## 17.

The Comintern (SH) must identify and name the basic contradiction and the main contradictions in the world:

The basic contradiction between social production (mode) and (state/private) capitalist appropriation is not only the basic contradiction within the capitalist countries, including the countries of bourgeois socialism and state capitalism, but at the same time also the basic contradiction of world imperialism as the ruling world order. This basic contradiction has aggravated all the essential contradictions of our epoch.

The contradictions between capitalism and socialism were temporarily dissolved by the restoration of capitalism, but will already emerge again with the victory of a first socialist revolution in the stage of socialism on a world scale and experience a new international quality. In a certain sense, therefore, if one recognises the process of development of socialism as a continuous line and assumes a temporary interruption, then we can and must certainly assume a special form of persistence of this contradiction, because the contradiction cannot be extinguished, it continues to work, plays a special role for the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, cannot be equated with the situation before the October Revolution.

The main contradiction between capital and labour, between the world proletariat and

the world bourgeoisie, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the individual countries;

the main contradiction between the imperialist countries and the countries subjugated by them;

the main contradiction between the imperialist countries, between the hostile "great power blocs" or superpowers; the main contradiction between national and international capital.

## 18.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must draw up an analysis of the classes in the world and derive from this the question of the alliance of the world proletariat, and likewise the question of the alliance in each individual country. The direct alliance reserves of the world revolution are

- the oppressed peoples ( more precisely the workers and labouring masses) and their liberation movements in the oppressed countries, especially in neighbouring countries

- the (small) peasants ( excluding the agrarian capitalists, big landowners, big farmers and the upper strata of the middle peasants) - and other labourers such as the rural proletariat.

Without an alliance with the peasants, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be victoriously established, neither in a single country nor on a world scale. The decisions of the 2nd World Congress of the III: Comintern of 4.8.1920 on the agrarian question are still decisive. The general tactics of the Comintern (SH) and its sections are based on the world-wide alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class. The Comintern's decisions on the colonial and national question also apply the policy of alliance accordingly.

As far as the hostile classes are concerned, it is necessary to emphasise here in all clarity the present-day change from the social-imperialist to the open imperialist character of the labour aristocracy, especially since this class, which has grown out of the working class and into the bourgeoisie, historically represented the first stage of socialism 'in one country' , decomposed and violently ended the dictatorship of the proletariat from within, criminally prolonged the stage of imperialism through social imperialism and social fascism

and now itself occupies the key positions of the bourgeoisie and unleashes imperialist wars. The labour aristocracy is not only the most parasitic, degenerate and brutal layer of the bourgeoisie, but it is also the driving force of counterrevolution on a world scale. Formerly the pioneer of fascism, it became the pacemaker of social fascism and now it is in the process of becoming the pacemaker of world fascism. If at the beginning it undermined and inhibited the revolutionary force of the proletariat in order to direct it into channels harmless to the rule of the bourgeoisie, today it is doing exactly the opposite: on the other side of the barricades it is indirectly directing the proletariat against imperialism, undermining and accelerating the whole world imperialist system, as is proved by the rapid disintegration of social imperialism. The labour aristocracy has thus essentially provided for its own international gravedigger, the world proletariat. It has inhibited the world revolution in order to accelerate it all the more now. The labour aristocracy was once bred by the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the labour movement through privileges and corruption, first in the factory, then on a national and then on an international scale, by renouncing the class struggle, by betraying its class brothers. The organising factor for "social peace" has now become the fighting staff of imperialism in the social war against the working class and against the labouring masses throughout the world. The labour aristocracy is a product of the division of the working class, split off and fully integrated into the bourgeoisie. It is therefore the task of the proletariat to completely smash the power of the labour aristocracy, not only in one factory, in the trade union, in some branch of industry, but politically on the national level and finally on the international level. Without having thoroughly carried out this task, the victory of the world revolution cannot be thought of at all:

Lenin:

"The current (of reformism) is strong precisely because of its connection with the bourgeoisie; thanks to the objective conditions of the 'peaceful' epoch from 1871 to 1914, it has become a kind of commanding parasitic layer in the workers' movement. There it is absolutely necessary not only to 'rebuke' , but to sound the alarm, to expose this parasitic layer ruthlessly, to overthrow it, to 'relieve it of its posts' , to smash its 'unity' with the workers' movement, because such 'unity' in reality means unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie (today even with the international[!] bourgeoisie - editor's note) and division of the international proletariat, unity of the lackeys and division of the revolutionaries.... They (the labour aristocrats) will die neither physically nor politically, but the workers will break with them, push them into the abyss where the lackeys of the bourgeoisie belong, and by the example of their rottenness raise a new race, more

correctly, new armies of the proletariat capable of insurrection" (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 359-360, German edition).

It is different with the lowest strata of the labour aristocracy, with the reserves of the labour aristocracy in the working class. If the intermediate strata are crushed in the polarisation of the struggle between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, sooner or later sections will migrate to the camp of the proletariat, this also concerns the diplomatic lackeys of imperialism, the diplomatic lackeys of the labour aristocracy:

"Revolutionary war differs from other wars in that it draws its main reserve from the camp of yesterday's allies of its enemy" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 436, The First Victory of the Revolution, German edition). (Reserves of men and materials which we procure from the enemy!).

"Our strength lies in the complete clarity and sobriety of the assessment of all existing class magnitudes, both Russian and international, and then in the iron energy, firmness, determination and devotion in the struggle resulting from this. Enemies we have many, but they are disunited, or they do not know what they want (like all the petty bourgeois, the Martovs and Chernovs, all the non-partisans, all the anarchists). But we are united, directly among ourselves and indirectly with the proletarians of all countries; we know what we want. And therefore we are invincible on a world scale, even if the possibility of the defeat of individual proletarian revolutions for a shorter or longer period is by no means excluded" (Lenin, Vol. 32, page 376, "On the Natural Tax", German edition).

By what are the defeats and victories of revolutions to be explained? By the politics of parties or by the relationship of class forces? The strategy and tactics of the world revolution are geared to international class relations, not the other way round. "What shall we call people who disregard the relation of class forces during the revolution and try to explain everything and anything merely by the tactics of this or that party? Of such people one can say only one thing - that they have broken with Marxism" (Stalin vol. 10, page 31, German edition).

**The strategy and tactics of the world revolution in general consisted and consists in the whole period of world imperialism in the combination of the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution of the proletariat in the metropolises of world**

**imperialism with the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary liberation movements in the countries subjugated by the metropolises of world imperialism, as well as the new strategy and tactics of the neo-socialist revolution, the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. The strategy and tactics of the globalisation of world imperialism is opposed to the strategy and tactics of the globalisation of the proletarian class struggle, the concentration of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat of a first country and the extension of this struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world.**

## **18 tactical guidelines**

### **a) tactics as a Bolshevik method**

#### **1.**

The most important task of the tactics of the Comintern (SH) is the determination of the ways and means, the forms and methods of the international class struggle, which best correspond to the concrete world situation at the given moment and prepare the strategic success in the most certain way. Therefore, tactical actions and their results must not be evaluated in isolation, not from the standpoint of immediate effect, but from the standpoint of the tasks and possibilities of strategy. Tactics serve strategy and are generally subordinate to it (as is also the case with propaganda and agitation). The tactics of the individual countries are independent tactics which are integrated into international tactics and are subordinate to it. In each country, the tactics are different. It can be similar and also interlinked, but it is never the same, precisely because each country is different:

"In determining its tactical line, every communist party must take into account the given internal and external situation, the relation of class forces, the degree of firmness and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of readiness of the proletariat to fight, the attitude of the middle classes, etc. In accordance with these conditions, the party determines its slogans and methods of struggle, proceeding from the necessity of mobilising and organising the broadest possible masses at the highest possible stage of this struggle. When a revolutionary situation matures, the party sets up a series of transitional slogans



and raises partial demands according to the given conditions, which it must subordinate to its main revolutionary aim, the conquest of power and the overthrow of the bourgeois-capitalist social order. To neglect the daily demands and daily struggles of the working class is just as inadmissible as limiting the party's activity to these alone. The task of the Party is to lead the working class into the revolutionary struggle for power, starting from the needs of the day" (Programme of the Communist International Section VI, Chapter 2).

"In each country, the tactic is best which leads the shortest and surest to the goal". (MEW vol. 39, page 46, Engels letter to F. Wiesen).

To determine the concrete forms and methods of the closer connection of the working class of the advanced countries with the national revolutionary movement of the neo-colonies and dependent countries for the purpose of all-sided support of this movement against the common enemy, against imperialism. The Bolshevik tactic does not consist at all in firing indiscriminately from all guns on all fronts, without taking into account the conditions of time and place, without taking into account the readiness of the masses to support this or that step of the leadership. The tactics of the Bolsheviks consist rather in skilfully choosing the time and place and taking into account all circumstances in order to concentrate fire on the front where the greatest results can be obtained most rapidly. To this end, international activities, rallies and demonstrations will also be called upon for support. For this, the Comintern (SH) needs contact with the revolutionary insurgents, it must collect and utilise the material of the mass struggles. To advance means to have the masses of millions behind it. Lenin's leadership consists in the fact that the vanguard knows how to carry along the rearguard, that the vanguard advances without detaching itself from the masses, that the masses convince themselves through their own experiences of the correctness of the indications, directives, slogans of the vanguard.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must lead the world proletariat and the labouring masses to the offensive when circumstances permit an offensive, and it must withdraw the proletariat and the labouring masses from the blows of a strong opponent, especially when he acts with international counter-revolutionary support and circumstances thus require a retreat.

"During the revolution there are always moments when the opponent loses his head, and if we attack him at such a moment we can very easily win. But this says nothing, because our opponent, if he thinks calmly, gathers his forces beforehand, etc. He can then

very easily provoke us to attack and set us back for years. So I think the idea that we must prepare the retreat is very important, and not only from the theoretical point of view" (Lenin, Vol. 33, page 407, German edition).

If the frontal attack has failed, we resort to evasion, advance by means of siege, organise underground work, decomposition, sabotage, use the tactics of pinpricks, etc.... Not fighting when you can win is opportunism. To insist on fighting without retreating when you can no longer win is adventurism. The Comintern (SH) and its sections must give priority to those slogans, forms of struggle and organisation which best correspond to the conditions of the given ebb and flow of the world movement and are suitable for facilitating and ensuring the bringing of the masses to the revolutionary positions, the bringing of the masses of millions to the front of the revolutions of the countries and their position and distribution on the international front of the world revolution. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are ready at any time to transform the weapon of critique into a critique of weapons and vice versa, as it will be necessary:

"In the case of a revolutionary upsurge, when the ruling classes are disorganised, when the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, when the middle classes are inclined towards the proletariat and the masses prove themselves ready to fight and sacrifice, the proletarian party has the task of leading the masses to a frontal attack against the bourgeois state. This is achieved through the propagation of gradually increased transitional looseness (workers' councils, workers' control of production, peasant committees for the forcible appropriation of the landlord's land, disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and through the organisation of mass actions to which all branches of the party's agitation and propaganda must be subordinated, including parliamentary activity. Such mass actions are: Strikes combined with demonstrations, strikes combined with armed demonstrations and finally the general strike, united with the armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. This highest form of struggle follows the rules of the art of war, presupposes a campaign plan, offensive character of the fighting, unlimited devotion and heroism of the proletariat. Actions of this kind have as an absolute precondition the organisation of the broad masses into fighting formations, which by their very form must seize and set in motion the greatest masses of the working people (workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils, etc.), as well as the increase of revolutionary work in the army and the fleet" (Programme of the Communist International, Section VI, paragraph 2).

"In the absence of a revolutionary upsurge, the communist parties must, on the basis of the daily needs of the working people, draw up partial solutions and partial demands and link them to the main aims of the Communist International. In doing so, however, the parties must not put forward transitional slogans which presuppose the existence of a revolutionary situation and in another situation become the slogan for growing together with the system of capitalist organisations (e.g. the slogan of production control, etc.). Partial demands and partial solutions are the absolute condition of a correct tactic, while a series of transitional solutions are inseparably linked to the existence of a revolutionary situation. However, to reject 'in principle' the making of partial demands and transitional resolutions is also incompatible with the principles of communism, since a tactic of this kind practically condemns the party to passivity and isolates it from the masses. The tactic of the united front as a means of successful struggle against capital, of class mobilisation of the masses and of exposing and isolating the reformist leaders is thus an essential component of the tactics of the Communist International throughout the pre-revolutionary period" (ibid.).

## 2.

It is the task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections to exploit completely all and any contradictions in the camp of the world bourgeoisie in order to decompose and weaken its forces, in order to strengthen the positions of the proletariat. The international tactics of the Comintern (SH) and its sections consist in exploiting the contradictions among the class opponents of the world proletariat and in forming alliances with the rest of the toilers and in making possible Leninist alliances and compromises without abandoning the principles of Marxism-Leninism. An overwhelming opponent can only be defeated with the greatest effort of forces and only if the Comintern (SH) and its sections absolutely take the most careful, cautious, skilful care of every, even the smallest "rift" between the enemies, every clash of interests between the bourgeoisie of the different countries, between the various groups and strata of the bourgeoisie within the various countries, as well as exploits every, even the smallest possibility, in order to win an ally among the masses, even if this is a temporary, fluctuating, uncertain, unreliable, conditional ally.

Lenin:

"To wage war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war a hundred times more difficult, more protracted, more complicated than the most obstinate of ordinary wars between states, renouncing in advance the manoeuvring, the exploitation of (even if temporary) clashes of interests between enemies, agreements and compromises with

possible ( even if temporary, inconstant, vacillating, conditional) allies - is this not ridiculous beyond measure? ...Whoever has not grasped this has not grasped a whit of Marxism and of scientific, modern, socialism in general" ( Lenin: "Left Radicalism", the Infantile Disease in Communism; Works Vol. 31, pp. 56/57)

"Communists must not stew in their own juices, but must learn to act in such a way as to penetrate, without stopping at certain sacrifices, without shying away from the mistakes inevitable at the beginning of every new and difficult work, into the closed space in which the representatives of the bourgeoisie act on the workers. Communists who do not want to understand this, and who do not want to learn this, cannot hope to gain a majority among the workers, but in any case they make it more difficult and delay the gaining of this majority. This, however, is already a completely unforgivable thing for communists and for all real supporters of the workers' revolution..." (Lenin Works Vol. 33, page 320, German edition, "Wir haben zu teuer bezahlt")

Where the dictatorship of the proletariat has won, three basic tactics must be followed in exploiting the inter-imperialist contradictions:

- (a) the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions must be seen only as a temporary auxiliary factor for the country or countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed.
- b) The Comintern (SH) and its sections maintain that the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions as a component of the foreign policy of the socialist countries must not be an end in itself and must not be carried out on the basis of some narrow, temporary interests of one or more socialist countries, while the interests of the development of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the other countries are forgotten.
- c) The Comintern (SH) and its sections, based on the teachings of Lenin, do not understand the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions in any way as support for one imperialist state or group against another.

### 3.

To bring the working class and the broad masses and those oppressed by capital in all countries to the positions of the Comintern (SH) and its sections and the world revolution cannot be achieved by agitation and propaganda alone. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) is not an agitation and propaganda party, but a world struggle party and the same applies to its sections. We base our tactics on the political experience of the masses. Therefore, the

Comintern (SH) and its sections have the task of giving the masses of millions the opportunity to realise, on the basis of their own experience, the inevitability of the overthrow of the old power of the world bourgeoisie and the correctness of the world revolutionary slogans. The Comintern (SH) and its sections must take into account that the most backward strata of the exploited masses are roused and educated above all by the struggle for bread and peace, for immediate, direct improvement of their situation, by the struggle for survival. Only the struggle gives it the measure of its forces, broadens its horizon, increases its capacity, enlightens its mind, steels its will. Agitation alone cannot lead to armed victory. That is why every form of organising and supporting mass movements, every form of resistance by the millions, is a thousand times more worthy of resistance than this general line. The Comintern (SH) would have to vegetate as a small sect if we limited our cooperation only to a tiny minority that recognises our general line.

#### 4.

The internationalist tactic is not based on cowardly fear of the world revolution, not on petty-bourgeois "disbelief" in it, not on limited-nationalist desires of one's own bourgeoisie, i.e., to "whistle" for the support of the proletariat of the other countries, but is based on the correct assessment of the present revolutionary situation in the world and the present main international battlefield. This is the only internationalist tactic, because it brings about the maximum of what is feasible in one country for the development, support and kindling of the revolution in all countries. It is not a question of simply copying the tactics of the past Communist International, but of thinking through independently the causes of its peculiarity, its presuppositions and results, of applying correctly and, above all, creatively, not the letter but the spirit, the meaning, the lessons of the experience of the Communist International in the conditions of today.

#### 5.

The internationalist tactic of the world proletariat consists in giving the class struggle in its own country an internationalist character, but in no way in reducing the class struggle to its national limits and suffocating it with an "international" cover (according to the motto of Lenin's opportunist opponents who wanted to "give the economic struggle a political character"). This would be a revisionist tactic because it would isolate the proletariat of each country from the world proletariat, weaken it and make it easier to be defeated by both world imperialism and the national bourgeoisie of each country. Thus, Khrushchev

held the mechanistic view that the world revolution could win without a world proletariat, based solely on the "strength" of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The strength of the world proletariat, just like the strength of the leading revolutionary centre - even if it is a centre of the dictatorship of the proletariat - is never a question of quantity alone, but above all a question of quality. Therefore, the world proletariat can only seriously liberate itself if in its struggle it learns to break through and overcome the national barriers that prevent it from growing into a centrally organised common force. The general line of the Comintern (SH) does not rely on a strategy and tactics of exporting the leading centre of the world revolution to the individual countries or leaving it to run itself. Spontaneism, mechanism and template politics in the question of international class struggle are doomed to failure from the outset and in principle and mean capitulation before world imperialism. The nature of the proletariat is international and so is its struggle. But this struggle is not only fought on the battlefields of the individual countries, but - just as the imperialists start world wars transnationally and the proletarians kill each other on the world battlefield of profit - in the same way the proletarians must organise their revolutionary war against the imperialist war transnationally, they must actually enter the world battlefield, starting with the Red Interbrigades in Spain and continuing in the Patriotic War with the international combat units in support of the Red Army, in defence of the Soviet Union.

## 6.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections cannot limit themselves to merely registering what the mass of workers and labourers feel and think, or to watching their struggles and sitting back and having clever discussions about "what could have been done better", or to be content with writing these guidelines. One must not trot along behind the spontaneous movement, much less derive a theoretical line from it. It is necessary to raise the level of the masses all over the world so that they recognise their true, their internationally equal interests. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are obliged not to slide and descend to the level of the masses, not to the level of the most backward layers of the working class, not to the bourgeois level of the labour aristocracy. Rather, they must be ahead of the workers of the countries and the labouring masses, see further than them, lead them, as set out in the Communist Manifesto. But at the same time, the Comintern (SH) and its sections are obliged to soberly examine the actual degree of internationalist consciousness and maturity of precisely the whole world proletariat - and not only the proletarians of individual countries and even less their communist vanguard or the Comintern (SH) - precisely the whole working mass of the world - and not only its most advanced representatives - and to

take it into account in the international class struggle.

## 7.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must review their slogans and directives, their policies, on the basis of the practice of the international class struggle and the reaction of the non-party masses of workers and labourers, and, if necessary, should any problems arise, they must expose their causes in order to eliminate them and correct the policy accordingly. It is necessary that they systematically check the implementation of their own decisions and directives, otherwise there is a danger that they will turn into empty promises which would only be capable of undermining the confidence of the broad proletarian masses in the Comintern (SH) and its sections. Thus, it would be folly for us to build our tactics in the expectation that revolution would break out in the various countries on a certain date. And furthermore, the tactics of the Comintern (SH) cannot be the same when a revolutionary situation exists and when it does not (yet) exist. But we are in any case obliged to count on this or that revolution when a revolutionary situation is given. It would be unforgivable not to see the approaching revolution.

## 8.

In order to be able to solve their tasks of pushing the reformist and revisionist agencies down to a minority among the toilers, the Comintern (SH) and its sections - apart from the undoubtedly necessary polemics against the revisionists on fundamental and strategic questions - must expose and isolate them above all in the course of the daily struggle for their concrete needs of the working class and toiling masses. The Comintern (SH) and its sections must not denounce the revisionists on the basis of distant, internationally abstract or solely theoretical questions, but must isolate them above all in the course of the daily struggle of the working class and toiling masses for the improvement of their material and political situation on the ground, but then also in their practically concrete relation to the globalised class struggle - precisely also attack them on the international battlefield and reduce them to an internationally organised, revisionist minority.

## 9.

The Comintern/ML and its sections have the task to lead the struggle for reforms as part of the struggle for the revolution and to make the masses understand and see the necessity and the benefit of the struggle for reforms for the revolution by showing and working

towards the necessity of the revolutionary conquest of political power in every strike, in every mass action for the improvement of the situation of the labourers through agitation and propaganda. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are organisers of struggle actions, the daily practice of the class struggle is in the foreground, and the degree of their seriousness must be measured by this, without falling into blind actionism. The Comintern (SH) and its sections fight against pragmatism as a doctrine of world imperialism.

On the question of reforms, the Comintern (SH) and its sections follow two tactical paths. For the revolutionary tactics, reform is the by-product, it is subordinated to the revolution before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the victory, the revolutionary tactics are exactly the opposite, because then the reforms are no longer a by-product but the main product, while the uprooting of reactionary roots and the crushing of counter-revolutionary uprisings of the remnants of all the old ruling classes usually become a by-product. As a rule, this means that they can also turn into the main product again when the class struggle intensifies to such an extent that a restoration of capitalism must be prevented, wars and counter-revolutions against the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., must be averted and put down revolutionarily. The advance of socialism must be adequately secured with the revolutionary guns at every second of the long transition period to communism. These are the lessons of the revisionists' seizure of power. One cannot build world socialism with the same methods of world revolution without running the risk of causing the world revolution to fail again as a result. One cannot equate the political methods of conquering the power of the world proletariat with the methods of economic construction of the world socialist economy. Without retreat, the world revolution perishes after its victory (see Lenin Vol. 33, pp. 404-418, "5 Years of the Russian Revolution and the Perspective of the World Revolution"). This is what Lenin taught us with the NEP. If we do not heed this lesson of Lenin, the countries of the Soviet Union and Albania will not be the last countries where capitalism will be restored.

## 10.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections cannot lead the working class and the labourers if they are not connected with the non-party masses, with the broad masses of workers and other labourers, with the youth, women, etc., if these masses do not recognise their leadership, if they have no political and moral credit among the masses. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must absolutely work where the masses are. They must spare no sacrifices and overcome the greatest obstacles in order to penetrate



systematically, tenaciously, persistently, patiently, precisely in all those - even the most reactionary - institutions, associations and federations in which there are proletarian or semi-proletarian or other labouring masses.

The task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is to expose and isolate the reformist and revisionist workers' traitors, the workers' aristocracy, but at the same time to open a way to the revisionist and reformist-influenced working masses who have lost their way in the labyrinth of revisionist and reformist confusion, and in this way to win the majority of the working class for communism. Their task is to help their workers who have gone astray on revisionist and reformist paths to find the revolutionary way out and to facilitate their step towards communism. Revisionism and social-democratism are two manifestations of the same bourgeois ideology; one in the communist movement and the other in the workers' movement. It is the common ideological basis and common political aims of the labour aristocracy which bring revisionism and social-democratism closer together, unite them and make them flow together in a single anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary stream.

### **Tactics of the united front**

"The united front can have revolutionary significance only in the case and on the condition that it does not prevent the Communist Party from carrying out its independent political and organisational work, from organising the proletariat into an independent political force, from mobilising the peasantry against the landlords, from openly organising the revolution of the workers and peasants and thus creating the preliminary conditions for the hegemony of the proletariat" (Stalin, Vol. 10, page 15, German edition).

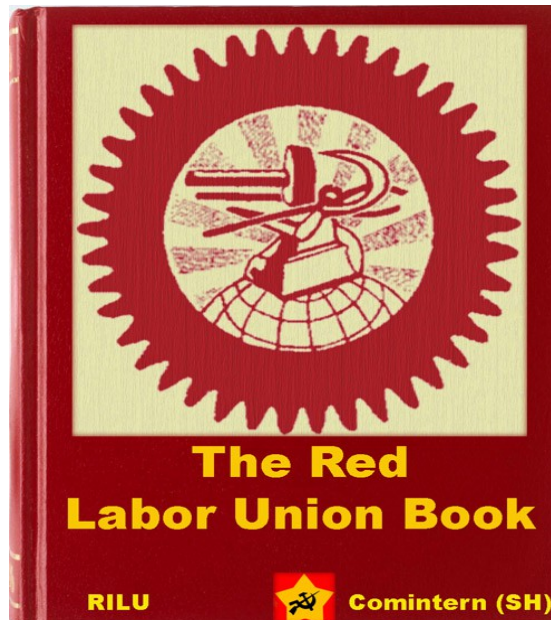
The united front does not mean sacrificing the independence of the proletariat in the slightest degree and at any moment, but promoting and strengthening this independence. The revisionists hope to convince the workers of the correctness of the revisionist AND the incorrectness of our revolutionary united front tactics by means of their united front tactics. We need the united front because we hope to convince the workers of the opposite. In order to help the masses in the struggle against capitalism (pauperisation, reaction and fascism, war, etc.) to understand the complexity of the difference between the two fronts, only for this reason we have to take up the tactics of the united front and only for this reason we have to carry them through to the end - but not in order to engage in horse-

trading with the revisionists and to barter away the interests of the masses bit by bit. ...until we finally stand alone with our revolution and can only register how the masses gradually turn their backs on us and run after the revisionist movement. The united front is a double-edged sword. It only serves us if through it the revolutionary idea can reach the proletariat en masse, if through it the masses can consciously free themselves from revisionist influence, if through it we can transform our minority into a majority. And as a majority, the united front tactic can in turn help us to win over the wavering and indecisive, the remaining minority as a reserve, or at least to neutralise them, i.e., to make them not actively obstruct us. That concessions must be made in the process is self-explanatory, but only on condition that we receive counter-performance from the opposing representatives, which we must not under any circumstances pay too dearly for. Only in the final analysis will the evaluation of the damage or benefit of these counter-performances decide whether our united front tactics are right or wrong. The emphasis in united front tactics is on our tactics. As a part ( but never as an exclusive part) of our revolutionary tactics, the united front tactics serves our strategy. To confuse the united front tactics with our strategy means to exchange the Marxist-Leninist principles of our forms of struggle for a few present-day successes, it means to transform the revolutionary united front tactics into revisionist, opportunist united front tactics. Just as we exploit the parliament, the trade unions, etc., for our revolutionary aims, we also exploit temporary allies for a certain stretch on the road to revolution. To exclude this from the outset is "left" childishness. We must never forget that we must not cross the swamp of revisionism alone, but that we must lead the whole working class across - and precisely in doing so we cannot sectarianly dispense with allies, with alliances. If we take advantage of the bourgeois organisations where the masses are organised, this does not, of course, replace the task of creating our own mass organisations in order to unify the struggle of the proletariat and the labourers. We must also exert such influence on all non-party mass organisations of the working class and labourers and use them as auxiliary organs and transmission belts that the Comintern (SH) and its sections can be connected with the class and the masses, also on the international level. Through the creative power of the masses, new forms and organisations of the class struggle will be born, which we communists must promote and support.

## **b) The tactics in the economic practical struggle as resistance against the world capitalists**

## 11.

### Trade union struggle



#### [The Red Labor Union Book \(2021\)](#)

(in German language)

\* \* \*

#### [Stalin on Trade Unions \(2021\)](#)

Marx said: "Every class struggle is a political struggle. This means that if today the proletarians and the capitalists wage an economic struggle against each other, tomorrow they will be forced to wage a political struggle as well, and thus to defend their class interests through two kinds of struggles" (Stalin, Werke Bd. 1, page 247, German edition).

"..In the face of capital, which is always united, the maintenance of association becomes more necessary for them ( for the workers) than that of wages.... In this struggle - a veritable civil war - all the elements unite and develop for a coming battle. Once arrived at this point, the coalition assumes a political character" (Marx/Engels, Misery of Philosophy).

This is Marx's brief description of the programme and tactics of the economic struggle

and the trade union movement for the whole epoch of the preparation of the forces of the proletariat "for a coming battle", which will be decided on the international battlefield. In this regard, it is noteworthy that it was already described by Karl Marx how the bourgeoisie tries to "buy the proletariat" ( Briefwechsel mit Engels, MEW vol. 27, page 180, German edition), to "demoralise" the proletariat, " to possess a bourgeois aristocracy, a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie" (MEW, vol. 29, pp. 231 and 358, German edition), how it is necessary to wait more or less a long time until "the workers free themselves from their apparent bourgeoisie contagion" and that as long as the monopoly position does not collapse, "the worker just does not want to go on" (MEW, vol. 30, pp. 338, 342 and vol. 32, p. 198, German edition).

In 1927, at the XVth Party Congress of the CPSU (B), Stalin, in announcing the "tasks of the international revolutionary movement" ( and immediately after the most important task "[a] struggle for the development of the Communist Parties throughout the world"), emphasised in the following field:

"[b] struggle for the strengthening of the revolutionary trade unions and the united front of the workers against the offensive of capital" (Stalin Werke German edition; Vol. 10, page 252).

The revolutionary class trade union of the workers - a school of communism and a lever of the proletarian revolution! For the building of Red Trade Unions! For the Red of Labour Union! This is the Stalinist formula of the Red trade union policy of the Comintern (SH) and its sections! It has to be formulated so sharply because the pressure of the revisionists on the communists with their accusation of sectarianism, especially on the trade union question, is still very strong and dangerous in the West due to the social-democratic tradition, and backing down or centrist and conciliatory manoeuvres are deadly for a cause which has to be completely rebuilt, especially after the mistakes of the VII World Congress of the III Comintern. Since in the history of the Marxist-Leninist world movement this question has even frequently led to the liquidation of not a few revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, the clarification of this tactically extremely important question also takes its due place in the general line and the inclusion of fundamental questions is inevitable: The proletarian movement is an independent movement which produces its own organisation - this is what is written in the Communist Manifesto. Marx and Engels have always declared, and the experience of the world trade union movement, the decisions of

the VI World Congress of the III Comintern and the decisions of the IV Congress of the RILU, have proved it a thousand times in the class struggle until today. The experience of the VI World Congress of the Third Comintern and the resolutions of the IV Congress of the RGI have proved it a thousand times in the class struggle until today that the unity of the world proletariat can only be established on a revolutionary basis, on the basis only of its own, its common class interests, and that the division of the world proletariat is always the result of the influence of the world bourgeoisie through reformism and revisionism in order not only to diminish but ultimately to destroy the realisation of class interests. The fascist smashing of the trade unions was still necessary because of the danger they posed at that time to the bourgeoisie for the maintenance of its rule ( for good reason!), but today it is superfluous. ), but today superfluous, because the trade unions of the metropolises have themselves developed into imperialist instruments, they themselves have risen to become powers of international finance capital, the representatives of the labour aristocracy have become imperialists and have even taken leading positions in world imperialism, exploit and brutally oppress the peoples, do not shrink from fascist and social-fascist attacks against the world proletariat AND the peoples of the world or tacitly cover them up and not only have their fingers in the pie in the imperialist interventions but also pull the strings! And the striving of social imperialism for world domination is the striving of the social-monopoly bourgeoisie, which is essentially composed of the new labour aristocracy, but also of the ascended sections of the petty bourgeoisie/intelligence - precisely in power! This development depends, of course, on the balance of forces in the class struggle, on the strength of the working class not to give up the field to its class opponent without a fight and to resist and assert itself. Because the imperialists need the world proletariat for exploitation and therefore have to reckon with the resistance of the working class, cannot buy it away, it remains a risk and cost factor for them, thus they need their imperialist trade unions to secure the maximum profit undisturbed and to keep the workers at bay through "social peace". For this they have their people, whom they pay for it and from whom they want to see results. These are the facts which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could NOT have found internationally on this vast scale, because they lived in the initial period of imperialism, which must not be equated with the present phase of development. Therefore, we must continue to develop the whole Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in the trade union question, therefore we must not let ourselves be dragged back, we must not leave the neo-revisionists a foot's breadth, we must not be afraid and we must not let ourselves be intimidated! Therefore, we must not stop at the most far-reaching decisions of the III Comintern at that time, but take them as a starting

point today. Already in January 1929, the RILU went beyond its decisions of the IVth Congress when it decided in Strasbourg to conduct the strikes without the reformist trade unions, without reformist representatives in the strike committees, etc., etc. Overcoming the agencies of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement today absolutely demands a Bolshevisation of the whole strategy and tactics of the III Comintern on the trade union question, means drawing a radical line, especially with all the previous right and "left" mistakes. If Lenin spoke then of the teething troubles of communism, this is still true today - at least on the trade union question - but not in the way the revisionists would like - exactly the reverse. Today, the world proletariat must not only push back the bourgeois and revisionist influence of the labour aristocracy, but destroy the labour aristocracy as part of the bourgeoisie through the proletarian revolution. Both on the international and national level, the imperialist and social-imperialist trade unions cannot be conquered and taken over for the dictatorship of the proletariat because they have become part of the capitalist state apparatus, the extended arm of capitalism, and Lenin's doctrine assumes that the state apparatus cannot be taken over but must be completely smashed. When the trade union has developed into a power more and more alienated from the working class, when it acts as an organising factor of the state, as a personnel department of capital to secure "social peace" between the capitalists and the working class, thus placing itself "above" the classes, when the trade union becomes the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms, it is clear that the liberation of the working class is impossible not only without violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the trade union apparatus conquered by the ruling class and dominated by its labour aristocracy, in which this "alienation" is embodied. Only those who today base their revolutionary, trade union struggle on this realisation can call themselves defenders of Lenin's doctrine of "state and revolution". Today's Marxism-Leninism teaches, and the bastions, organisations and instruments of the proletariat in the metropolises conquered by the bourgeoisie through the workers aristocracy, as well as the conquest of the whole machinery of the former dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and Albania, have provided historical proof of the fact that the working class cannot simply repossess or conquer the ready-made trade union or any other machinery of imperialism or social-imperialism and set it in motion for its own purposes, which it has previously lost to the bourgeoisie.

**The labour aristocracy** has long since ceased to be satisfied with the crumbs of bread that the imperialists once threw off the edge of the table as a reward for their treachery and corruption, but they themselves are the masters at the table who bag the fattest chunks of maximum profit. With its imperialist World Trade Union Confederation, the world labour

aristocracy - once born out of the working class - has itself become one of the biggest parasites at the expense of the world proletariat and peoples, because it has historically helped to delay the crisis of world imperialism, which the old bourgeoisie would never have been capable of doing and will be even less capable of doing in the future. The working class does not tolerate parasitism, therefore it will shake off these parasites and sweep this already bourgeoisised and constantly bourgeoisising stratum from the globe together with the whole class of the bourgeoisie. This alienation from what was once its own flesh and blood, transformed into the flesh and blood of the bourgeoisie, is a completely new situation for the working class and a very difficult one at that, because the labour aristocracy cannot be eliminated by anyone other than the working class itself, from which it originates. It was clear that the bourgeoisie had unrestrainedly exploited, had to exploit, the inhibition that the working class would never lay a hand on its own class in order to get its head out of the noose. The layer of labour aristocracy that had emerged from the working class became a layer of the bourgeoisie that established itself as the leading layer of the bourgeoisie and at the same time ensured that new layers were bred in the working class, one part of which would rise and rejuvenate( in the sense of further rotting) the class of the bourgeoisie and the other part of which would remain in the working class as the agency of the bourgeoisie to disarm the proletariat in its own ranks. So it was above all the labour aristocracy to which, on the one hand, the old capitalism owes its further development and, on the other hand, which gave the world proletariat the loss of real existing socialism and prolonged the slavery of the peoples. It was the labour aristocracy, the "soviet" bourgeoisie, which replaced the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the rule of the bourgeoisie. So, above all, one must defeat the labour aristocracy if one wants to reconquer the dictatorships of the proletariat. Giving the workers the tools to defeat the labour aristocracy is one of the most important tasks of this general line. Above all, we communists must take responsibility for the fact that - not only on the trade union question - by our retreat in the class struggle, by our deviation from Marxism-Leninism - we ourselves have contributed to revisionism's snatching of our power.

Reformism was the bourgeois strategy to prevent the working class from revolution in order to reform world imperialism. Revisionism was the strategy of breaking back the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to regenerate world imperialism. Neo-revisionism is the strategy to prevent the recapture of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to delay the collapse of world imperialism. What does world imperialism teach us from its beginning to its end? It teaches us that imperialist ideology can stop the process of disintegration of world imperialism, but cannot prevent it, that it is an expression of its

disintegration, but that nothing disintegrates unless it is brought down. The struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against neo-revisionism must therefore be raised to a new qualitative level and strengthened, and this is a task that ultimately the whole world proletariat and all the peoples of the world must accomplish together! Without victory over the world labour aristocracy, there will be no victory of the world proletariat over the entire world bourgeoisie, over world imperialism. World imperialism, the highest stage of world capitalism, has not abolished the class antagonisms even at the end of its stage, but on the contrary has sharpened them through the world polarisation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as a result of which above all the labour aristocracy and uppermost strata of the petty bourgeoisie rose and established themselves in the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand, through the absorption of lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie who were pushed down into the proletariat, the great army of the proletariat greatly increased, which does not mean that world imperialism produced a pure two-class society. It means "merely" that this polarisation has changed, simplified the compositions and weightings of the classes, that the hostile camps have filled up, that the remaining classes are degenerating and perishing through the new, sharper conditions of exploitation and oppression which are taking the place of the old ones, that a vast army of the world proletariat will be formed, which will become conscious of its strength, that the international class struggle will thus intensify, which will precede the most tremendous revolutionary upheaval in the history of mankind, and then die away forever and society will end its class existence to make way for the new, classless society.

In determining the road to the final goals, we must never neglect or even underestimate the importance of the trade union struggle for the interests of the day, for reforms in capitalism that will ease the lot of the working class, as a school of revolutionary struggle. Minimum and maximum demands cannot be separated from each other in order not to feed illusions: "The capitalist trade unions for the reforms and the economic struggle - and the Red trade unions for the revolution and the political struggle". This has to go wrong. The Comintern (SH) and its sections hold with Lenin that the communists must also fight for the toilet paper in the factory, we also hold with Stalin and the Bolshevik tactics of the united front in the independent leadership of economic struggles and defend this line against all right-wing deviators and conciliators on the trade union question, defend the decisions of the IV RILU Congress and the IX Plenum of the ECCI against all right-wing deviators and conciliators on the trade union question. (Note: We point out that there were serious differences of opinion in the CPSU(B) on the basic questions of the policy of the



Comintern, in particular on the weaknesses of Losovsky and their effects on the RILU and the Comintern, which is why today Trotskyists defend him against Stalin. The RILU already dissolved in 1937! ).

Stalin expresses himself as follows : "The trade unions are led by bureaucratic reformists who are tied to the capitalist class by a thousand threads. What wonder can there be that unorganised workers have proved more revolutionary than the organised ones?" (On the Right Danger in the German Communist Party, Stalin Works, German Edition, Vol. 11, page 267) And he further expressed himself, "If the reformist leadership grows attached to capitalism ( see the resolution of the VI Congress of the Comintern and the IV. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions), but the working class is fighting against capitalism, can it be claimed that the working class, with the communist party at its head, can lead the struggle without to some extent breaking the existing reformist framework of the trade unions? It is clear that one cannot claim this without falling into opportunism. One could therefore well imagine a situation which makes it necessary to create parallel mass unions of the working class against the will of the trade union bosses who have sold out to the capitalists. We already have such a situation in America. It is quite possible that in Germany, too, the development will proceed in this direction" (ibid., page 268).

What does Stalin mean by the words "to a certain extent"? He certainly does not mean making compromising concessions to the right opportunists and warning them of the dangers of sectarianism, because he is explicitly not talking about a tactical problem of the degree to which the framework can be broken (without endangering the existence of the reformist trade union), but about the process of the union leaders growing together with capitalism. Thus, he made the degree of disintegration dependent on the degree of a growing process, which consequently has to lead to the fusion with capitalism. How can the working class fight against capitalism in a trade union that has merged with capitalism, i.e., consequently with the help of "capitalism"? Can a capitalist trade union, which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, at the same time serve the working class, i.e. antagonistic classes equally? The capitalist trade union can no more do so than the capitalist state. And if Stalin considered this degree to be so advanced already in 1928, what would he have said to the heroes of the VII World Congress, who completely overturned the decisions of the VI World Congress, or what would Stalin say today to the trade unions, which with their own capital are themselves at the head of world imperialism and cooperate with the police apparatus as a factor of state order, as well as using fascist violence to ensure "social peace"? To what degree, then, under such a rotten, decomposed state of the existing trade unions, would Stalin recommend that the proletariat blow them up? For what purpose,

then, did Stalin raise the slogan of creating parallel trade unions? For "peaceful competition", for "peaceful coexistence"? Or is "the certain degree of demolition" merely to adapt to the degree of the necessary "letting off steam"? The communists as an outlet for "social peace" and "internal security", as a reserve and reservoir of the labour aristocracy? As propagandist proof of the strength of the capitalist trade union, that "in the heat of the moment" and with "heated tempers" it is "sometimes permissible to overshoot the mark", as superiority of the capitalist system and its "tariff autonomy"? When Stalin spoke of conquering the trade union, he certainly could not have meant the ballot for one trade union or another, not the conquest of the reformist trade union apparatus, not the exchange of leading posts, but he certainly meant conquering the trade union masses for the revolutionary struggle class against class. And why else did Stalin speak of the necessary organisation of the revolutionary forces of the working class, of the unorganised workers? If it is made (almost) impossible for the working class to represent its interests in the imperialist trade union, if the "unorganised workers have proved to be more revolutionary" who on earth wants to forbid the working class to build its own class union or even to dictate to it to stay and thus to be subordinated to the imperialist unions and thus to social decline, instead of liberating itself revolutionarily from their fetters? Stalin often called for the "conquest of the trade unions". By this he did not mean Brandler's demand "force the bigwigs", by this he did not mean the conquest of the trade union, which had become fused with capitalism, but the reconquest of the trade union of the workers, the restoration of the original trade union, which would again write Marx's slogan "Proletarians of all countries unite" on its banner, the old flag of socialism", the reconquest of their trade union as an instrument of class struggle which the bourgeoisie once conquered and which the proletariat must wrest from it again - just as the proletariat must reconquer its former dictatorships which the revisionists have snatched from them. The reconquest of the class trade union is a precondition for the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without revolutionary class unions, there can be no systematic uniting of the workers in a united front against capital either in a single country or on an international level. How else can the Comintern (SH) and its sections become the leader of the trade union struggle today? In the highly industrialised capitalist countries, the conquest of the majority of the working class for the aims of socialism and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the proletarian revolution is impossible without exposing the reformist and revisionist trade unions, without completely smashing their influence on the working masses, without isolating them and reducing them to insignificance. Without the realisation of a tactic freed from sectarian and opportunist

fetters, i.e., without a Bolshevik tactic of the proletarian, revolutionary trade union united front led by the communists on the national and international level, world imperialism cannot be defeated. Experience shows that it is illusory and dangerous to try to reconquer today's trade unions from within - even through a strong revolutionary opposition - as was once tactically correct - at least in the imperialist metropolises. The Comintern (SH) and its sections can never rely on yellow unions, but must rely only on the workers' own class unions. The proletarians of all countries cannot abolish world imperialism without completely smashing all its instruments, including those once created and lost by the working class itself, both nationally and internationally. It is therefore the urgent task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections to patiently and tenaciously do everything in their power to help the proletariat build independent revolutionary class unions. The RGO [Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition] is an indispensable important step on this road. It is equally its task to prevent all opponents from standing in the way of the RGO policy with "left" arguments and to distort it as a "left" fig leaf, as an extremely "left" wing of the reactionary trade unions, in order to make it conform again to the new social-democratism. This is the position of the neo-revisionists on the trade union question. The RGO policy is the only correct policy if it is cleansed of its "left" teething troubles and does not allow itself to be restored to reformist trade unionism by the main right-wing threat and has to be started from scratch again - as it is today. The RGO policy serves both inside and outside the imperialist trade union to rally and reunite the divided proletariat under the revolutionary banner of a new Red Class Trade Union to be created and can only serve this single aim. Only the Communist Party can protect the class trade union from the contagion of reformism and revisionism.

To follow the revisionist arguments of the spectre of "isolation" from the majority and the "sectarian hopelessness of a minority", the "cowardly retreat from the struggle in the reactionary trade union", etc., is pure retreat from capitalism and capitulation to today's social-democratism, is revisionism. The necessity to penetrate the reactionary trade unions, to decompose and weaken them, not to neglect the revolutionary struggle there, to work where the masses are, to convince them of the liberation struggle against the reactionary trade unions and to lead them in it, is a completely different, an undisputed, urgent necessity. It just depends on the question for what purpose and with what aim the communists work in the imperialist and social-imperialist trade unions, either to fight them or to save them. The former is the answer of the Marxist-Leninists, the latter is the answer of the revisionists. The organisations to lead the economic struggles independently are not emerging at the desk of the Comintern (SH) and its sections. These new organisations are

born and set up in the present class struggle itself, from the midst of the broad masses either as a result of breaking through reactionary trade union legalism (=state legalism!) and refusing to be disciplined by the trade union apparatus, or by breaking with any social-democratic trade union tradition, the leadership of the strike struggles by the unorganised or organised of the new class trade unions. The basic law of our action is the discipline of the Comintern (SH) and its sections and not the reactionary trade union discipline. We oppose the imperialist laws of social-democratism and revisionism with our laws of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian world revolution - also and especially in the trade union question. Those who break the legality of the reactionary trade union today must be aware that they also break the legality of the state power and behave tactically according to the rules of legality and illegality and develop new (militant) forms of struggle. Is that sectarian? It is sectarian if it is done without the mass of the working class, without the preparation and leadership of its communist party. It is not sectarian if the Communist Party observes the principles of Bolshevism and educates the masses in this sharp, dangerous, self-sacrificing and disciplined class struggle in a revolutionary way. Not the trade unions but the Party is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat:

"Greater rapprochement of the trade unions with the party," said Lenin," that is the only correct principle" (Lenin Works. Vol. 13, page 100, German edition)

... and not, conversely, the party as a free supplement to the proletarian class trade union, which, after all, must first be created in the struggle against the yellow trade unions. The working class, inside and outside its class trade union, inside and outside the capitalist trade unions, everywhere it struggles, must necessarily be educated not to stop at the economic struggle but to carry it on, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to a higher stage, to the political struggle, the ultimate aim of which is to seize political power. Without the creation of an international class trade union movement, without the creation of the Red International of Labour Unions, the revolutionisation of the organised, internationalist economic struggle of the proletarians of all countries and the linking with the liberation struggle of the peoples oppressed by imperialism and social imperialism, and finally the smashing of the world capitalist system through world revolution, is unthinkable. Why is it that only the capitalists and their right-wing trade unions can organise on an international scale, while the working class or sections of the working class, communist workers, are not allowed to have their own international organisation? Do the bourgeois workers' leaders fear "the instructions of the Comintern (SH)", where they write day and

night on some directives which the revolutionary workers in the individual countries are to slavishly repeat? Or do they rather fear that revolutionary workers of one and the other country will consult among themselves with the central office of the RILU, learn from each other's experiences and prepare common actions which are of necessary interest for the workers in the whole world, i.e. not only for the interests of the workers in a single country? What is wrong with the revolutionary workers creating their own international headquarters for their international concerns? In the bourgeois camp of the workers' world movement, these organisations have existed for more than 100 years, so it is high time that we again create a new RGI.

Only leadership by the Comintern (SH) and its sections can ensure that the class unions follow a clear proletarian line and correctly link the struggle for the interests of the day with the struggle for the ultimate goal of the workers' movement, the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the continuation of the revolution to communism. It is our task to bring the trade union masses to our positions and to convince them of our policy by placing ourselves at the head of the trade union class struggle and carrying the masses along from the front line, as required by the tactics of the Bolshevik leadership of the class struggle. However, we must never combine the trade union organisations created out of the class struggle by the workers with the Communist Party and its factory and trade union sections (\* If the Factory & Unions sections of the Comintern (SH) and its sections are "outsourced" to the Red Class Trade Unions, this is tantamount to liquidating the Comintern (SH) and its sections, for without these most important sections the World Party and its sections are nothing. The RILU is not the same as the Factory&Unions sections of the Comintern (SH) and its sections!) themselves, nor do they "remodel" them as Marx said. As mass organisations they are not appendages of the party and subject to its military orders, but mass organisations of the proletariat in which the communists fight as part of the class, as its driving force, having earned the confidence of the trade unions through patient legwork. We communists reject the Trotskyist method of paternalism, of "nationalising the unions", of "shaking down the unions". We are for the method of convincing the working masses, for democracy and electability of the trade union bodies. But we are also against all attempts to inflame the workers in the trade unions and the non-party workers against the Comintern (SH) and its sections, to undermine the leading role of the communists in the trade unions, to separate the economic struggle from the political struggle and to split the unity of the world proletariat.

One cannot equate class trade unionism under capitalism with class trade unionism under socialism without running the risk of driving the trade union masses back into the arms of the labour aristocracy. Sectarian errors would only encourage our opponents to strengthen their imperialist hold on the masses and isolation would again completely undo our cause. We must therefore ( and not only) learn to distinguish sectarianism from "sectarianism" on the trade union question.

**c) Tactics of political and militant struggle against reaction and fascism, military interventions of the imperialists, imperialist wars, national liberation movements**

**12.**

The struggle for economic reforms is linked in a Marxist-Leninist way with the struggle for political reforms, i.e. with the struggle against reaction and fascism, against the rotten, parasitic, bourgeois parliamentarism, this fraudulent tribune of the thoroughly rotten capitalist system, with the aim of convincing the working class and the labourers in this struggle that ultimately only socialism can guarantee the fundamental improvement of their economic situation and the realisation of an actual proletarian democracy. The struggle for economic and political reforms must become a school of preparation for the socialist revolution. The political system of the capitalist states is so run down and rotten that ever larger sections of the masses are consciously freeing themselves from parliamentary illusions and resolutely rejecting electoral fraud, e.g., through boycotts:

Lenin pointed to the fact "that the strength of the revolutionary proletariat from the point of view of influencing the masses and mobilising them for the struggle is incomparably greater in the extra-parliamentary struggle than in the parliamentary. This is a very important observation for the question of civil war" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 16, "The Russian Revolution and the Civil War, German edition).

The world historical upheaval has ended the epoch of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism. The revisionist theory of the attainment of full maturity of parliamentarism as a precondition for proletarian democracy in the oppressed countries is intended to tie the proletariat in these countries to bourgeois democracy in order to prevent the leapfrogging of parliamentarism by the socialist revolution, which is possible and

necessary, as history has proved.

To reject the class struggle outside the parliament as "sectarian" or to consider the struggle in the parliament as the highest and decisive one, to which all other forms of struggle have to be subordinated, means revisionist betrayal of the interests of the proletariat and the labourers. However, under legal possibilities, the sections of the Comintern (SH) should, according to their forces and possibilities, use the stage of the parliament or the possibilities of the elections as a tribune for the revolutionary class struggle and the propagation of the Communist Party as a revolutionary alternative, with the aim of smashing it as a political instrument of oppression of the bourgeoisie, with the aim of liberating democracy from the bog of the bourgeoisie, with the aim of creating a proletarian democracy, with the creation of the council system of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Thus, there will be no socialism by peaceful parliamentary election as promised by the revisionists, but only by the violent smashing of the bourgeois parliamentary apparatus and the establishment of proletarian councillor democracy. The bourgeoisie will not voluntarily surrender its power or share it with the working class, but will defend it by all means, if necessary by fascism. The role of social democracy and its revisionist successor organisations as pioneers of fascism and social fascism, their role as pioneers against communism, their historical betrayal of the working class, their tactics of lumping communists and fascists together, will remain an unforgettable, important lesson for the world proletariat, not only in the struggle against fascism. One cannot form an anti-fascist united front with the pioneers of fascism. Unity with the bourgeoisie and its agencies in the workers' movement can and must never exist, whether the bourgeoisie exercises its class rule with bourgeois democracy or with fascism. Of course, the Comintern (SH) and its sections are not indifferent to the form in which the bourgeoisie rules, therefore, a united front tactic and creation of class organisations against fascism are necessary under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, whose aim is not to be satisfied with the lesser evil, i.e., not to replace fascism with other forms of rule by the bourgeoisie, but the struggle against the physical annihilation of the workers, for the elimination of the illegality of the workers' organisations, the struggle for political reforms for all workers and labourers must be fundamentally linked to the elimination of ANY form of bourgeois state apparatus of oppression, to the elimination of the rule of capital through armed socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Comintern (SH) and its sections fight not for the defence of social democracy, not for the defence of bourgeois democracy, but for its elimination, because only from its womb can fascism develop again, only from the womb of revisionism and reformism can social

fascism develop again as the most brutal form of rule of revisionism in power. And only proletarian democracy is the only true democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, only that is our aim, whether against bourgeois parliamentarism or fascism, whether against revisionist democracy or social fascism, which takes hold when the revolutionary masses want to free themselves from the revisionist system of rule and smash it in order to reclaim their dictatorship of the proletariat and the revisionists have lost their power through democratic deception among the masses. It is the task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections to organise militant self-protection formations of the proletariat and to revive the tradition of the Red Front Combatant League, which operates in the militant anti-fascist and anti-war struggle, is also prepared for armed insurrection, is suitable for the deployment of Red Interbrigades and forms the nucleus of the future Red Army first on a national, but then also on an international level.

### 13.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must educate the world proletariat and the broad masses of the working people of the whole world that imperialism and social imperialism inevitably mean war and that the imperialist and social imperialist danger of war must not be underestimated. However, it is not enough to say that the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, but it is necessary to constantly expose the policy and the concrete acts of war and aggression of the imperialists on a daily basis, to keep the vigilance of the peoples at the necessary level at every moment and to mobilise them. The practical meaning is to raise the alarm in all countries, not only in Europe, about the danger of a new war, to raise the vigilance of the workers and soldiers of the capitalist countries, not only of the NATO countries, and to prepare the masses, prepare them ceaselessly, to meet all and any attempts of the bourgeois governments and their international organisations to organise a new war well-equipped, with revolutionary struggle. The task is also to denounce all those opportunists calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, all those leaders of the workers' movement who consider the danger of a new war "a fantasy", who lull the workers with pacifist lies, who close their eyes to the fact that the world bourgeoisie is preparing a new war, because these people want the war to take the workers by surprise. With a barrage of "left" phrases, one must not evade this responsibility. Moreover, the Comintern (SH) and its sections have the duty to mobilise all peaceful forces of the world and of every country against the imperialist and social-imperialist war and its imminent danger. The imperialist as well as the social-imperialist war can be prevented if the peace-loving forces offer revolutionary resistance, do not allow



themselves to be harnessed to the carts of the warmongers and actively sabotage the preparations for war with all available means and by using all their united forces. If the imperialist or social imperialist war is not prevented, then it must be transformed into a civil war. In order to eliminate the inevitability of imperialist and social-imperialist wars, it is inevitable to abolish imperialism as well as social-imperialism. The Comintern (SH) and its sections must take the lead in the united front of the peace struggle and represent in all anti-war organisations the interests not only of the proletariat of the countries involved , but of the whole world proletariat and also create independent organisations for this purpose. This also includes the militant, armed forms, e.g. Red Interbrigades. Without defeating the revisionists and opportunists in the peace struggle, it will never be possible to eliminate the imperialist and social-imperialist war. The task is to establish the united front of the workers of the imperialist countries with the proletariat and the labouring masses of the neo-colonies and dependent countries in order to avert the danger of war, or, if a world war breaks out, to transform the imperialist war into an international civil war, to smash fascism, to overthrow capitalism, to establish Soviet power, to liberate the neo-colonies from slavery and to organise by all means the defence of one or more probably newly emerging socialist states.

## 14.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections lead the revolutionary struggle for the organised unity of workers, peasants and soldiers to win and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is why the symbol of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is also hammer, sickle AND rifle.

"The army is the weapon of the dictatorship, it must always be ready, on the correct Marxist-Leninist path and extremely vigilant against the internal and external enemies. The army must always be politically clear, and in order for it to be politically clear, the party organisation in the army must be pure and have a high political and ideological level, it must understand and apply everything only in this light, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, in the light of the interest of the people and the party. Therefore, it is also essential that the cadres of the army be loyal to the Party, to Marxism-Leninism and to the people. Only in this way the enemy cannot do anything, only in this way he cannot survive in the army, even if it is influenced, only in this way the army remains the real weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the hands of the party" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. I, page 357, Tirana 1979, German edition).

In the imperialist and social-imperialist armies, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must develop an anti-militarist, decomposing, revolutionary activity. The revolution needs revolutionary soldiers, i.e. soldiers who fight for the social and national liberation of the working class and labourers and turn their guns against the imperialist and social-imperialist army and take sides for the revolution in the civil war. In order to solve this task, the Comintern/ML and its sections must work in an organised way in the imperialist and social-imperialist army. This does not replace the need to build their own military formations and provide for the arming of the workers and their allies. The world revolution will also have a new proletarian-military expression, and will the Comintern (SH) and its sections develop a new kind of international war method, elaborate and implement a new military strategy and tactics of proletarian internationalism.

"No great revolution has yet managed without `disorganisation` of the army, nor can it manage without it. For the army is the most ossified tool with which the old regime holds on, the firmest bulwark of bourgeois discipline, a tool with which capital props up its rule, educates the toilers to slavish servility and subordination to capital, and keeps them in this state. The counter-revolution never tolerated, nor could it tolerate, armed workers alongside the army. In France, Engels wrote, after every revolution the workers were armed; 'for the bourgeois at the helm of the state, therefore, disarming the workers was the first commandment' (MEW, German edition, vol. 17, page 616). The armed workers were the germ of a new army, the organisational cell of the new social order. To crush this cell, not to let it grow, was the first commandment of the bourgeoisie. The first commandment of every victorious revolution - Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasised this - was: to smash the old army, to dissolve it, to replace it with a new one (MEW, German edition, vol. 17, page 338). A new social class rising to rule has never been able to attain and fortify this rule, nor can it do so now, without having completely decomposed the old army." (Lenin Vol. 28, page 284, German edition).

"Arming the proletariat for the purpose of defeating, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie - this is the only possible tactic of the revolutionary class, a tactic prepared, founded and taught by the whole objective development of capitalist militarism. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie can it, without betraying its world-historical task, throw in its weapons to the old iron, which it will certainly do then - but not sooner" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 76, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", German edition).

## 15.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections, as internationalists, condemn all wars waged against the peoples. They do not judge the character of a war from the point of view of this or that country. Whether it is a reactionary, imperialist and social-imperialist war or a revolutionary war of liberation does not depend on who the aggressor is and in whose country the "enemy" is, but on which class is waging the war, which policy is being continued through this war. If the war is a reactionary, imperialist or social-imperialist war, i.e. a war waged by two powerful or groups of powerful or in any other form on the part of the imperialist, social-imperialist violent, rapacious, reactionary world bourgeoisie, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must make every effort to ensure that this reactionary war is met with revolutionary war, i.e. with revolution and socialism:

"If the war is a reactionary war, imperialist war, i.e. a war waged by 2 groups of the imperialist, violent, rapacious, reactionary world bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie ( even that of a small country) is guilty of complicity in the robbery, and my task, the task of a representative of the revolutionary proletariat, is then to prepare the world proletarian revolution as the only salvation from the horrors of world carnage. This is precisely internationalism, this is the task of an internationalist, of a revolutionary worker, of a real socialist" (Lenin, Vol. 28, page 287, German edition).

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist war with the propaganda, preparation and realisation of revolutionary mass actions for the purpose of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie with the goal of socialism. To transform the imperialist, the unjust war into a just war, into a civil war means: 1. rejection of the war credits 2. breaking of the 'castle peace' 3. support of all revolutionary mass actions. The success of all these steps leads inevitably to civil war. Without socialism, without final abolition of world class society, no peace. "War and peace" is a question of class struggle and can only be solved revolutionarily. Only the transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat ends imperialist war. Imperialist world war means proletarian world war, means world revolution, means world peace.

"The imperialist war is the eve of the socialist revolution. And this not only because war, with its horrors, generates the proletarian insurrection - no insurrection will create socialism unless it is economically matured - but because state-monopolist capitalism is

the complete, material preparation of socialism, its gateway, that stage of the historical ladder between which (stage) and the stage called socialism there are no intermediate stages." (Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe, and How to Fight It*, 1917).

The war itself, if we have not understood how to answer it with the revolution, will teach the masses the revolution by creating a revolutionary situation, deepening and widening it.

## 16.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections reject the tactics of defence of the homeland in the imperialist and social-imperialist countries as counterrevolutionary, including the "left" critics of defence of the homeland. Countries fighting for their national independence against war, bondage and exploitation of imperialism and social-imperialism are supported by the Comintern (SH) and its sections. Internationalists consider the proletarians and labourers of all countries as allies in the war against imperialist and social-imperialist war wherever it is waged in the world, just as internationalists consider world imperialism as a common enemy and attack it wherever it occurs, whether in their own country or elsewhere.

If a future socialist country or the future socialist camp is attacked with warlike intentions, this socialist fatherland, this camp of all proletarians and labourers of the whole world will be protected and defended by all means, including warlike means, and - if necessary - liberated again with weapons. Peace with countries that attack a socialist country or the socialist camp cannot and will not exist. The faster socialism spreads all over the world, the easier it will be to banish the imperialist and social-imperialist danger of war.

Conversely, the danger of war grows faster when there is no longer a socialist country, such as the Soviet Union. The imperialist war does not die with the Cold War, but becomes - on the contrary - all the more likely without a socialist country on earth, not least because this country is again up for redistribution among the imperialists.

Lenin:

"Thirdly, socialism victorious in one country by no means excludes all wars at once. On the contrary, it presupposes them. The development of capitalism proceeds most unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise with commodity production. Hence the inevitable conclusion: socialism cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries. It will first triumph in one or a few countries, others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for a time. This must create not only friction but also direct aspirations of the bourgeoisie of other

countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases, a war on our part would be legitimate and just, it would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other peoples from the bourgeoisie (...) Only after we have completely defeated and expropriated the bourgeoisie in the whole world, and not only in one country, will wars become impossible. And it is not at all scientifically correct - and not at all revolutionary - if we avoid or cover up precisely the most important thing, the defeat of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the most difficult thing, the thing requiring the most struggle in the transition to socialism" (Lenin, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", vol. 23, page 74, German edition).

#### **d) The tactics of the theoretical - ideological struggle**

### **17.**

The world outlook of the world proletariat, of Marxism-Leninism, is far superior to the imperialist world outlook of the world bourgeoisie. World imperialism will one day perish not least because of its own anti-communism. So to speak, our world class enemy itself is doing the best propaganda for communism. For logically the world will not believe those who destroy it, but those who save it. If being determines consciousness, then basically the same laws of the revolutionary upheavals of the material world also affect the spiritual world, figuratively speaking, the world proletariat faces each other on the ideological battlefield of the world revolution. there is a dialectical unity between their ideological struggles. This victory is therefore not won automatically. The spiritual revolution, if we want to express it in this way, means nothing else in the present stage of the preparation of the world revolution than to equip the world proletariat and the masses of millions with Marxism-Leninism, to develop the world revolutionary class consciousness, in order to achieve victory over world imperialism not only on the front of the ideological class struggle, but the whole world revolution must be permeated and guided by the proletarian world outlook, by scientific socialism, by the theory of Marxism-Leninism as a precondition for its victory. But this correct statement alone does not help the victory of the world revolution. This is above all a laborious, tough, patient and formidable task, which the proletarians of all countries can accomplish only united. The unification of the proletarians of all countries therefore presupposes their spiritual unification. It is the task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections in the present stage of the world revolution to fight

successfully for the world-wide arming of the proletarians with Marxism-Leninism, because otherwise it is not possible to build a world vanguard of the proletariat which can lead the masses of millions of the whole world. We must wage a sharp theoretical and ideological class struggle, sharper than it has ever been waged before by anyone else in the world. It is clear that this struggle cannot be won unless one carefully approaches the elaboration of appropriate tactics, and develops a battle plan. If one does not see through the strategy and tactics of the opponent, does not thoroughly analyse them, we cannot anticipate this strategy and tactics of the opponent, we cannot beat him with his own weapons and that is exactly what benefits the opponent, but not us. An excellent analysis on the "strategy of imperialism and modern revisionism" was provided by Enver Hoxha in his writing "Imperialism and Revolution" (1979), which we must study conscientiously. We must draw the correct conclusions from the fact that Enver Hoxha devoted half of his writing to the struggle against Maoism. Enver thus pointed the way of struggle against neo-revisionism, which pretends to fight old revisionism in order to save it. The Comintern (SH) understood this and directed its general line towards this struggle. Even though a quarter of a century has already passed from the day of the writing of "Imperialism and Revolution" until today and the phase of the so-called "Cold War", the end of socialism in its first stage, has been completed, "Imperialism and Revolution" is not only the quintessence of what Marxism-Leninism has developed so far, but at the same time also the theoretical basis for the stage ahead - "World Imperialism and World Revolution". It is the theoretical legacy of Albania as the last dictatorship of the proletariat in the world that shows the Albanian proletariat the way to reconquer the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole world proletariat the way to world socialism.

The ideological foundations of the Comintern (SH) must be defended, developed and above all correctly put into practice with the method of dialectical and historical materialism, and corrected and improved by practice, so that they can fulfil their purpose, which is to be a real guide in the daily class struggle, to illuminate our path, step by step, and at the same time and ubiquitously the final goal of world revolution - and this in the most varied light of the changing and developing revolutionary process. The tactics of theoretical struggle are based on the assumption that theory can only become historically effective, i.e., become material violence, when it seizes the masses, not only the masses in any place, but in all places of the world. It is not enough for victory that the proletarians of all countries instinctively and spontaneously feel attracted to socialism, but they must realise that only as a class can they fulfil a world-historical role. They must unite worldwide as a class, must organise themselves as a world proletariat in order to grow into an

invincible force whose strength lies in unity. Unorganised, the workers cannot successfully enter the world stage of history, so there is no other way to liberation from capitalism than the international class struggle, neither for the individual worker in Africa, Asia, America, in Europe, Australia, nor anywhere else in the world. The world proletariat, by the way, will be victorious in the world revolution even without Marxist-Leninists, but on much longer, more painful and agonising aberrations. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the compass of the world revolution and it is, as Stalin said, "elaborated quite independently of the development of the spontaneous workers' world movement, even in spite of this movement, and only afterwards brought into this movement from outside, correcting the movement according to its content, i.e. according to the objective requirements of the class struggle of the proletariat" (Stalin, Vol. 1, page 50, "Letter from Kutais, German edition). Stalin's tactical conclusion is therefore: "We must raise the proletariat to the consciousness of true class interests, to the realisation of the socialist ideal, but not exchange this ideal for trifles or adapt it to the spontaneous movement" (ibid, page 51). The socialists learn from the labour movement only as much as the labour movement learns from the socialists and vice versa. Thus, the workers' movement and socialism do not merge automatically, but both sides must do something for their merger. And for this fusion to succeed, the world proletariat needs its world party, the Comintern (SH). Without socialism, the workers' movement dies (yes, it ends in bourgeoisie!), because a movement develops revolutionary energies only for a great goal, that is, greatest energy for the greatest goal - for the world revolution. Only the world proletariat and the labouring masses of the whole world have nothing to lose but their chains - and only through this alone do they become a truly revolutionary world power.

Already in the time of Marx and Engels, socialism grew beyond local borders, it was recognised as an international problem:

"The socialists have proved that the general struggle between capital and labour takes place everywhere, in short, they have proved its cosmopolitan character. They have therefore tried to bring about an understanding between the workers of the different countries. This became all the more necessary as the capitalists became more and more cosmopolitan, hiring foreign labour not only in America but also in England, France and Germany and using it against the native workers. Immediately international links were formed between the workers of the different countries: it became apparent that socialism was not only a local problem but an international one, which had to be solved by international action of the workers. The working classes spontaneously came into

movement without knowing where the movement would lead them. The socialists do not invent a movement, but they explain its character and aims to the workers" (MEW, Vol. 34, page 511, German edition).

It was the socialists who established the necessary link between the workers' movement and scientific socialism, first locally and nationally and then internationally - precisely because capitalism had also developed locally, nationally and then internationally. It is therefore above all the task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections not only to represent and develop Marxist-Leninist theory, but above all to ensure that it is understood and applied by the masses as a guide in the class struggle. The socialists are concerned with transforming spontaneous class consciousness into socialist class consciousness, in order to raise the spontaneous world workers' movement qualitatively into a conscious world socialist movement directed towards the goal of conquering political power. This is only possible through the participation of socialists in the international workers' movement, as leaders of the international class struggle. This is precisely what distinguishes the world revolutionary from the national philistine, for "it is not a question of interpreting the world, but of changing it", said Marx (Feuerbach Theses). This important task can be accomplished and fulfilled by none other than the vanguard of the world proletariat, which has organised itself into the World Party with its sections. They play the key role in linking the international revolutionary workers' movement and scientific socialism. The tactics of the theoretical struggle are aimed at making this link so strong that it is fused. However, this presupposes that the vanguard itself actively leads the international class struggle and is itself fused with the mass struggle. The tactics of the theoretical struggle are not limited to raising the revolutionary class consciousness of the world proletariat through the appropriation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, but are linked to the task of fighting, pushing back and eliminating the bourgeois consciousness still predominant in the world proletariat. The cloying, spiritual stench of decaying capitalism must not be allowed to spread unhindered to the working class and further demoralise it. We must drain the swamp of bourgeois ideology ( which threatens to engulf the world culture of all humanity, especially from the USA) and wage a decisive and active ideological struggle. If the world proletariat wants to fulfil its historical mission, it must also free itself from the ideological and theoretical influence of the class enemy, especially when the enemy operates covertly in the camp of the world proletariat. It must escape from the dangerous influence of a declining dying class, the world bourgeoisie, which tries with all means ( not only with "bread and games") to poison the world proletariat with new enemy images, terrorist scare



stories, doomsday moods - catastrophe scenarios, otherworldly addictions, distractions drugs, horror and sex etc., in order to cloud its head, to shy away from revolutionary violence and to lose sight and memory of its own, independent and autonomous way to world revolution. The illusions existing in the consciousness of the declining world bourgeoisie that the decline of its own class is identical with the decline of the whole society, especially with the decline of the world proletariat and its ideology of Marxism-Leninism, with the decline of communism, that the world bourgeoisie can stop its decline by means of anti-communist terror inwards and aggression, war and counter-revolution outwards, inhibit the revolutionary consciousness of the world proletariat. Thus, bourgeois ideology is systematically, deliberately and consciously used to deceive and mislead in order to deprive the world proletariat of its revolutionary strength, to divert the world proletariat from its historical mission and to break its will to victory. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are thus waging a sharp struggle on the theoretical and ideological front for the life and death of the world revolution. Victory therefore depends decisively on energetic, but also clever, differentiated tactics. The danger of bourgeois ideology stems from the fact that it is "much older in origin than socialist ideology, because it is more diversely developed, because it has incomparably more means of dissemination and influence" (Lenin, Vol. 5, page 386, German edition).

Anti-communism expresses the deep political and spiritual crisis and the rottenness of imperialism, which includes revisionism, the rottenness of social imperialism. It is inhuman and reactionary and serves the ruling class to maintain or to reconquer its power to exploit and oppress the whole world. It is the main ideological weapon of psychological warfare and serves as a justification to fight the world proletariat, to fight the peoples, to fight the communists and revolutionaries, to fight progress in general. Anti-communism and revisionism are two sides of the same coin, they are the ideological weapon of counter-revolution, a crime against humanity. Our tactics must recognise and take into account the dialectical connection and relationship of both sides of this coin. The bourgeoisie disguises itself in its own way as "Marxist-Leninists" and thus tirelessly tries to deceive and subjugate the world proletariat to bourgeois ideology.

Today, we only need to consider the ideological open as well as subversive warfare of American imperialism to understand what we are talking about and what a tough opponent we have to defeat. But we remember the defeat of the imperialist counter-offensive after World War 2:

"Not only were the armies of fascism destroyed on the battlefields of this war, the anti-communist ideology of world imperialism and the counter-revolutionary policy of international opportunism were also defeated" (...) Especially after World War 2, the strategy of imperialism acquired an even more pronounced counter-revolutionary and anti-communist character. This was a consequence of the fact that the whole capitalist system was shaken to its foundations by the shift in the balance of power in favour of socialism and revolution. These changes put the question of revolution and the victory of socialism on the agenda not only in one or two countries but in whole regions and continents." (Enver Hoxha, "Euro-communism is anti-communism", KPD/ML 1980 edition, page 18, German edition).

The ideology of the world proletariat has long since risen from its infancy, we already have an "old", "versatile" weapon, of which this general line is proof, we will know how to use the "new" means of communication of our opponent in a tactically clever way for our own purposes, in order to clear up the superiority of the opponent in spreading his ideology. We will exploit the ideological and theoretical weaknesses of the opponent, expose the contradictions between our opponent's words and deeds, and set a huge avalanche rolling and the dynamics of decomposition and self-destruction in motion. And we must consider one thing dialectically, the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie is increasing enormously, but its effect on the world proletariat and the peoples of the oppressed countries is not increasing at the same pace, on the contrary, everywhere in the world it can be seen that this ideology is being seen through more and more, that through painful experiences the edifice of lies and deception no longer works as it used to, that the masses are gradually fed up with being taken for fools and are developing a hatred of popular stupidity which will make them look for alternatives and which they will find, with our help, in Marxism-Leninism, if they see through this popular stupidity of anti-communism and recognise the connection with revisionism. Dying capitalism means dying ideology of capitalism. The dimensions which this development has already assumed today have not yet become really clear to most comrades under the fire of the anti-communism of the darkest reaction the world has ever experienced.

## 18.

Particular attention and care is required to detect the enemy ideology in our own ranks, because the process of decay of imperialism does not stop at the gates of the Communist Parties, infects also the Marxist-Leninists themselves, tries to take possession of our

hearts and minds, even spreads over the whole international communist world. We do not hide this truth with "left" phrases, who would benefit from that? Whoever faces the truth today senses that the Marxist-Leninist movement of today is not separated from this dying bourgeois world bourgeoisie by a Chinese wall, that, for example, the corpse of Chinese revisionism has long since crawled over the Chinese wall and is trying to take the world revolutionaries with it into its grave. But other than under the stench of decay of revisionism, the revolutionary idea, the revolutionary workers cannot free themselves. Whoever wants socialism must go through imperialist hell, we cannot choose any other way.

What are the lessons to distinguish life from death, new from old, revolutionary from counter-revolutionary, truth from lies, right from wrong, honest intentions from devious intentions, honest criticism and self-criticism from hypocritical criticism and self-criticism, etc. etc.? how can the Comintern (SH) recognise the enemies in its ranks, how can it free itself from them and get rid of them, how can it keep its ranks united and maintain its unity and discipline, and what systematics must we follow in order to be successful against the enemy currents, to protect ourselves ideologically and to advance? These are all important, serious questions which decide "who - whom?", life and death, victory and defeat, which are continually repeated in one way or another and which must always be solved correctly, and which therefore cannot be left out of the general line at all. Here, the Comintern (SH) must learn from the huge treasure of experiences that the working class and the communists have made and apply these lessons correctly, i.e. also apply the right experiences at the right time, and above all the most up-to-date experiences, in order to avoid dogmatism (dogma=quoting classics out of context; revisionism=falsifying the standpoint of the classics by invoking quotations from individual theses taken out of context with the concrete conditions of a particular epoch, equating different periods, inadmissibly dividing one period into artificially two or even more periods [ Ex. Ultra-imperialism] etc.) on the one hand, and spontaneism on the other, in order to avoid sectarianism and craftiness, to avoid rushing ahead and trotting behind, etc., etc., and to remain elastic and manoeuvrable without abandoning the principles. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are clear that everything will never remain as it is and will become wrong if everything is left as it is. Outdated ideological weapons become blunt and have to be re-sharpened or re-forged. There are the alternation of ebb and flow of the international class struggle, transitional periods, surprising changes in the world situation, new conditions and relations of the classes, events that are recognised too late, overestimations and

underestimations of the situation, new results of the world proletarian movement, new or changing revolutionary processes, decisions that cannot be confirmed or fulfilled or have become insufficient, new methods to be developed and new measures to be taken, new theoretical insights and conclusions, up to the revision of the general line and programme, determination of the right time for armed insurrection, etc. etc.

Or let us take the activity of the CPSU (B) before and after the October Revolution - there one had to deal with plenty of deviations, because after all, the Soviet Union, as the first socialist state in the world, had to go its way alone for decades, one could not simply transfer the methods in the situation of capitalism to the situation in socialism, one could not equate the pre-monopolist stage and the highest stage of capitalism, imperialism, so a hard ideological struggle had to be waged. Today, this struggle must be brought to an end against the equation of the stage of development of imperialism in the times of Lenin and Stalin and its present stage of development, whereby, of course, the differences must be correctly worked out. The differences of opinion on the current assessment of the situation of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, in which the foundation of the Comintern (SH) falls, are of high topicality. Thus, in the whole activity of the Comintern (SH), this or that deviation, this or that ideological pressure will be triggered at any time, dicey questions, difficulties or even crises will inevitably arise. It is clear that the class opponent exploits precisely these delicate situations to harm the cause of the proletariat. When one is uncertain and the opponent is difficult to see through, Lenin's only correct criterion helps: we judge the opponent not by what he says, but by what he does and why he does it. And we are also prepared to take the risk with extraordinary methods if one does not get anywhere with the old methods. One has to learn willingness to compromise, manoeuvrability and elasticity, tactics in the face of opponents, etc. in daily work in order to move freely and not get stuck or isolated. The Comintern (SH) and its sections must not ignore and turn a blind eye to their disagreements when these disagreements are of a principled character ( not to be confused with supposed "principled" disagreements artificially conjured up only to impose non-stop "principled" debates on us and keep us from working). Only by fighting for the principled Marxist-Leninist line can the Comintern (SH) and its sections protect themselves from the pressure and influence of the bourgeoisie within their own ranks. Only by overcoming the inner-party contradictions can the recovery and consolidation of the Comintern (SH) and its sections be achieved. Only through criticism and self-criticism can the Comintern (SH) and its sections learn from their mistakes and develop. From which side does the danger threaten? It threatens from all sides. From whichever side the danger threatens, from the right or from the "left", there is

always, by means of centrism as a catalyst, danger from both sides at the same time, must always be fought against every danger in a Bolshevik manner, i.e., irreconcilably, consistently, relentlessly and resolutely, i.e., to unite all revolutionary forces of the Comintern (SH) and its sections in order to completely liquidate deviating groupings, i.e., to unite in the struggle against the one grouping. That is, never to rely on the forces of the other danger in the struggle against one danger and never to spread the protective screen against the blows of the main deviation over the secondary deviations as well, in order not to cultivate these deviations unintentionally and let them become the main danger again. For example, when war is declared on the right, the right-wing deviants usually pose as conciliators and put us in a difficult position. The struggle against a deviation can turn into an unwanted support of the deviation, can even cause the crisis of the Comintern (SH) and its sections if they do not lead this struggle on a Marxist-Leninist basis and do not expose and correct mistakes in time. In order to guard against factional outbursts of the right dissenters, it is necessary to raise and enforce the question of iron discipline and unconditional subordination to this discipline. Neither schematism nor liberalism, nor any half-measures and false considerations in the face of even the most remorseful protestations of the class enemy in one's own ranks, in the face of any hostile inner current, can be tolerated. This is always fatal and sooner or later takes its revenge. Even expulsion is not the decisive means in the struggle against deviation. The essential thing is to smash the deviant groupings ideologically and morally in the course of a principled struggle, involving the representatives of the sections and their broad party masses in this struggle. This is one of the most essential and important means of educating the Comintern (SH) and its sections in the spirit of Bolshevism to deal with the enemies in its own ranks. Expulsion, if it is really necessary, must be the natural outcome of the ideological crushing of the dissenting opponent. A main danger always comes together with subsidiary dangers, the main danger can turn into a subsidiary danger and vice versa. Underestimation of the subsidiary dangers must be avoided when one has just concentrated on the main danger, for the more unhindered a deviation can crystallise unnoticed, the more difficult it is to bring it under control later. Stalin pointed out that it is a "folly" to provide ready-made concepts for averting a main danger and said:

"The main danger is constituted by that deviation against which one has ceased to fight and has thus allowed it to grow into a danger to the state."(Stalin, Report to the 17th Party Congress on the Work of the CC of the CPSU[B]).

If the upsurge creates revolutionary illusions and produces the left danger as the main danger, the period of decline creates revisionist illusions and the main danger from the right. Dogmatism prevents necessary changes and further developments by allegedly relying on the "preservation" of the old correct course and principles. The sectarians try to overstretch the state of the Comintern (SH) under constant full steam and run it hot on all fronts, squandering the reserves and finally forcing it to collapse by trying to present the correct Marxist-Leninist course as dragging back the "right". Conversely, the revisionists sell their line as "creative development" in order to defame the correct Marxist-Leninist course to be maintained as "outdated" and "dogmatic", while wanting to protect the Comintern (SH) and its sections from their alleged "sectarianism", which means nothing else than throwing the principles overboard, to sell every defeat as a "victory", to "praise" the comrades and to lull them into a sense of security that "everything is going well", that "everything is under control", until the Comintern (SH) and its sections are lulled to sleep by the warm stove of successes - until the rude awakening when the class enemy strikes and strikes us down without us being able to offer any significant resistance. The "culprits" for these developments are then of course always the Marxist-Leninists, so that the opponent can still warn about our "mistakes" later on, himself looking innocent and washed clean, in order to continue playing his games with the next of us. Left radicalism" is the childhood disease that begins with the tendency to rush into Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is the old-age disease of communism that begins with no longer grasping the creative force of Marxism-Leninism, the new, no longer believing in it. These dangers of contagion remain until the realisation of world communism and can only be warded off or cured with the medicine of Marxism-Leninism.

In whatever direction the deviation may be tactically directed, it is fundamentally important to the bourgeoisie to get a deviation rolling at all, whether to the "left" or to the right. It agrees with every "Marxism-Leninism" , every "socialism" , every "dictatorship of the proletariat" - on one condition: without the Marxist-Leninists! Every deviation, every crisis, every wavering of the party is important enough for the bourgeoisie to cause some weakening of the revolutionaries, because only from this arises the possibility of one day breaking their necks in their own party, stalling the revolution and restoring capitalism.

The petty-bourgeois intellectuals prate, but the bourgeoisie acts!

"Only a shift of power away from the Bolsheviks, whether a little to the right or a little to the left, everything else will be found" - Thus speaks the bourgeoisie, and this is a class truth

confirmed by the whole history of revolutions of all countries through the whole centuries-long epoch of new history since the Middle Ages." (Lenin, Vol. 32, page 375, "On the Natural Tax", German edition).

**Either bourgeoisie or proletariat, only the complacent petty bourgeoisie prates and dreams of a "middle way"!**

This was also the case with the fall of socialist Albania: The petty-bourgeois, pompous intellectuals from all over went in and out of the PLA with their flattery, lurked abroad and were supported by the world bourgeoisie. That is clear as daylight!

**d) tactics of the ideological-theoretical fight**  
**Against the strategy and tactics of right opportunism**

"International modern revisionism, with that of the Soviet Union as its centre, is a great class enemy and the main task for the international communist and workers' movement. The PAA considers the struggle against revisionism in the political and ideological fields to be an indispensable condition for successfully combating imperialism and securing the final victory of the socialist revolution on a world scale" (History of the PAA, page 724, German edition).

As in the past, it is a characteristic of the revisionists and opportunists today that they deny the world revolution under various pretexts. The history of the international communist movement bears witness to the fact that the revisionists and opportunists of all shades have never been concerned or worried about the fate of the world revolution. They "theorise" not to carry out the revolution but to sabotage it and make it fail. They are fighting to keep capitalism and the bourgeoisie untouched.

Thus, the long-term strategy and tactics of the revisionists is a strategy and tactics of imperialism to keep its world domination or, if necessary, to reconquer it. It consists in disarming the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics by posing itself as "Marxist-Leninist" strategy and tactics and skinning and renewing itself (neo-revisionism) in order to continue to support world imperialism with its strategy and tactics, to put the world proletariat to

sleep, to distract it, To undermine and disorientate the combativity of the revolutionary forces of all countries, to demobilise and demoralise the working class and to facilitate the intensification of the offensive of world imperialism against the world proletariat and against the peoples of the world by reducing or breaking the resistance of the world proletariat to a harmless level. broken.

So what is the aim of neo-revisionism today?

The strategy and tactics of neo-revisionism today are aimed at preventing not only the rebirth of socialism in one country, but also the beginning of its worldwide spread. To achieve this goal, neo-revisionism has made it its task to deceive the revolutionary forces and mask their true intentions with phrases of " anti-revisionist Marxism-Leninism": Rebirth of socialism in words - revisionism in deeds.

Thus, the aim of neo-revisionism is also to prevent the reconstruction of the Communist International and, in case of failure, to get hold of the Comintern (SH) in order to degenerate and liquidate it. While the modern revisionists proceeded in this way to take the baton of the Comintern. Whereas the modern revisionists proceeded to take the conductor's baton of the Comintern out of the hands of the Soviet Union, pursuing the tactics of decentralisation and polycentrism, the neo-revisionists today are concerned with obstructing the creation of the Comintern (SH) by setting up their own international revisionist catch basins and creating an ideologically unprincipled, eclectic rallying movement of the most diverse revisionist currents as "united front tactics", condemning as "dogmatism" any attempt at centralisation on a principled basis, any drawing of a necessary demarcation line between Marxism-Leninism and neo-revisionism, the only road to unity. It is part of the strategy and tactics of the revisionists to attack "dogmatism", by which, of course, they mean only the fundamental doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. No other purpose has a new revisionist international or several revisionist internationals to oppose the "dogmatism" of the Comintern (SH). Although there are already meetings to reach a common international stand on this or that question, to agree on this or that international slogan or to carry out this or that international action, no organisational umbrella organisation of revisionists on the international level has yet come into being. Revisionists are capitalist by their nature and in this respect they are not capable of unity, but they will try to unite on the grounds of acting together against us, against the world revolution and the revolutionary movements in the world. What unites revisionists is only



their struggle against Marxism-Leninism. The war they want to have with us, they will have! Revisionism cannot be fought with revisionism, no matter how "anti-revisionist" it is packaged.

According to the tactics of the neo-revisionists, we would have to go backwards to "save socialism" (because their intention is only to save the old revisionism in order to destroy the new socialism!) But to save living corpses is not only a futile labour of love, but also causes an infection with contagious diseases - so may this work be safely left to the neo-revisionists. So we will not lift a finger for the survival of the revisionist remnants, but on the contrary, we will help the workers in these countries to lose their timidity to end this exploitation under the red flag with a revolution, by snatching the red flag from these exploiters and raising it on a real dictatorship of the proletariat, which is more than just its name.

It will be a victory of the struggle against neo-revisionism when we have succeeded in exposing the disguised, masked position as an openly revisionist position, when we have exposed the revisionists, when we force our enemies in their struggle against us to abandon and leave the disguised, the masked, the neo-revisionist positions to move to openly revisionist positions. Only in this way can we smash neo-revisionism as the backbone of dying revisionism:

"It was achieved that the revisionist leaders of many communist and workers' parties took openly revisionist positions and actively fought us. This must be considered a great victory, a victory that must be deepened. This entailed that many communist elements broke away from these revisionist leaderships, many were expelled from the revisionist-dominated parties. They created the new Marxist-Leninist parties and this process continues. Our determined struggle, the unmasking of the modern revisionists, the defeat they suffered and are suffering daily in all fields of their national and international activity, caused contradictions to break out and deepen in their ranks. We must consider these deepening contradictions as a great victory of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in action" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. I, page 105, Tirana 1979, German edition).

The strategic aim of revisionism is ultimately to perpetuate the rule of capitalism where it is still in power, and to restore it where it has already been overthrown. This is the united aim of world capitalism and revisionism, its agency in the working class.

The revisionists firstly pursued the general line of destroying the main bulwark of the world revolution through the revisionist degeneration in the socialist countries and actively preventing the liberation struggle against imperialism. The proletarians who had overthrown capitalism could no longer function as the main chain link of the world revolutionary process. This deprived the international revolutionary forces of their material and spiritual support and opened the door to counterrevolution. World capitalism, with the revisionist countries and Soviet revisionism at its head, had created for itself the most powerful agency against world revolution and socialism that the world had never seen before. Alone, world capitalism was not capable of doing this, neither with its anti-communist demagogy, nor with force of arms. World capitalism had to reckon that this was only a breathing space, a temporary victory, but through revisionism it was able to consolidate itself by carrying the seeds of division into the world communist movement and into the revolutionary workers' and national liberation movement, splitting the world revolutionary camp. The destruction of the socialist world was the aim of the revisionists in order to intervene in the class battles of the world in a divisive way, to seize its leadership in order to steer it into waters that were not dangerous for the world bourgeoisie and to deprive it of its revolutionary core, its leading centre. The general line of the revisionists was to isolate a single socialist country in order to make it more difficult for it to survive in the long run without socialist revolutions in the other countries, and at the same time to make it ever easier for imperialism to regenerate itself and to deflate the single socialist country from the outside and to infiltrate, decompose and crush it from the inside.

The world revolution is based on the revolutionary solution of the main antagonistic contradiction between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat with the result of smashing the rule of the world bourgeoisie. The revisionists recognise this in words, but in deeds they serve or have themselves become part of the international counterrevolution. The revisionists deny the dialectics between the world revolution and the revolutions in the individual countries. They absolutise the revolutions and reduce the world revolution to the sum of the individual revolutions. The revisionists thus consider the world revolution superfluous because the existing socialist countries are growing so strongly that they are gradually "pushing back" world imperialism - "peacefully", of course. They finally stooped to the impudent assertion that this would also make the individual revolutions superfluous. Only the existing socialist states would enable the proletarians of all countries to take the "peaceful road" to socialism.

Secondly, the revisionists pursued the general line of betraying and isolating the struggle of the communist parties in the developed capitalist countries for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and leading them into the reformist and revisionist quagmire, i.e. the road of integration into the capitalist system. i.e. the road to turning away from Marxism-Leninism.

And finally, thirdly, the revisionists pursued the general line of stopping the Communist Parties of the neo-colonial countries exploited and oppressed by imperialism from liberating themselves from imperialism in a revolutionary way and taking the road to socialism. The revisionists repaired the chains of imperialism instead of breaking them. Instead of independence and autonomy, the revisionists blessed these countries with the "help" of social-imperialism and imperialism, they transformed the international chain of revolution into a chain of counter-revolution.

**And as the quintessence of their general line, the revisionists did everything to prevent and cut the leadership, to prevent the connection, the unity and cooperation of all three international sections of the world revolution, without which a real liberation from imperialism is impossible. This is precisely the task of revisionism today, not to allow the rebirth of the unity of these three international sections of the world revolution.**

The neo-revisionists do not formally deny this critique of the general line of the modern revisionists, but they do in practice thwart the struggle against this revisionist general line. Ramiz Alia, for example, while verbally recognising the necessity of the anti-revisionist class struggle in socialism everywhere in the world, except in his own country, proclaimed in 1983 that the "danger in Albania had been averted" and that Enver Hoxha had earned "great merits" for having "pointed out" this danger. To "recognise" the anti-revisionist struggle as part of the "general" Marxist-Leninist theory, but at the same time to declare revisionism in one's own country "victoriously settled" and superfluous, that was the "anti-revisionist" strategy and tactics of the neo-revisionists of Albania, in order to lull the last dictatorship of the proletariat of the world into security, in order to dissolve it all the more easily by force a few years later. This was the strategy and tactics of the II International in the First World War, only generalised and transferred concretely to the strategy and tactics of the struggle against revisionism in Albania. And this is the strategy and tactics of all neo-

revisionists.

Enver Hoxha is the best fighter that the struggle against the strategy and tactics of modern revisionism has produced. Let us equip our general line with his conclusions:

"The enemies of our enemies can be our true friends if they are on the same ideological and political line as us. The enemies of our enemies can also be our temporary allies on some issues, but we must not make concessions to them on principles, and we must make that clear to them, we must not hide our line and principles from them.

The enemies of our enemies can also be our enemies. In that case, both sides must remain our enemies and be fought as our enemies. The contradictions between these two enemies are an immutable law, are unavoidable contradictions which our hard, principled, consistent and constant struggle intensifies and deepens. We must take advantage of them, not give in and make concessions to one or the other, fall into their traps or fall for their demagoguery (...).

In order to concentrate on the struggle against modern revisionism, we must consider it as the main enemy in the world communist movement. Or, to use the term favoured by the Chinese: it is the 'great devil'. And this great devil must be fought by Marxist-Leninists consistently, without wavering, to the end, in all forms, at all times and in all circumstances of his appearance. This great devil (...) is composed of many devils, one bigger, the other smaller, one powerful, the other weak, one with, the other without a mask, one in the vanguard, the other in the rearguard, one shooting cannons, the other throwing stones and hiding his hand, depending on the situation, depending on the circumstances. Sometimes these devils act individually, each for himself, sometimes they appear united, sometimes they split to regroup in factions linked by the interests of the struggle against socialism or the contradictions among themselves, or in doing so they follow the groupings and contradictions of that bourgeoisie or imperialist power with which they agree in the interests of the common struggle against Marxism-Leninism, their main common enemy, or against some other bourgeois capitalist groupings with which the contradictions intensify.

In this whole sharp and complicated struggle, the Marxist-Leninists also have at their disposal a whole gamut of tactics, ranging from the rescue of the lied to and the less sullied to the merciless crushing of the enemy. But every one of our tactical attitudes must have the proletarian principle as its basis, and not bourgeois principles and bourgeois

diplomacy" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Tirana 1979, Engl. edition).

The principle of the world proletariat is proletarian internationalism. The strategy of Marxism-Leninism is based on the realisation, on the creative application of proletarian internationalism. This sharpest weapon of the world proletariat has therefore been the target of revisionism from the very beginning, which keeps concocting new theory of "championing" proletarian internationalism in order to lead the proletariat into a dead end. Proletarian internationalism in words, but preventing the unification of the proletarians of all countries in deeds, this is the strategic aim of revisionism. Thus, proletarian internationalism can only develop and become a practical expression of true unity when the world proletariat succeeds in preventing the seizure of the proletarians of all countries by the banner of revisionism, or in freeing itself from these revisionist unions, in breaking their chains, which mean nothing other than maintaining, prolonging and perpetuating the actually existing division of the world proletariat by the agencies of world imperialism in the international workers' movement.

Proletarian internationalism, for example, does not mean to realise solidarity, mutual help and support of the proletarians and labourers of all countries according to the reformist "watering can principle" in order to make life under capitalism more bearable, according to the motto: "Against the overpowering enemy, shared suffering = half suffering". Bourgeois internationalism wants to eliminate the misery of the proletariat by eliminating the proletariat itself.

"The socialism of the bourgeoisie consists precisely in the assertion that the bourgeois are bourgeois - in the interests of the working class" ("Marx, Engels Manifesto of the Communist Party").

Proletarian internationalism does not exist to assert to the world proletariat its place in world capitalism, does not consist in wringing from world imperialism one or another demand, one or another reform, to make world imperialism more "humane", "liveable", "just", etc., to "curb" its excesses, to "reform" imperialism, to support the good imperialists against the bad imperialists, etc.

World imperialism has created international organisations as instruments of its world domination, which - like imperialism itself - are in a process of rapid disintegration. It is not our task to reform these instruments, but to smash them. With these international

organisations, the bourgeois state apparatuses of the capitalist countries are also forced under the world monopolies. The anti-monopolist struggle of the proletariat is directed towards the elimination of the monopolies, but not in order to defend the interests of the bourgeois state apparatuses of the capitalist countries against it - this cannot be done objectively, because imperialism is capitalism, namely its highest and last stage.

Proletarian internationalism is also not a revisionist tool for world imperialism to grow peacefully into world socialism, but proletarian internationalism can only mean the abolition of suffering through revolutionary liberation from world imperialism and the creation of world socialism on the ruins of world imperialism. Proletarian internationalism has meaning only when it contributes to the creation and defence of the dictatorship of the world proletariat. The revisionists in power misused and continue to misuse proletarian internationalism to make it easier to harness the world proletariat to their cart, to realise more quickly the hegemony of social imperialism and to force the peoples of the world under their heel. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand, is a sharp guard in the struggle against reformism, revisionism and against its latest moult, neo-revisionism. Neo-revisionism recognises in words the true revolutionary meaning of proletarian internationalism, its defence against revisionism, but contributes in deeds to transform proletarian internationalism into bourgeois internationalism.

Time is pressing for the exploited and oppressed who want to shake off their yoke. The exploiters and oppressors are interested in delaying the present state of affairs as long as possible. Therefore, the masses must take the initiative, they must go on the offensive, they must not be content with their lot but change their lives in a revolutionary way. Proletarian internationalism, of course, works only on a voluntary basis and in a common conscious conviction, firstly, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in each individual country are subordinated to the interests of the proletarian struggle on a world scale and, secondly, that the proletariat which achieves victory over the bourgeoisie in its own country is able and willing to make the greatest sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital and will give all possible help to the proletarians in the non-socialist countries. To be satisfied with the class struggle in one's own country and hope that every other country will do the same with itself is not proletarian internationalism. The revisionists like to quote not only the paper "Left Radicalism" - Childhood Disease in Communism...", but also Lenin's definition of internationalism, in order to pass off their reactionary line of twisting the slogan of "class struggle at home" as Marxist-Leninist, and to use it to beat up the Marxist-Leninists who call for the storming of the Red International Brigades. On the situation in

the Socialist (II) International, Lenin wrote at the time:

"There is only one real internationalism: devoted work on the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, support (by propaganda, by moral and material aid) of just such a struggle, just such a line and just such a line alone in all countries without exception..." (Lenin, Works, Vol. 24, p.59/60)

Lenin's quotation must not be taken out of its historical context. It was written in April 1917, i.e. in a situation when the "internationalists" of the Second International were ready in words to fight against all the bourgeoisies of the world - including all the social-chauvinists and Kautskyites, except their own bourgeoisie, except their own social-chauvinists and Kautskyites. Lenin exposed these traitors, and in all sharpness he hurled the internationalism of action against the phrasemongering about "internationalism".

This twisting of the slogan: "class struggle at home" ignores the world political character of the proletarian struggle and turns it upside down. This would lead, firstly, only to a victory of the world bourgeoisie over the world revolution, and secondly, ultimately to the victory of the bourgeoisie over the revolution in every single country of the world. With proletarian internationalism, the world proletariat must create its leading centre, its advanced fortress, and use its driving force to spread the world revolution to the last corner of the globe. Proletarian internationalism means: "Proletarians of all countries unite", but this cannot be equated with the stencilled, historical call for a rallying movement of the 19th century; today this slogan can only mean: United world proletariat, fight for your power and smash world imperialism! The revisionist theses about the existence of several "Marxisms" in different countries, even in a single country, have their origin in the absolutisation of national specificities. The purpose of these theories is to limit the workers' movement to the individual countries and eventually to split the international workers' movement. The aim of the supporters of these anti-Marxist theses is to deprive the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of its internationalist character. The Comintern (SH) and its sections firmly reject such views and insist that Marxist-Leninist doctrine is a single and indivisible doctrine and belongs to the whole world proletariat. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism, as an internationalist doctrine, must be creatively applied in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of each country. This means that the Comintern (SH) and its sections are equally opposed to dogmatism which ignores these conditions.

The spontaneous world movement of the working class is a wandering in the dark, as Stalin says, if the world proletariat does not arm itself with Marxism-Leninism. Conversely, the Comintern (SH) and its sections are obliged to carry the consciousness of proletarian internationalism, socialist consciousness into the international workers' movement, to raise the consciousness of the world proletariat to a higher level so that it does not trot along behind and inevitably slide into bourgeoisie.

It is the historical merit of the Marxist-Leninist parties which, together with the PAA headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, have exposed and fought the theories of the "3-worlds" and the "non-aligned world", the "theory of developing countries" etc. worldwide. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are in the tradition of this struggle and in the duty to bring it to an end by exposing those who vainly try to skin this 3-world theory of Mao, this "non-aligned world" of Tito and make it hopeful again. To fight the "3-world theory" and the "non-aligned world theory" with Marxist-Leninist words, but to follow them in practice, this is the line of the neo-revisionists, as it became clear in the attitude towards the liberation struggle of the Albanians. These anti-Marxist theories serve not only the social-imperialist aims of the Yugoslav and Chinese social-fascists and other social-fascist countries of the world, but in the end also the NATO imperialists and all the imperialists of the world, because the world can only achieve liberation, freedom and independence from imperialism through revolution, in the end only through socialism, and this is exactly what is rejected and prevented by the "3-world theory, by the "non-aligned world theory". Anti-NATO bloc is not necessarily identical with anti-imperialist bloc. One cannot place oneself under the umbrella of one imperialism in order to free oneself from another. One cannot rely on capitalism in individual countries to push back the influence of international finance capital.

In the strategy against world imperialism, in the strategy against its most reactionary main driving force, against the world centre of counterrevolution, against the main enemy of the world proletariat and the peoples of the world, US imperialism and its allies and their present globalisation strategy, one must not make the right mistake of limiting one's struggle to the "most imperialist elements of international finance capital", as Dimitroff put it at the VII World Congress of the Comintern in 1935. It is the old revisionist ideology of "pushing back the monopolies", it is the revisionist ideology of "anti-monopolist democracy", it is the vain attempt to replace the discredited, the compromised old social democracy, to take over its role in a new guise and to revive its ideology. It is the social democratic slogan of defending one's own imperialism against foreign imperialism, in the



"interests of one's "own" proletariat, etc., It is the theory of class collaboration, of the subjugation of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. This is the treacherous line of the II International, the strategy of defence of the fatherland, a thoroughly bourgeois and imperialist strategy. You cannot defeat or weaken US imperialism by relying on an "anti-imperialist" alliance of the agencies of imperialism within the workers' movement, with the social-imperialists, etc., or by allying directly with imperialists who are in competition with US imperialism. As we know, all imperialists do this. The striving for hegemony is an immanent law of imperialism, which is pushed and led especially by the social democrats. The world proletariat is not concerned with replacing the world domination of one imperialism with another because one imperialism is more "progressive", or because one is rising and the other is leaving the stage, etc., etc., but only with fighting every single imperialism, first of all the present and former main enemy, US imperialism and the imperialists who are the biggest exploiters and oppressors in the given country, in order to finally smash the whole world imperialism. In the world arena, the power potential of world imperialism is constantly shifting through alliances and imperialist wars, and new "peace theories" are constantly being invented to hide and justify the warlike redivision of the world behind it. The fact that the revisionists have transformed socialism into social-imperialism is also used by representatives of social-democratism to rehash their old anti-communism. They try to justify theoretically that the crimes of the social-imperialists (in which the social-democrats were not entirely uninvolved!) "correspond" to the lawfulness of international communism. For them, the matter is clear: "communism = new imperialism". If, however, the social democrats fear that under the world domination of communism there is no more room for social democratism and pipe dreams like "ultra-imperialism", then their fears are not entirely unfounded. We are for the revolutionary smashing of social imperialism with the aim of eliminating imperialism altogether. World domination by communism means the elimination of all domination by men over men, but of course the labour aristocracy in its instinct for self-preservation is not interested in this.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections recognise only one theory: Lenin's theory of the " 2-worlds", the socialist world to be created anew by the working class in alliance with the entire labouring masses in struggle against the old, dying world of capitalism with all its theories about some other "world" already invented or to be invented tomorrow to serve the survival of capitalism, to serve the hegemony of the great powers and their alliances, to serve the ends of continuing to enslave the peoples. This is precisely why the opponents of Marxism-Leninism accuse the Comintern (SH) and its sections of

"sectarianism", "Enver Hoxha schematism", etc., attack its doctrines of "imperialism and revolution". Whether in the anti-social-fascist National Liberation Struggle, whether in an inevitable pre-socialist revolution or directly in the socialist revolution itself, always the Comintern (SH) and its sections remain true to their revolutionary path, no slander in the world can sway them, for their struggle is just and will be supported.

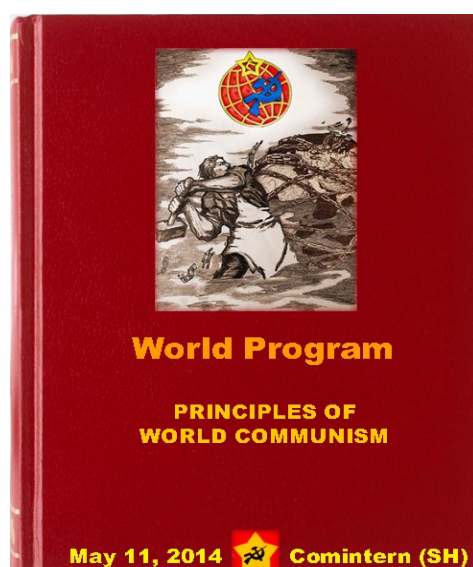
In the former revisionist countries, in the countries where the socialist revolution remained unfinished and silence reigned on the revolutionary front for decades, one must pursue a tactic that attacks revisionism, that exposes why, among the revisionists, word and deed are diametrically opposed, the sharpening contradictions must be exploited in order to drive them towards a revolutionary solution. Here, entrenched tracks and bureaucratic encrustations must be broken, one must fight against flattening and vulgarisation, one must develop democratic forms of articulation of the working class from below in order to soften the social-fascist, military-despotic fetters of bourgeois socialism, the workers' movement must be galvanised against the state apparatus, above all, illegal actions of the workers must be organised in order to protect them from the grip of the police and the military. The strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties to be newly founded in these countries aim at the completion of the socialist revolution.

This tactic must also be applied in those countries where the national liberation revolution has remained unfinished. In such countries, it is necessary to fight against the parliamentary flattening, the philistine degradation of the tasks and the momentum of the workers' movement, to attack the parliamentary superstition, illusions of bourgeois democracy and its tactics of mass stupefaction, even more so when it concerns backward countries that have educated their leaders in the metropolises in order to introduce "Western democracy" under the control and guidance of these metropolises.

As far as the strategy and tactics of armed insurrection are concerned, the right opportunists are not at all content with saying: "Sectarianism! Adventurism!". It is also not only the well-known tactics of "that the time has not yet come!" and "one should not have taken up arms!", but the right opportunists themselves have also proposed the "general strike", the "armed insurrection", but of course not in order to overthrow the ruling class through the revolution, but in order to put pressure on it and to wring reforms out of it while maintaining the power of the ruling class. The Comintern (SH) and its sections do not reject the general strike ( misjudged by the "left" as an alternative for armed revolution ) and militant forms of struggle, on the contrary, they consider them not only as an

indispensable school for armed insurrection, but also as proof of the credibility of a Bolshevik party of struggle. Of course, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must fight right opportunism which, despite the obvious existence of a revolutionary situation, openly refuses to take up arms, lead the revolution and seize power. When the enemy, when the world bourgeoisie falters, one must give the enemy the rest, one must not let him escape. "History will not forgive a delay to revolutionaries who today can ( and today will certainly) win, while tomorrow they run the risk of losing much, indeed everything" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 224, German edition).

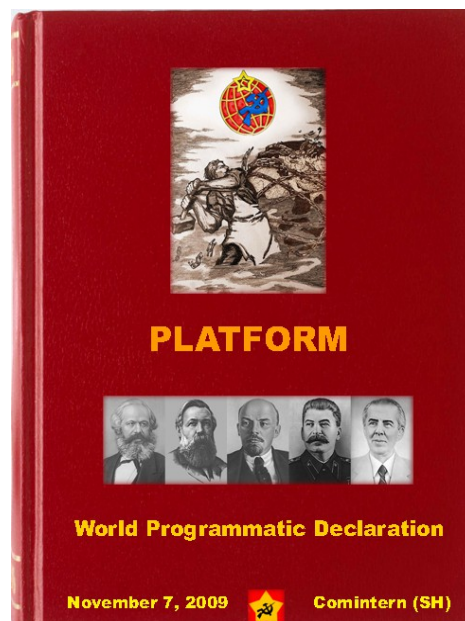
"...in the same way, Herr Struve also shirks the question of insurrection and hides behind phrases (...) shows us (...) that (...) the revolutionary moment differs from the ordinary, everyday, preparatory historical periods precisely in that the mood, the excitement, the conviction of the masses must and do appear in ACTION. Vulgar revolutionarism does not understand that the word is also an act; this principle is indisputable in its application to history in general or to those epochs of history when there is no open political action of the masses, which, after all, cannot be replaced or artificially evoked by any coup. The revolutionaries of post-trab politics do not understand that at a time when the revolutionary moment has dawned, (.... ) since the civil war has begun - that it is then alienation from life, rigor mortis, rhetoric, or else betrayal of the revolution and desertion if, as in the old days, one confines oneself to the 'word' without issuing the direct slogan of the transition to the 'deed', if one talks around the deed (...)" (Lenin, Vol. 9, page 59, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", German edition).



[Program](#)

## of the Comintern (SH)

- PRINCIPLES OF WORLD COMMUNISM -  
May 11, 2014



Platform  
of the Comintern (SH)  
World Programmatic Declaration  
7th of November, 2009





## Manifesto of the World- Bolchevist Party

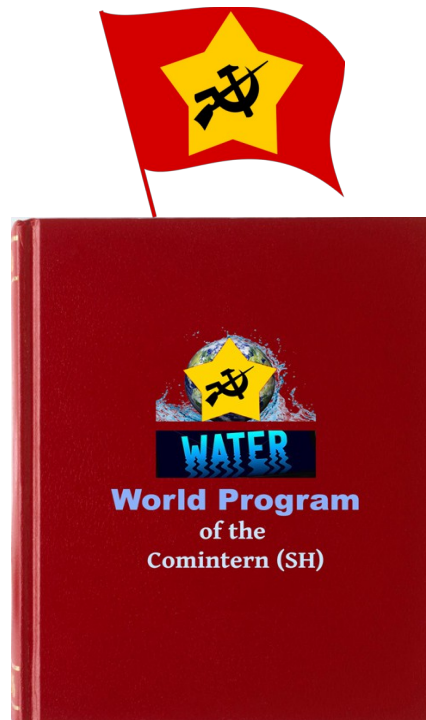
2003



## [World Health Program](#)

**Comintern (SH); April 6, 2020**

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[WATER](#)

World Program of the Comintern (SH)  
1st of August 2020

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It is the *world socialist revolution*  
is nothing less than to protect our planet.

20 September 2019





## **Our Fight against World Fascism**



### **FOUNDING DECLARATION OF THE RFL**

29th of July, 2019



## On solving the question of today's world colonialism

(programmatic article on our struggle against world colonialism)  
March 26, 2019



**World Decree on the Land all over the World**

**- adopted by the Comintern (SH) and the Red Peasant International**

**on 21st of January 2018**





## World program

for the preservation and protection of life

21. 11. 2018



Programmatic Declaration  
on  
the Question of Migrants and Refugees

Comintern (SH); 10th of September, 2015

[PDF](#)



D. O. W.



**Declaration of War against all warmongers and their lackeys  
around the world.**

Comintern (SH) on First of September, 2019



## MILITARY-PROGRAM

20 military guiding principles of the Comintern (SH)

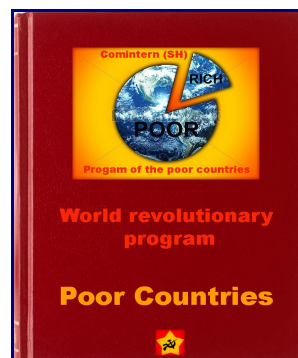
- adopted on September 9, 2016 -





The socialist world revolution disperses the fog of all world religions !  
- 20 Theses of the Comintern (SH) on the struggle against religion -

February 1, 2015



World revolutionary program  
of the poor countries all over the world

**d) tactics of the ideological-theoretical fight**  
**Against the strategy and tactics of "left" opportunism**

We must not forget "that in the communist parties, in the upsurge of revolution, the right and left deviations must inevitably appear, the first of which does not want to separate itself from the past, and the second does not want to reckon with the present,...that there are no revolutions without these deviations" (Stalin, vol. 10, page 8, German edition).

The Comintern (SH) and its sections reject any schematic and dogmatic standpoint on the question of the possible forms of the revolution and its course. The "left" opportunism rigidly adheres to the outdated ideas about the role, task and organisation of the Communist International of the past, without making the urgent changes that necessarily result from today's world situation, which has changed in comparison with then. The dogmatists and sectarians are trying to prevent the Marxist-Leninist parties and their Comintern (SH) from developing a scientific analysis of the world situation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, from defining a common strategy and tactics in all countries and from applying them creatively in the changing world conditions. This would result in the ideological disarmament of the Comintern (SH). A dogmatic and sectarian strategy and tactics creates the danger of isolating the Marxist-Leninists from the working class and the broad masses of the labourers, condemning them to passive waiting or spontaneous action and themselves to rash, adventurous actions for which the subjective conditions have not yet matured. To move forward without carrying the masses of millions with you is in fact to remain at the back of the movement. To go forward and detach oneself from the rearguard, not being able to carry the rearguard along, would be a rashness which for a certain time can bring the forward movement of the masses to failure. The mistake of the "left" opportunists is precisely that it does not recognise or ignores the rules for leading the masses or does not understand that the Comintern (SH) and its sections alone, that the vanguard alone, without the support of the masses of millions is incapable of carrying out the revolution, that the revolution is ultimately "made" by the masses of millions of toilers.



While revisionism is generally and fundamentally the main danger of the revolutionary movement, under certain circumstances and in certain situations of the changing class struggle, sectarianism may well become the main danger - thus must not be underestimated as a "lesser evil" or accepted as a childhood disease. Especially in revolutionary situations, when revisionism is dealt delicate blows, the bourgeoisie resorts to "left" opportunism to come to revisionism's rescue by allowing opportunism to become active again through the back door under the guise of the "anti-revisionist struggle". In the final analysis, it makes no difference to the defeat of the revolution whether the call to revolt and take up arms is made too early or too late.

In the countries where there is not yet a Marxist-Leninist party, where this party is not yet anchored in the masses, where it does not yet play a leading role in the workers' movement, there the Marxist-Leninists must overcome their isolated situation at all costs by going to the workers, to join them in their struggle, to arouse the proletariat politically, to encourage it to political independence, to stop running behind the labour aristocracy, whose art of deceiving, demoralising and bribing the workers is unequalled in the world. One must completely throw off its narrow, ossified sectarian spirit and banish it from the small organisational, Marxist-Leninist germ cells without fail, so that it can succeed in merging with the workers' movement.

The tactic of the sectarians is to transform the Comintern (SH) from the leader of the world proletarian revolution into a bunch of groundless conspirators with no ground under their feet, to criminally throw the vanguard all alone into the decisive struggle, isolated from the masses. Even agitation and propaganda, waving the classist flags, do not automatically lead to revolutionising the masses. We are not a sectarian party of agitation and propaganda, but a party of struggle with which the masses have their own political experience in the class struggle. Those who deny this deny the fundamental truth of all great revolutions: It is the proletarians of all countries and the allied toilers of all countries who are fighting for the world revolution under the leadership of the Comintern (SH). Therefore, the Comintern (SH) must develop precisely such forms of struggle which will make it easier for the masses of the whole world, on the basis of their own experience, not only to understand the necessity of the revolution, but also to develop the readiness to support the Comintern (SH) and its sections, which will bring the masses of millions to the international fronts of the revolution and facilitate and ensure their distribution on the fronts of the revolutions in the countries.

It does not correspond to the internationalist character of the proletariat if individuals push themselves to the fore and post squabbles spread. The question is also completely wrongly posed as to who has any claim or any right to fight at the forefront in this and every shock squad section of the world proletariat, etc. The revolutions are not competitive events to distribute ranks. Which proletariat will be the "chosen one" that will first overthrow the bourgeoisie again, which are the best leaders, this one or that one, only "left" petty bourgeois who have no idea about the proletarian revolution but are very prejudiced about themselves because they would like to see themselves as "chosen leaders" in the limelight of the revolution, i.e. - "would- like revolutionaries", can prattle about such juxtapositions. There are also places of honour in the world revolution, but these are based on other merits. The struggle of every proletarian is decisive for the victory of his class and every proletariat serves with all its strength the proletarians all over the world on the international front of capitalism. Every comrade matters equally, so everyone stands at his post in the front line of the revolution and everyone marches in step, without anyone stepping out of line to play the greatest hero of the revolution. To unite as a world proletariat, this is understood by every proletarian who knows that as a lone fighter he can do nothing against the supremacy of world capitalism, even as a "heroic" lone fighter. Without his world army, the struggle against the world bourgeoisie is already lost before it has begun.

"The theory and practice of the Comintern consists in organising the revolutionary mass movement against capitalism...In the West, rumours are being spread by mercenaries of the imperialists and writers of forged letters that the Comintern is a conspiratorial and terrorist organisation, that communists are travelling around the countries of the West to hatch plots against the European rulers. - I must declare that the communists had nothing in common, have nothing in common and can have nothing in common with the theory and practice of individual terror, that the communists had nothing in common, have nothing in common and can have nothing in common with the theory of conspiracy against individuals...Only ignoramuses and idiots can confuse conspiracies and individual terror with the policy of the Comintern in the revolutionary mass movement" (Stalin, Vol. 7, page 254, German edition).

Terrorism pretends to fight imperialism, reaction and fascism, but it is itself born out of imperialism and a component of imperialism, an expression of the rotten character of capitalism, which can only exist through terror, violence, coercion and oppression against

the world proletariat and peoples. In essence, it makes no difference whether this violence against the masses is carried out in the form of bourgeois state terrorism or petty-bourgeois individual terror, i.e. whether their bombs are thrown at innocent people with the justification of "protection" or "liberation" of the peoples. Terrorism is directed against the masses and accepts their deaths as a result of terrorist attacks and thus justifies genocide "in the name of civilisation", "in the name of democracy", "in the name of the peoples", "in the name of revolution" etc. etc. Terrorism is counter-revolutionary and serves imperialism. It is incompatible with the just, armed struggle of the working class and cannot be equated with it. You can neither replace nor bomb the struggle of the masses with lone wolf attacks. As a component of the armed struggle of the proletariat, Lenin did not exclude terror as "a method of the decisive assault of the proletariat", while stressing that "individual terror, that product of intelligentsia weakness", left adventurism and putschism, that petty-bourgeois, anarchist act of desperation, "is sinking into the realm of the past". It is not a question of a conspiracy against a hated person or of individual retaliatory attacks on individual institutions of the imperialist apparatus of oppression, but Lenin said: "The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of individual 'bombists'. It is becoming the indispensable accessory of the people's armament" (Lenin Vol. 9 German edition "From Defence to Attack").

When the petty bourgeois, together with the revisionists and the imperialists, "rattle off their song of terrorism and democratism, they are merely abettors of the bourgeoisie. It is the same song that the international bourgeoisie uses to deceive the workers and stifle workers' revolution" (Lenin, Vol. 30, page 14, "How the Bourgeoisie Exploits the Renegades", German edition).

"The bourgeoisie and capitalism are at present resorting to savage measures of repression, without excluding terrorism. Terrorism prepares the military, fascist coups of the bourgeoisie (...) it organises coups and brings military juntas of fascist type to power. But for this it has to prepare, and it does this by organising commandos of armed bandits operating in different countries, masked with different names such as "communists", "Marxists" or "Red Brigades". These have the aim of >frightening the broad, working masses, disorienting them and justifying fascist coups (...) Terrorism is also the preparation for the seizure of power by the fascists(...) The anti-Marxist theoreticians condemn terrorism in its present forms, but they make no distinction whatsoever between the terrorists' attacks and the armed revolutionary actions that the working class, led by its

Marxist-Leninist party, must carry out" (Enver Hoxha , "The Marxist-Leninist movement and the world crisis of capitalism, Social Political Studies, No 3, Page 14, Tirana 1986).

We communists are concerned with the revolutionary violence of the workers, of the labouring masses, not with its replacement by individual terror. It is clear that because of the sharpened contradictions between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie, the international class struggle and its methods and means are intensifying to the extreme and will inevitably lead to armed clashes, because political power in class society, the abolition of the power of the world bourgeoisie by the power of the world proletariat, will ultimately be decided by violence, whereby the world bourgeoisie, on the one hand, intensifies its terror in order to assert its power and the world proletariat, on the other hand, must resort to revolutionary violence in order to wrest rule from the world bourgeoisie, in order to establish its own power, the world dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to ultimately abolish that class society which is the cause of that violence. So the general line is that the world proletariat must take up arms to liberate itself and fulfil its mission. Communism cannot be achieved peacefully, therefore the General Line of the Comintern (SH) must consistently, fundamentally and concretely affirm all revolutionary violence, even develop new forms and lead the masses in it, but at the same time distance itself from sectarianism, anarchism, putschism and individual terror. The general line must therefore be a clear dividing line between revolutionary and reactionary violence, especially when reactionary violence camouflages itself with "revolutionary" violence and tries to blur the differences in order to mislead the world proletariat and discredit its just struggle.

There are two types of anti-terrorism. Proletarian anti-terrorism is both a struggle against the terrorism of exploitation and oppression, which is produced and used hourly by world imperialism against the working class and labourers in all countries of the world, and a simultaneous revolutionary proletarian struggle with the final aim of eliminating the causes of terrorism, whose roots lie in world imperialism. Those who want to eliminate terrorism forever must eliminate world imperialism. Only the communist society is a society free from terrorism.

And there is the so-called "anti-terrorism" of the bourgeoisie and world imperialism, which fear the revolutionary violence of the masses, the armed uprising of the proletariat, the people's armament, the Red Army of the world proletariat, etc., and therefore, the "anti-terrorism" of the bourgeoisie and world imperialism. and therefore use the "anti-terrorism" of the world bourgeoisie as a part of their anti-communism in order to criminalise the social

and national liberation struggle, to re-function it as a danger for "humanity", "civilisation", "freedom", "democracy", by which the imperialists of course mean their "right" to exploitation and oppression and by which they justify their war and fascism. For example, USA imperialism uses two ways to force down communism, to stifle the revolutionary liberation movement, to fight the influence of Marxism-Leninism on the masses and to maintain its hegemony in the world:

"One way was that of aggression and armed intervention. The American imperialists created aggressive military blocs such as NATO, SEATO, etc., they stationed large numbers of armed forces on the territories of many foreign countries, they established military bases on all continents, they built strong war fleets which they spread over all seas and oceans. To suppress and stifle the revolution, they intervened militarily in Greece, Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere. The other way was that of ideological aggression and subversion against the socialist states and the communist and workers' parties and attempts to bring these states and parties to bourgeois degeneration. In this direction, American imperialism and the entire world capital used powerful means of ideological propaganda and diversion" (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, German edition page 18-19).

Today, USA imperialism tries to unite the capitalist world allegedly against terrorism, tries to divert from the fact that it itself is the No. 1 terrorist in the world, it is always looking for new ways to escape from the catastrophe it has got into. But nothing is able to save imperialism, capitalism and revisionism from the merciless revolution of the proletariat and the peoples - not even terrorist bombings, not even the formula "communism=terrorism!" or Marxist-Leninists=left extremists", "left extremists=right extremists" etc. etc. All methods of the propaganda machinery of imperialist class politics must be exposed and fought in their deeply reactionary and inhuman nature by the Comintern (SH) and its sections - including the "left" deviations in the struggle against anti-communism.

It is also a dangerous revisionist deviation, a retreat before the US imperialists, a capitulation before world imperialism, if we Marxist-Leninists would be asked to renounce the revolutionary violence of the masses, because it is allegedly the cause of prolonging the rule of world imperialism, causing further aggravation of the danger of war and fascism, increasing the misery of the masses, discrediting communism, i.e., ultimately harming the world proletariat instead of benefiting it. And it is a "left" deviation - an even

more dangerous one - if we do not distinguish ourselves clearly enough from terrorism, revisionism and sectarianism. Because everything together only benefits imperialism to act against us.

The tactics of the sectarians are also to separate the Comintern (SH) and its strategy and tactics from its sections and their strategy and tactics in various ways. The Comintern (SH) is the common instrument of the sections, which have freely given themselves a centralist principle of leadership in order to achieve a common goal more quickly and easily, but not for the elitist purpose of creating a "vanguard of the vanguard" that overrides the sections' own interests and their conditions of struggle and political situation in their own country and imposes an alien will on them. In this way, one harms not only the world proletariat and its overall interests, but also the proletarians in the individual countries and their particular interests there. The strategy and tactics of the Comintern (SH) do not replace the strategy and tactics of the individual situations or vice versa, but they necessarily complement each other in a dialectical way.

The Comintern (SH) does not reject a single form of organisation or struggle created by the development of the workers' movement, and not a single form is regarded by it as a panacea. The Comintern (SH) in no case separates itself from the masses who are deceived and betrayed by its "friends". Any sectarianism by which the communists are separated from the masses is resolutely opposed because it serves the class enemy to fight the world revolution.

"Revolution is such a transformation as strikes at the root of the old and smashes it from the bottom up, not transforms it carefully, slowly and gradually, in an effort to smash as little as possible" (Lenin vol. 33, page 91, German edition).

But this does not mean throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Once the revolution has triumphed, it cannot, so to speak, be heated up uninterruptedly at full blast until the second stage of communism. Lenin warned against this mistake, and he distinguishes the true revolutionary from the "left" opportunist, who naturally takes advantage of the "left" weaknesses of the revolutionary:

"The greatest danger - perhaps the only danger - for the conscious revolutionary is to exaggerate revolutionism, to disregard the limits and conditions of the appropriate and successful use of revolutionary methods. True revolutionaries usually break their necks

when they begin to write 'revolution' in big letters, to elevate 'revolution' to something almost divine, to lose their heads, to lose the ability to consider, weigh and examine quite cold-bloodedly and soberly at what time, under what circumstances and in what field of activity one must understand how to act revolutionarily, and at what time, under what circumstances and in what field of activity one must understand how to pass over to reformist action. Real revolutionaries will only perish (in the sense not of an external defeat, but of an internal collapse of their cause) - but then they will certainly perish - if they lose their sober reflection and get it into their heads that the 'great, victorious, world-spanning' revolution can and must necessarily solve all and every tasks in a revolutionary way under all circumstances in all fields of activity. Whoever 'takes it into his head' to do so is lost, for he has taken into his head a stupidity on a fundamental question, and during a bitter war (the revolution is the most bitter war of all) defeat is the punishment for stupidity" (Lenin, Vol. 33, p. 92, German edition). Whereas the petty-bourgeois revolutionary:

"The petty-bourgeois revolutionary wavers and vacillates at every turn of events.... from fierce revolutionarism..., to hatred of the Bolsheviks or weeping over their 'adventurism', to fearful disengagement from them, to renewed support for them, to disdainful disengagement from 'organic work, practicality and gradualism'. .. It must be made clear and firmly impressed upon one's mind that no socialism can be built on this (petty-bourgeois) social basis." (Lenin, Vol. 27, pp. 267/268, German edition).

#### **d) tactics of the ideological-theoretical fight**

#### **Against the strategy and tactics of Reconciliationism and Centrism.**

The Trotskyists spread the erroneous thesis of the impossibility of socialism "in one country". They separated the world revolution from the world revolutionary centre, the Soviet Union. But without this centre, without socialism "in one country", the development of world revolution is unthinkable, because both are connected by an inseparable dialectical bond. A "purely international" world revolution, a world revolution which takes place "simultaneously" in all countries, does not exist and cannot exist because of the uneven development of capitalism in the different countries. So the thesis of Trotskyism is "Away with the world bourgeoisie, bring on the world revolution!" Wrong. Thus the Trotskyists are not only opponents of "socialism in one country", not only opponents of world revolution, but also opponents of every other revolution in the world, they serve the

international counter-revolution by their revolutionary phrases, by their confusion, which they purposefully carry out in the communist movement. Trotsky held the false view that socialism had a chance of survival in one country only through the "state support" of the European proletariat. "This means that without previous victory of the proletariat in the West, without previous seizure of power by the proletariat in the West, the proletariat of the USSR is not only incapable of overcoming its bourgeoisie and building socialism, but is not even capable of asserting its power" (Stalin, Vol. 9, page 37, "VII Extended Plenum of the ECCI", German edition).

"It is undoubted that the universal theory of the simultaneous victory of the revolution in the decisive countries of Europe, the theory of the impossibility of the victory of socialism 'in one country' , has proved to be an artificial, viable theory.... This theory is not only unacceptable as a scheme of development of the world revolution, for it contradicts obvious facts. It is even more unacceptable as a slogan, because it does not encourage but hinders the initiative of the individual countries which, as a result of certain historical conditions, are given the opportunities to break through the front of capital independently, because it does not incite active attack on capital in the individual countries but induces passive waiting for the moment of 'general decision' , because it cultivates among the proletarians of the individual countries not the spirit of revolutionary determination but the spirit of Hamletian doubt - 'but how if the others suddenly abandon us? ' Lenin is quite right when he says that the victory of the proletariat in one country is the 'typical case', while a 'simultaneous revolution in a number of countries' can only be a 'rare exception'" (Stalin, Vol. 6, page 354, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists", German edition).

It is now 50 years since the last revolution in Albania, so we should certainly expect a renaissance of Trotskyist views on world revolution (in a new guise). Trotskyists have never found it difficult to stage 180 degree swings and swap their strategy with tactics without further ado. And so they will have to revise their "universal theory" and market it in a new packaging. One thing we must not forget: More than 12 years without socialism "in one country" (Albania until 1990 = socialist) also this inhibits the workers in their initiative to "break through independently". One more reason for the Comintern (SH) to encourage the proletariat to persevere and to give it courage to find itself in the world, to gather, to work together and to walk the road to the "breakthrough" together. In principle, "waiting" for socialism in a country is as harmful as "waiting" for the big "claptrap". Therefore, we must make it clear to the proletariat that waiting and waiting are not the same thing. If you don't



study the timetable when waiting, you end up on the wrong train at the right moment. The class struggle must be in the centre, internationally coordinated actions must be pushed forward, Marxist-Leninists must leave their study rooms, go to the colleagues, to the streets in the factories and support the workers in their difficult struggle in solidarity and help them to acquire Marxist-Leninist equipment, carry out workers' training, win back confidence in communism through hard work etc. We can no longer offer socialism to the workers at their fingertips, but they will understand the reasons and realise that they will change it themselves. What we must not do under any circumstances, however, is to bridge the abyss between revisionism and socialism and to arouse pity for the stinking corpse of the rest of the revisionist countries or even to praise it as an example worth imitating, as a "lesser evil", "because there is nothing better on the market". Yes, unfortunately they exist, these "Marxist-Leninists" whose minds have been robbed of despair. This paints a very sad picture of the present state of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and its lack of perspective, but also of backsliding towards revisionism and even backsliding towards Trotskyism.

One can only sway in two directions, not just one. The situation of the Marxist-Leninists is shamelessly exploited by the neo-revisionists to harness them to the revisionist countries in order to pull the revisionists there out of the mud. Outraged and deterred by this, some intellectuals are now getting into conflicts of conscience through us and are beginning to make the next mistake, namely to swing over into the opposite direction and fall into the clutches of the Trotskyists. Reconciliation not only makes it possible for the swaying to become a swaying in the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, but also a swinging up with a fatal crash. The conciliationism towards the strategy and tactics of the world revolution serves the liquidation of the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. And Trotskyism is the centrist control centre of all hollow phrases about the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. The strategy and tactics of Trotskyism is a strategy and tactics ends in conspiracy and "left" terrorism against the world revolution. We know this a thousand times from history, and we can learn from it in view of the Moscow Trials that these games have been played deliberately and according to plan and will continue to be played in this way, if not even more craftily: Trotskyist aim is to "crack" the Marxist-Leninist theory of world revolution and to wear down the Marxist-Leninists on the question of strategy and tactics between "left" and right. We will not be able to avoid the arduous path of Lenin and Stalin against Trotskyism, but we will shorten it thanks to the classics and the experience of the international revolutionary workers' movement. In this alone lies the relief for our difficult task: we will beat Trotskyism if we understand it dialectically as a neo-

Trotskyist moult and accordingly anticipate its tactics. The prerequisite for the beginning of the world revolution is the victory of the revolution in one country, through which that degree of disintegration of world imperialism and that point in time "X" is indicated, where the already fermenting revolutions in the other countries will not wait any longer, where they in turn will start to move and accelerate and break out mutually. Depending on how far the law of uneven development operates, the leap of capitalism either leads in one country to a "leap" back towards restoration, regeneration, slowly rising relative stabilisation period, etc., and the bourgeoisie maintains its power, or in the other country this "leap" becomes a death leap into the final abyss, which ends with the power of the proletariat. Precisely for this reason, the Trotskyists can do nothing but fabricate such a universal theory "for all occasions", which, however, fails at the decisive, special moment of its application and turns out to be a theory completely alien to reality and useless - just an empty phrase. It is a "theory and tactics" in which every absolutism of world revolution is casually mixed with the relativism of world revolution and celebrates a merry rendezvous of confusion, at which all the currents of conciliationism and centrism can cavort in order to lure the proletariat onto the slippery parquet. Something for everyone and always careful - not too much for the proletariat, otherwise it will put an end to this cat and mouse game. Preventing the world revolution by trying to "prove" the "impossibility of socialism in one country" on the basis of historical revisionist degeneration and chalking this up as confirmation of Trotsky's "prediction", that is the Trotskyists' pipe dream. Love for the proletariat is the outlet of their hatred for the proletariat, which they cannot let out in any other way without perishing from it - this is what drives the Trotskyists into their revolutionary madness. Only with our renewed victory of "socialism in one country" will we be able to refute the old Trotskyism and the old revisionism, namely that capitalism is not stronger than socialism. And with international socialism we will refute neo-Trotskyism and neo-revisionism, namely that socialism in the world will not be transformed back into world capitalism. We will defeat them, because these ideologies will inevitably perish and disappear from the world with the class and its lackeys who created them.

The Comintern (SH) and its sections are against the artificial fomentation of both the world revolution and the revolutionary movements in the individual countries. The degree of maturity of the revolutionary situation, the character and development of the revolution are not the same, nor can they be artificially equalised. The Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, the theory of skipping the stages of revolution, are totally anti-revolutionary and anti-Marxist. The interweaving of national and internationalist tasks in the world

revolutionary process not only does not at all deny the development of revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles in each country as a politically independent movement that does not receive orders and directives from outside, but rather presupposes it. The sections of the Comintern (SH) are guided by the principle that the revolution, its organisation and its outbreak is a matter for the internal revolutionary forces. The theory of overestimating the external, international factor and underestimating or denying the internal, national factor boils down to the theory of "exporting the revolution". In its programmatic document "Dialectics of World Revolution", the Trotskyist IV. International denies the possibility of revolution in one country, "the development of the productive forces prohibits the revolution from going back to national borders". This means nothing other than waiting for the "chain world revolution" until St. Never-never-day, the Trotskyists commit treason against the world revolution as well as against the revolutions in the individual countries.

The Trotskyists deny the possibility of building socialism in a country which has a peasant majority. Trotsky considers this possible only within the "framework of the world proletarian revolution". The Trotskyists also consider the national liberation movement in the neo-colonial and imperialist-dependent countries possible only AFTER the victory of the proletarian revolution in the imperialist metropolises. This is also true for today's Trotskyists who also reject the revolutionary liberation struggle from social fascism and social imperialism. It is clear that Trotskyism really means counterrevolution. The preferred tactics of Trotskyism use ultra-left phraseology, and the Trotskyists now pose not only as Leninists and Bolsheviks, but also as champions of Stalin and Enver Hoxha (at least some of the Trotskyists), for the sole purpose of isolating the proletariat, the Bolshevik party, the Comintern (SH), the Marxist-Leninists, and thus to let the revolutionary movement slide into Trotskyist counterrevolutionary waters.

To use Lenin's words, it is characteristic of Trotskyism to "gamble with the seizure of power" in order to squander it.

## **Our struggle against liquidationism**

Statement of the Comintern (SH)

from 13th of September 2021

Let us defend the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist line of the Comintern (SH) against liquidationism

once again:

Against false interpretations of the slogan:

*"The main enemy is in our own country".*

( Karl Liebknecht, May 1915. )

We can defend this slogan of Karl Liebknecht only if we look at it from the standpoint of the world socialist revolution, from the standpoint of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. It is a mistake to absolutize this slogan of Karl Liebknecht instead of modifying it under the conditions of globalization prevailing today. Karl Liebknecht's slogan must be protected against both dogmatism and neo-revisionism, while dogmatism being here nothing but the camouflage of neo-revisionism with the help of "revolutionary" phrases.

Overestimating the main enemy at home is equivalent to underestimating the main enemy on a world scale.

And overestimating the main enemy on a world scale is tantamount to underestimating the main enemy at home.

Both are misjudgments that amount to the same thing:

To prolonging world capitalist slavery and delaying world socialist revolution.

Both are bourgeois-revisionist lines, which are incompatible with the line of Stalinism-Hoxhaism and are therefore exposed and fought by the Comintern (SH).

Either to protect world imperialism against one's own imperialism or to protect one's own imperialism against world imperialism means either way to protect the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression and thus both are a betrayal of the anti-imperialist struggle of the class of the proletariat.

We Stalinists-Hoxhaists always fight first and foremost there in the world, where the working class is exploited and oppressed the worst, where misery and hardship are most grievous. There is the main enemy against whom the entire world proletariat stands up in solidarity. This solidarity is the principle of proletarian internationalism:

One for all, all for one !

The world proletariat against the main international enemy - supported in solidarity by the proletarians in every single country !

The proletariat of the own country against the main enemy in the own country - supported in solidarity by the whole world proletariat.

From the point of view of the proletariat of its own country, Karl Liebknecht's slogan can only be successfully implemented if it is integrated into a central global strategy and tactics of the entire world proletariat. On a world scale, the main enemy of the world proletariat is world imperialism and on a world scale it is necessary to destroy world imperialism.

The Comintern (SH) organizes the anti-imperialist struggle centrally from "outside", that is, on a global scale. However, the dialectical process of anti-imperialist struggle will be successfully completed by the Comintern (SH) only if world imperialism is simultaneously attacked "inside" each country. The anti-imperialist struggle is the combined struggle of "outside" and "inside", thus consists in the combination of the struggle on the national and international scale. Thereby, the struggle against the enemy in the own country is subordinated to the struggle against world imperialism. Because: the imperialist world system works in the same way, namely from the "outside" and "inside" of each country. Otherwise, imperialism cannot globally exploit and oppress the whole world.

The struggle against imperialism at home - this is the anti-imperialist task of the individual Sections of the Comintern (SH), namely to march in step as sections of the entire anti-imperialist proletarian world army under the central leadership of the Comintern (SH). This is the Stalinist-Hoxhaist dialectic of anti-imperialism, the unity of the struggle at home with the common struggle on the global battlefield. This is the Stalinist-Hoxhaist meaning of proletarian internationalism concerning the relationship between the anti-imperialist struggle in one's own country and on a global scale.

In our struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression as the main enemy in every country, we do not, of course, exclude the struggle against all other imperialist and social-imperialist powers, and, of course, the struggle against their reactionary stooges in all countries of the world. Not only would that be idiotic, but it would only give us an advantage over the foreign imperialists by weakening their competitors. If we were to artificially separate or even oppose the national and international fields of struggle, we would be giving advantages to one imperialist over the other. Our goal is to ultimately eliminate world imperialism as a whole, which cannot be achieved without fighting imperialism at home. The world proletariat never fights under the banner of the proletariat of a single country, but under the banner of the proletarians of all countries. And likewise, the world proletariat never fights under the banner of a single imperialist power, never under the banner of an imperialist world camp, and never under the banner of world imperialism - as a whole.

Only in this way and not differently is the slogan of Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy stands in our own country!" to be understood namely from the standpoint of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

Why do we educate the working class of each country that their common main enemy is world imperialism ?

Because world imperialism can be overthrown only by world socialist revolution. Therefore, it is the duty and task of the Comintern (SH) to build a strong World Communist Party to lead the world proletariat to victory over world imperialism. Otherwise, the main enemy in one's own country can never be defeated successfully.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the slogan: "The main enemy is at home!" leads unavoidably to liquidationism if the following two points are ignored or disregarded:

First, one must not *equate*, *mix up* or *separate* undialectically the common main enemy on an international scale from the main enemy in one's own country.

Secondly, the fight against the main enemy in one's own country serves the fight against the main enemy on a world scale and is *subordinated* to it ( and not vice versa, as the liquidators wishfully want think us !! ).

If the working class of every country could defeat world imperialism only with the slogan: "The main enemy stands in its own country!", then there would be no need for a globally organized class of the world proletariat, then the world proletariat would not need a Communist International, then the socialist world revolution would be superfluous. And this is exactly what the intention of the liquidators amounts to - the liquidation of the Comintern (SH) in the service of international counterrevolution, splitting off the sections from their world party for the purpose of weakening, splitting and destroying the Comintern (SH). Let us never forget that this liquidationism led exactly to the dissolution of the Comintern.

And vice versa:

The world proletariat cannot defeat world imperialism alone on a global scale without relying on the victory of the working class at home, without dialectically linking the global struggle against the main common enemy with the struggle of the working class against the main enemy at home. If the world proletariat could destroy world imperialism without the struggle of the proletariat at home, then there would be no need for socialist revolution in every country, then sections of the Comintern (SH) would be superfluous.

And this is simultaneously the intention of the liquidators, namely to weaken the Comintern (SH), to split it and to leave its sections to their fate. Either way, when the slogan of Karl Liebknecht is turned *against* Karl Liebknecht, only liquidationism and nothing other than liquidationism comes out of it.

Whoever tries to create confusion on the question of the main enemy, spreads doubts and fluctuations about this in the working class and in the party, not only disorganizes the world proletariat, not only keeps it away from the world socialist revolution, but also undermines the anti-imperialist general line of the Comintern (SH) and destroys the common proletarian-internationalist bond among the sections of the party. Such people have no place in the Comintern (SH) and its sections.

It is necessary to draw a clear ideological, political and organizational line of separation between Stalinism-Hoxhaism and liquidationism on the question of the main enemy. Those who do not draw this line or blur it, do help the liquidators and thus the ruling bourgeoisie, whether on a world scale or in their own country.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches:

One cannot tread the road to world communism victoriously without liquidating liquidationism.

The struggle to liquidate liquidatorism is a struggle to the death, is a struggle whose outcome decides the victory or defeat of the world proletariat, is a struggle whose outcome decides the maintenance of the capitalist world or victory on the road to world communism.

Down with liquidatorism !

Long live Stalinism-Hoxhaism !

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **Program, agitation and propaganda**

"The programme of Marxism, proceeding from the results of theory, determines the aims of the proletarian movement, which are scientifically formulated in the programme points. The programme may be calculated either for the whole period of capitalist development, having in view the overthrow of capitalism and the organisation of socialist production, or for a particular phase in the development of capitalism, e.g. For the overthrow of the remnants of the feudal-absolutist order and the creation of the conditions for the free development of capitalism. Accordingly, the programme can consist of two parts: a maximum and a minimum. It is self-evident that a strategy calculated on the minimum part of the programme must necessarily differ from that calculated on its maximum part, the strategy being called a truly Marxist one only if it is guided in its activity by the aims of the movement formulated in the programme of Marxism" ( Stalin, "On the Question of the Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists", Pravda, 1923, No. 56).

The importance of the programme of the Comintern (SH) is that it formulates scientifically the basic tasks of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, points out the main ways to solve these tasks and thus provides the sections of the Comintern (SH) with sufficient clarity of aims and means, without which a safe advance of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is impossible.

The general line as the general strategy and tactics of the Comintern (SH) must not be confused with the programme of the Comintern (SH), nor must it be substituted for the programme; it is rather dependent on the programme of the Comintern (SH):



"Political strategy, like tactics, is concerned with the workers' movement. But the workers' movement itself consists of two elements: the objective or spontaneous element and the subjective or conscious element. The objective, spontaneous element is that group of processes which go on independently of the conscious and regulating will of the proletariat. The economic development of the country, the development of capitalism, the disintegration of the old power, the spontaneous movements of the proletariat and the classes that bypass it, the clashes of classes, etc. - these are all phenomena whose development does not depend on the will of the proletariat, this is the objective side of the movement. The strategy has nothing to do with these processes, because it can neither stop them nor change them. This is the field to be explored through the theory of Marxism and the programme of Marxism.

But the movement also has a subjective, conscious side. The subjective side of the movement, that is the reflection of the spontaneous processes of the movement in the minds of the workers, that is the conscious and planned movement of the proletariat towards a certain goal. This side of the movement is actually of interest to us in that, unlike the objective side of the movement, it is completely subject to the determining influence of strategy and tactics. If strategists are unable to change anything in the course of the objective processes of movement, then conversely, here, in the field of the subjective, conscious side of movement, strategy has a broad and varied field of activity, for it, strategy, can accelerate or retard movement, guide it along the shortest path or divert it along a more difficult and painful path, depending on the perfection or shortcomings of the strategy itself. The acceleration or retardation of the movement, its facilitation or inhibition - this is the field and scope of political strategy and tactics" (Stalin, *ibid.*).

However, since we do not yet have a finished programme and the period since 1928 (programme of the Comintern) goes back very far in history, we have decided to include at least some important programmatic key points in the General Line at the risk of overloading the General Line with programmatic questions. But this is done out of the difficulty of our particular situation today, where we have to act urgently and have taken with us into our storm luggage everything that seems useful and indispensable to us. The international class struggle does not wait until we have written our programme. We are obliged to march with what we have in our luggage. We have packed only what is urgently needed programmatically now, especially our ideological bases, our demarcation from revisionism, the historical lessons of the world communist movement and the theory of

world revolution. We have had to develop Marxism-Leninism further in order to free it from dogmatic rigidity. We are aware that this cannot be done without correcting mistakes, but we are not afraid of this, because we are only at the beginning of our work. Those who attack us with the argument of "teething problems" are shooting themselves in the foot. Those who do not know what to do with this general line should ask themselves whether they want to fight at all.

Without further development of the theory of world revolution, it would not be even halfway possible today to present a sound general line of the strategy and tactics of world revolution.

When we have developed the programme anew, we will also revise the general line accordingly, so that it can be better based on the programme. So everything step by step.

The programme of the Comintern (SH) cannot possibly be accommodated in the General Line, which can only summarise the general, common guideline of the Marxist-Leninist parties, not only because of its content. The point is that the programme of the Comintern (SH) cannot be the programme of the party of any single country, valid for all, such as the revisionist programme of the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU. The programme must embrace all Marxist-Leninist parties in the world, all nations, all peoples. The programme must fulfil two tasks:

1. the main, fundamental, common, overarching thing in all sections of the world must be covered.

Point 1 must be formulated in such a way that the individual theses of the programme are not empty formulas, but practical guiding principles for the most diverse countries and peoples, for the most diverse sections, whereby an empty string of abstract formulas cannot help the sections of the Comintern (SH) any further.

The programme must be translated into as many languages as possible, initially at least into the languages of the affiliated sections.

Lenin taught and practice proved that in a concise revolutionary programme there is generally no room to explain the theses put forward, to repeat them in one or another variation or to add individual instructions. For this purpose, there are comments on the

programme, which must not be confused with the programme. Reference should be made to Lenin's proposals on the question of the programme at the IV World Congress of the Comintern.

The Sections must revise their previous programmes if necessary, if they have not yet worked out and adopted a new programme - according to the particular circumstances and conditions of their country - in the spirit of the General Line and the programme of the Comintern (SH). The programmes of the individual sections are tailored to the programme of the Comintern (SH) and are approved by the Executive Committee. The principle is that the implementation of the programme is also controlled with the help of democratic centralism. The implementation of the programme also includes the organisation of agitation and propaganda. For this purpose, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must build up an independent apparatus, an own department, which corresponds to the structure of a Bolshevik party and cooperates with the agitation and propaganda departments of the sections. The experience of the III Comintern is helpful, and appropriate decisions must be taken. One must not neglect this task of struggle, agitation and propaganda, because without it we cannot possibly build the Comintern (SH). Let us not forget Lenin's struggle for the Iskra - the organ of the collective propagandist, collective agitator, collective organiser. What is indispensable at the national level is even less so at the international level. A general line which fails to point out the necessity of an international collective propagandist, agitator and organiser at the very least is not a general line, but only a pious wish that it will fall into the lap of every worker in the world together with the programme, that he will understand it by himself and make any explanation superfluous. Agitation and propaganda are based on a common programme, but this does not mean that the Comintern (SH) must wait with agitation and propaganda until the programme is ready.

Historically and correct in their general bases are the programmes of Lenin's and Stalin's CPSU(B), the programme of socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha and, of course, above all, the programme of the III Comintern adopted at the 6th World Congress in 1928. It came into being under the personal leadership of Stalin and is still valid in broad outlines today, since we are still dealing with the period of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Stalin was elected at that time to the Presidium of the 6th Congress, to the Programme Commission and to the Political Commission charged with drafting the Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern. Therefore, Stalin's statements "On the Programme of the Comintern" (Stalin Works Vol. 11, pp. 125-138), as

well as "Questions of the Comintern" (ibid. pp. 175-181) are also extremely important. However, the programme of the Comintern (SH) must undoubtedly be revised in accordance with the changes that have taken place in the world since 1928. This applies all the more to an additional programme of action to be drawn up as a minimum programme. A hard struggle against "left" and right is unavoidable in this. A revision of the spirit and the principle content of Stalin's world programme of the III Comintern is in principle out of the question for the Comintern (SH) and for its sections, despite all the necessity of the changes that have to be made. We will know how to prevent this.

As far as the concrete particular conditions are concerned, especially in the neo-colonial countries, it must be examined in each individual case to what extent the stages of the revolution at that time are still necessary today. This must be substantiated by a clear class analysis. In fact, from the trend, it can be assumed that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the neo-colonial countries have developed more or less strongly since 1928, that the world proletariat as a whole has developed and spread more strongly. It can be safely assumed that due to the international development of class society, the proletarian revolution is directly up for resolution in many more countries of the world than it was in 1928. This assumption is based on the globalisation of world capitalism and the growing role and increasing importance of the world proletariat and its allies in the international class struggle. Furthermore, the development of world imperialism since 1928 must be explained scientifically. A chapter on the post-Stalin period, revisionism in power, social imperialism and social fascism, the role of the labour aristocracy in it, the historical emergence of the restoration of capitalism and measures for its future prevention must also be part of the new programme. A special chapter of the programme must be devoted to the countries facing the strategic task of renewing the socialist revolution and regenerating the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the former Soviet Union and socialist Albania. The works of Enver Hoxha, in particular "Imperialism and Revolution", are helpful and guide the way. Since then, the contrasts in the camp of capitalism have intensified, especially between Europe and the USA, the contrasts between globalised world imperialism and the neo-colonies have intensified, the military interventions of the imperialists are growing, the danger of a 3rd world war is growing. These are fundamental questions that must be considered and answered in the programme of the Comintern (SH). The pacemaker here is social democracy, for example, in its alliance with the Greens. In particular, the danger of a renewed fascism, which can take the form of eco-fascism, i.e. cannot be recognised by the same forms as Hitler's fascism, must also be

addressed. Mistakes of the VII World Congress in the anti-fascist united front must be overcome. "One cannot wage war for imperialism without consolidating the imperialist hinterland. You cannot consolidate the imperialist hinterland without oppressing the workers. And that is precisely what fascism is for. On the one hand, to preach pacifism through the mouth of social democracy in order to be able to prepare for new wars all the more successfully; on the other hand, to suppress the working class in the hinterland, the communist parties in the hinterland, by applying fascist methods, in order to be able to wage war and carry out intervention all the more successfully - this is the way of preparing new wars" (Stalin Werke, German edition, vol. 11, page 178).

The basic law of monopoly capitalism today is not its striving for average profit or extra profit, but the driving force of maximum profit through exploitation, ruination and impoverishment of the majority of the world's population, through enslavement and systematic plundering of peoples and finally through wars and militarisation of the national economy, which serve to secure maximum profits. It is precisely the need to achieve maximum profits that drives monopoly capitalism to take risky steps in order to retain or regain world domination and to divide the world into new raw material and sales markets. and to destroy the productive forces ZB through the imperialist wars. The characteristics of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, as taught by Lenin, are still significantly present today. Under capitalism, a strong concentration and internationalisation of the economy began. With the emergence and development of capitalist relations of production, nations emerged and national cultures were formed. However, due to the great concentration and internationalisation of the economy, these cultures that developed within capitalism did not merge with the culture of the great nation, contrary to the claims of the ideologists of the exploiting classes. The theory of the internationalisation of national cultures serves the purpose of demonstrating the inevitability of such a development. The imperialist bourgeoisie has constantly sought to denigrate or make disappear altogether the cultural traditions of the smaller peoples, their national distinctiveness and identity. This is one of the ways to put into practice its cultural aggression to subjugate the peoples. "Internationalisation" and "globalisation" are the magic words with which world imperialism strangles the autonomy, independence and equality of peoples, deprives them of their livelihoods in order to better exploit and oppress them. The social imperialists do nothing else, except that they hide their intentions behind socialist phrases in order to deceive the peoples they oppress and exploit.

Private property has transcended national barriers to the extent that property relations

have increasingly shifted to the world level. This means that the socialisation of the productive forces is becoming more and more international in character, that the world revolution is becoming a lever without which the private property of world capitalism cannot be abolished at all. As Stalin says, the relations of production under capitalism are the subject of the most violent and rapid changes on a world scale. Polarisation of workers, peasants and soldiers is assuming huge proportions. It is they who are forming new, socialist relations of production and violently breaking the chains of capitalist relations of production.

The world counterrevolution of US imperialism has united with the European counterrevolution and other counterrevolutions around the world. The proletariat has to struggle not only with national oppression, but increasingly with international oppression, which is causing the proletariat to develop as a world class and to come into closer contact with the oppressed peoples. This is precisely what is tirelessly expanding the revolution in all countries, uniting the proletariat in all countries, creating better conditions for the world revolution.

Objectively, world imperialism has not only created the division between the proletarians of the more advanced capitalist countries on the one hand and the labourers in the subjugated countries on the other hand, but in the course of globalisation, in its final phase, it is in the process of gradually eliminating this division again, which changes the old special character of the revolutionary movement both on the one side and on the other, namely, brings these two movements closer and unites them into a single revolutionary front. Above all, the globalisation leads to the fact that the proletariat spreads to the last corner of the earth and actually develops into a single, world-spanning class, as a world proletariat, which transcends all national barriers and enters the stage to the world stage internationally. It is therefore objectively much easier today for the proletarians of all countries to unite.

Finally, a comment on the question of the value of the programme for the world revolution:

"What value would a programme of the Comintern dealing with the world revolution have if it passed over the fundamental question, the question of the character and tasks of the proletarian revolution in the USSR, the question of its duties towards the proletarians of all countries and the duties of the proletarians of all countries towards the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR" (Stalin, Vol. 11, page 135, "Plenum of the CC of the CPSU(B)" July 4-12, 1928).

If Stalin put this question in this way, we can safely assume that he wanted to point the finger at the wound, namely, that this basic question had indeed been passed over. It was precisely for this reason that he pointed it out, in order to remedy this. It will therefore be of great importance for the future programme that this basic question is not ignored. In certain circles of the Comintern, it was considered that the programme was "too Russian" and therefore did not understand that the October Revolution was first and foremost an international revolution, that it was the basis of the world revolution, that it was the lever to the revolutionary world movement, that it was the fatherland of the world proletariat.

### **Developing internationalist agitation and propaganda for the worldwide spread of scientific socialism**

In his writing "What is to be done?" Lenin defined the difference between agitation and propaganda in the following way:

"The propagandist, for example, in dealing with the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalist nature of crises, show the cause of their inevitability in modern society, expound the necessity of transforming this society into a socialist one, and so on. In other words, he has to convey 'many ideas', so many that all these ideas in their entirety and at once are grasped by only a (relatively) few people.

The agitator, on the other hand, speaking on the same question, will pick out the most familiar and glaring example to all his hearers - e.g., the starvation of an unemployed family, the increase in begging, etc. - and will direct all his efforts towards conveying to the 'mass', on the basis of this fact known to all, an idea: the idea of the senselessness of the contradiction between the increase of wealth and the increase of misery; he will endeavour to arouse in the masses discontent and indignation at this sky-scraping injustice" (Lenin, Was tun?, Dietz Verlag Berlin 1946, 3rd German edition, p. 98).

Lenin:

"As long as the question was (and in so far as it still is) one of winning over the vanguard of the proletariat to Communism, so long, and to that extent, propaganda took first place ; even propaganda circles, with all the imperfections that circles suffer from, are useful under these conditions and produce fruitful results."

Lenin:

"Party Organisation and Party Literature" (1905 Novaya Zhizn, No. 12, November 13, - Lenin Collected Works, Volume 10, pages 44-49

"What is this principle of party literature?

It is not simply that, for the socialist proletariat, literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups: it cannot, in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen! Literature must become part of the common cause of the proletariat, "a cog and a screw" of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organised, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work.

[ Literature must become part of the common cause of the world proletariat, a "cog and screw" of one single great, global Bolshevik mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire world proletariat. Literature must become a component of organised, planned and integrated World Bolshevik party work. ]

Newspapers must become the organs of the various party organisations, and their writers must by all means become members of these organisations. Publishing and distributing centres, bookshops and reading-rooms, libraries and similar establishments—must all be under party control. The organised socialist proletariat must keep an eye on all this work, supervise it in its entirety, and, from beginning to end, without any exception, infuse into it the life-stream of the living proletarian cause.

First of all, we are discussing party literature and its subordination to party control.

Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions. But every voluntary association (including the party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate anti-party views.

The party is a voluntary association, which would inevitably break up, first ideologically and then physically, if it did not cleanse itself of people advocating anti-party views. And to define the border-line between party and anti-party there is the party programme, the party's resolutions on tactics and its rules and, lastly, the entire experience of international Social-Democracy, the voluntary international associations of the proletariat.

There can be no real and effective "freedom" in a society based on the power of money, in a society in which the masses of working people live in poverty and the handful of rich live like parasites.

It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but the millions and tens of millions of working people—the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of man kind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades).

Lenin:

"Without a political organ, a movement that deserves to be called political is unthinkable in today's Europe. Without such an organ, our task - to concentrate all elements of political discontent and protest and to fertilize the revolutionary movement of the proletariat with them - is absolutely impracticable. "(Lenin)

How does Stalinism-Hoxhaism define world-revolutionary propaganda?

World-revolutionary propaganda is the devoted work of convincing about the necessity of



the world-revolutionary movement and the world-revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, the work of convincing about the necessity of the world socialist revolution, about world socialism and world communism - supported by the Sections and proletarians in all countries without exception.

With the general line, with the programme alone, the general tasks for this or that moment of the international class struggle cannot be solved. As an ideological guide to the building of the sections and the Comintern (SH), we are helped by a central organ which, in Lenin's sense, is useful at the same time as a world-collective agitator, propagandist and organiser. Let us look at how the Comintern solved this problem and learn from it. For world-wide coordinated actions, leaflets can also be distributed through the Comintern (SH), e.g. against the current war course of the US imperialists, etc. etc., addressing industrial proletarians in the biggest industrial centres of the world, or distributed at demonstrations on world-wide issues, where the possibility of contacting both the section and the Comintern (SH) can be found. But also for the illegal class struggle, agitation and propaganda material can be made available on an international level via the internet. The task of the advanced workers all over the world is to accelerate the unification of the world proletariat and its allies under the revolutionary slogans of the epoch of world revolution through their agitational and enlightening work. Central to this is the slogan of the Comintern/ML (SH) to strike common blows at the main enemy of world imperialism, US imperialism, in order to overthrow its rule. For this purpose, we need an internationally coordinated agitation and propaganda for the political revelations.

The dissemination of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale is an important tool of the Comintern (SH) and its sections

- a) for the creation and formation of the vanguard of the world proletariat on all international class struggle fronts and on all fronts in all countries of the world, i.e. for the building of the Comintern (SH) and its sections
- b) for the creation of a main and shock troop of the world revolution, i.e. a new communist world centre
- c) to raise the class consciousness of the world proletariat and its closest allies in order to fulfil its historic mission of overthrowing the world bourgeoisie

d) to bring the masses of millions to the position of world revolution and world communism, i.e. with the perspective of world socialist construction.

In order to fulfil this task, we have at our disposal the rich agitation and propaganda material of the Comintern, which we can open up, revise and systematically disseminate by making use of the internet. Of course, we cannot get by with this. It would therefore make sense to work out the position of the Comintern (SH) and its sections together on the most important burning questions of world affairs and to use it in agitation and propaganda in the class struggle everywhere, both via the Internet and through translated leaflets distributed by the sections in the individual countries. In the same way, the agitation and propaganda work of the Comintern (SH) is the result of the generalisation of the experiences of the class struggle and the agitation and propaganda in the individual countries, the Comintern (SH) is therefore dependent on the help and support of the sections. Agitators and propagandists must also be systematically trained through training courses. These are all things that can be solved much more effectively together and centrally. In the beginning, a certain rough division of labour can be useful for all of us, according to which comrades from the different countries take over the work in certain areas for comrades in other countries with similarly situated problems, so that a situation of relief arises which can be used again for new, other tasks. So we should organise a good all-round and mutual cooperation in the field of agitation and propaganda in order to achieve good results which will help us all. The systematic spread of socialism in the world will inevitably lead to our ideas of revolutionary class struggle spreading in branched international channels to the far corners of the earth.

Every comrade knows that this can only be achieved with great effort. Moreover, it is of course not enough for the Comintern (SH) and its sections to content themselves with disseminating appeals and statements. Their dissemination to the masses is no substitute for the need for political persuasion by comrades on the ground among the masses. The work of persuasion is the indispensable link between the Party and the masses, it is not only a basic principle of agitation and propaganda, but it is the basic condition for any cooperation between the communists and the masses and, of course, it includes, as it were, the basic condition of learning from the masses. Without their help we are nothing. This too is common knowledge, but it is often underestimated and thus not always taken to heart. A Bolshevism which does not rely on the masses, which does not guard and strengthen the solidarity of the party and the masses, cannot be called true Bolshevism. One of the most important means of strengthening this solidarity of the party with the

toilers in the class struggle, with the workers' movement, is political agitation. It is obvious that this work must be continued without fail even under illegal conditions. And that is why this preparatory work is already indispensable. Thus, at present, the Comintern (SH) cannot yet adopt the forms of the Comintern as realised under the protection and with the support of the Soviet Union. The Comintern (SH) will not be a "Congress Party", but an international organisation in the midst of the world imperialist grip. It can only prove itself in this role if it takes to heart the illegal building principles of Bolshevism, otherwise it will quickly be a prey to counterrevolution not only in the question of its prohibition but also in the question of legalistic influence by the opportunists. Both are a matter of life and death for the Comintern (SH) if it does not solve the problem of illegal agitation and propaganda.

### **ART AND PROPAGANDA**

#### **"A revolutionary picture is worth a thousand revolutionary words."**

One of the most effective Propaganda tools are pictures, is visual art. *"A revolutionary picture is worth a thousand revolutionary words."*

The main task of art is to support winning over the vanguard of the world proletariat for world communism.

This article was written, firstly, to scientifically justify the high value of the expression of the revolutionary art of the world proletariat.

And secondly, this article serves as a guide and inspiration for the improvement of the artistic work of the Comintern (SH).

The Comintern (SH) cannot possibly master its art craft of propaganda if it does not know how to put art at the service of world proletarian propaganda.

The existence of world proletarian art presupposes the existence of the world proletariat as a class. And now it already exists as a global class.

In the course of globalization, thus the complete development of capitalism all over the world, the basic contradiction is that between capital and labour in every country, between world bourgeoisie and world proletariat. Both these global classes decide on the future of the world society in the battles of global class struggle .

The material basis is already matured for creating the highest stage of development of world proletarian culture on a global scale.

The world proletarian art and culture is determined by the highest stage of the world proletarian ideology, the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, the ideology of the world proletariat under conditions of the globalized class society.

Lenin teachings must therefore be applied to present conditions of globalization and must be implemented on a global scale.

" Marxism (..) has (...) assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction (...) can be recognised as the development of a genuine proletarian culture." (Lenin, "On proletarian Culture" October 1920, in: Lenin Volume 31, page 317)

"Only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture. The latter (...) is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalism, landowner and bureaucratic

society." (Lenin, Volue 31, page 287 - "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", October 1920) Lenin further demanded that " (...) all Proletkult organisations (...) accomplish their tasks under the general guidance of the Soviet authorities (specifically of the People's Commissariat of Education) and of the Russian Communist Party" (Lenin, "On proletarian Culture" October 1920, in: Lenin Volume 31, page 317)

Lenin and Stalin successfully fought the petty bourgeois "proletcult," which misconceived the class character of art. Proletkult means vulgarization of the Marxist-Leninist conception of art and culture.

So, if we want to follow Lenin correctly then we must not only base proletarian culture on the cultural treasures of mankind, especially under conditions of the yoke of world capitalism, but mainly use the cultural treasures created under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha.

Creating proletarian culture under current conditions can therefore mean nothing but restoration of socialist culture of the Soviet Union and socialist Albania - on a global scale. What we fight for that is a world proletarian culture which serves to the construction of world socialism and world communism. And as long as we have to prepare for the world socialist revolution, we have to put propaganda, and including that by means of art, into the foreground.

Stalin taught: "Proletarian culture (...) is socialist in content (...) national in form." (Stalin, "The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East"; Volume 7, page 140.

This was valid for the 20th century, the historical period of proletarian culture of a socialist country and its further development to the socialist world camp, encircled by world imperialism. It was also valid in the historical period when a single country like Albania was encircled by the capitalist-revisionist world.

Today, there does not exist the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus consequently no proletarian culture of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Comintern (SH) raises the banner of proletarian culture of the 20th century and denfends its treasures by publishing them in the internet, and by implementing it globally under today's specific circumstances. Moreover, we develop it further all over the world and in every country by the work of our Sections. We want to revive proletarian culture on a global stage with the aim of putting it on a higher level of quality - namely the creation of the culture of the world proletariat - the world proletarian culture.

World proletarian culture does not spring from depletion an impoverishment of national art. We fight against both bourgeois culture of cosmopolitanism and nationalism.

World proletarian culture can only develop by means of flourishing culture of socialist nations. But this is not an end in itself. The internationalist meaning of world proletarian culture is not limited in the development of culture of socialist nations. It is not just a sum but a qualitatively higher stage of proletarian culture - the culture of the world proletariat as a whole. It will be the future task of the Comintern (SH) to transform proletarian culture on a global stage, thus under the dictatorship of the world proletariat, which means nothing but a future world proletarian culture, socialist both in content and form.

In communism nations will have withered away in a long process of nations' merging. Communism is a world without nations and thus without national culture. National culture, withering away by means of flourishing culture of socialist nations, by globally merging of proletarian culture. This is not a nonsensical contradiction but a scientific matter of applying dialectical materialism at the united front of the struggle for the globalization of proletarian culture.

Stalin taught: "Socialist realist artists are "engineers of human souls".

"If the artist is going to depict our life correctly, he cannot fail to observe and point out what is leading toward socialism. So this will be (...) socialist realism." (October 1932, meeting in Gorky's flat)

"Socialist realism demands from the author a true and historically concrete depiction of

reality in its revolutionary development." (Constitution of Union of Soviet Writers, 1934)  
Socialist Realism demands a profound and true perception of reality and reflection of reality. But dialectically, socialist realism is itself a powerful weapon for changing reality actively. Artistic truth facilitates the development of communist awareness. Education in the spirit of communism is, in return, possible only through a true reflection of the life of world society.

What we strive for that is the creation of world socialist realism , the globalization of socialist realism in the service of the construction of world socialism and world communism.

With our conception of world socialist realism we want to direct our view to the future of world communism. We want to make it pictorially visible by means of those world socialist artists, who are guided, supported and promoted by the Comintern (SH).

The elaboration of a proletarian world cultural program dedicated to the smashing of world capitalism and the building of world socialism becomes today an urgent task of the Stalinist-Hoxhaists.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism helps the revolutionary artists to gain correct ideas about the world capitalist society, to take a revolutionary stance in the global class struggle and to side with the world socialist revolution.

Art belongs to the people.

It must have deepest roots in the broad creative masses. It must be understood and loved by these masses.

It must unite and raise them in their feeling, thinking and willing.

It must awaken and develop them as artists.

(Lenin)

## **CHAPTER V**

### **The perspectives of the world socialism**

After the victory of the world revolution, what should the future socialist world republic to be striven for basically look like and what role should the Comintern (SH) and its sections play in this?

The tasks of the Comintern (SH) and its sections do not end with the victory of the world revolution and the goal of overthrowing world imperialism and the capitalist world order, but continue afterwards in the establishment of the socialist world order. This part of the general line for a world socialist republic to be aspired is based on the international significance and on the positive historical experiences of the socialist constitutions of Stalin's Soviet Union in 1936 and the constitution of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania in 1977, because they served and will serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the future. What was once reality has meaning for us even if this is temporarily no longer reality. We may have to start again from scratch, but we draw from the beginning on the wealth of experience of what has already been achieved and defend it. So this section cannot be dispensed with in order to prevent a revision of what was already a fact: real existing socialism as a signpost to world socialism. A world socialism which excludes or falsifies the former real existing socialist countries, the Soviet Union and Albania, or which is not based on their experience, is rejected by the Comintern (SH). This

does not mean that we have to develop new forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which can better prevent a restoration of capitalism. So these socialist constitutions are not only the basis for the newly emerging socialist countries and for the newly emerging socialist camp, but also for the future world socialist republic. These ideas were only included in the general line of the Comintern (SH) in order to set a general perspective and basic direction, but not to anticipate decisions that can only be taken "when the time comes". A constitution can only anchor what has become a world-historical reality. It is not a question of sectarian anticipation, of "unlaid eggs", but of orientation, support and perspective for world communism at a time when great ideological confusion and disarray are being fomented and resignation is being spread in the world communist movement. We are fighting for the achievement of the immediate purposes and interests of the world proletariat, but at the same time we represent in the present revolutionary world movement the future of the movement - communism, which is why we bear the proud name Communist International. The Comintern (SH) and its sections do not disdain to conceal the perspective of the future movement. The world proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains and a world to gain, the world of socialism.

## 1

The world socialist republic will be a federal federation of all states of the dictatorship of the proletariat, formed in the form of a voluntary union of equal socialist republics of all countries. The Comintern (SH) advocates the thesis of national self-determination of all countries of the world with the formula: Separation from world imperialism for the purpose of unification to world socialism. The socialist world republic looks after the common interests of the labourers of the whole world. The World Socialist Republic is based on the unity of all peoples and nations of the world and their unification in the Comintern (SH) and its sections, and has as its basis the alliance of the working class with the peasants under the leadership of the working class.

## 2

The Comintern (SH) and its sections, the international vanguard of the working class, are the leading political force of the world socialist republic and world society. In the world socialist republic, Marxism-Leninism is the ruling ideology. The whole socialist world

order is developing on the basis of its principles.

### 3

The World Socialist Republic works in the period between the capitalist and the communist society through the continuation of the uninterrupted world revolution by stubbornly adhering to the world class struggle, which is becoming harder, more difficult and more complicated, and by further developing and consolidating the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

Stalin: "The point here is that socialism is successfully attacking the capitalist elements, that socialism is growing faster than the capitalist elements, that the relative importance of the capitalist elements is consequently diminishing, and precisely because the relative importance of the capitalist elements is diminishing, the capitalist elements sense the deadly danger and are intensifying their resistance" (Stalin Works, German edition; vol. 12, page 31 "On the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)").

In full contrast to the revisionists, the Comintern (SH) and its sections adhere to Lenin's thesis that socialism will have its peculiarities in different countries, but the basic principles and general laws of socialism remain unshakable and indispensable for all countries and any deviation from them inevitably leads to revisionism and betrayal of the cause of world socialism.

Even in the phase of socialism, in the phase of world socialism, the main danger is and remains revisionism, the ideological basis of opportunism in the socialist workers' movement is economism, the plea for spontaneity, the revisionist theory of productive forces, the revisionist theory of relations of production, the denial of the role of the conscious, revolutionary factor as the main driving force. All revisionist views on the class struggle in socialism up to the era of Ramiz Alia deny that in socialism it is very important to assume two kinds of contradictions, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, that the difference between them must be made clear, recognising the non-antagonistic contradictions as typical of socialism and consolidating the unity of the people under the leadership of the proletariat and its party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a new driving force in socialism through the class struggle and the resolution of the antagonistic contradictions.



The phase of socialism will only have ended throughout the world - and not before, as the revisionists preach - when the danger of the restoration of capitalism has disappeared from the globe, no longer emanating from the old exploiting classes, etc., from external aggression, but from internal bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. This last danger will exist as long as there will still be traces and remnants of capitalism somewhere in the world. Only when the basis of the restoration of capitalism has been eliminated on a world scale can the victory of socialism be regarded as final. Until then, as Lenin said, the class struggle ZB against bureaucratism and liberalism, against bourgeois-revisionist ideology and culture, against the restoration of privileged and bureaucratised strata, which are the social basis for the restoration of capitalism, against bourgeois-revisionist economic policy, will increase tenfold and will not die off by itself. The main weapon is and remains the armed dictatorship of the proletariat under the undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The hegemony of the proletariat loses its old meaning in capitalism, but the working class develops a new quality of hegemony in the construction of socialism to consolidate the unity of the people and the peoples.

The aim is to achieve the final victory of the socialist road over the remnants of world imperialism, the remnants of the reactionary classes, but also to prevent at all costs all attempts by the newly emerging anti-socialist forces in the socialist world order to recruit themselves into a new reactionary, social-bourgeois class (Stalin speaks of the "Soviet" bourgeoisie) and thus to make possible again a restoration of capitalism, by relying on the historical lessons of the first socialist countries. The anti-socialist forces must not succeed in abandoning internationalism and restoring the internationalist policy of the working class through the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie. Sow discord between peoples and socialist nations, foment mutual distrust and breed nationalism. All efforts to separate oneself from world socialism in a separate national state in order to establish a new class rule there through local nationalism must be stopped. On the other hand, the affiliation of every socialist country to the world socialist republic is based on voluntarism and never on coercion - not only on paper - and thus does not only formally exclude the right to withdraw. Socialist internationalism is proletarian internationalism in the period of the victory of socialism over capitalism and, especially with the victory of the world revolution, with the world-wide victory of the socialist system, it develops into a bulwark of peace, of mutual aid, solidarity and cooperation, of friendship of all peoples of the world, of respect for their sovereignty, of non-interference in their internal affairs, of the blossoming of the national cultures of the peoples - national in form and socialist in content. Only in

this way can the complete construction and consolidation of socialism be ensured as a prerequisite for the transition to the final stage of communism throughout the world, the barriers of the socialist nations will also fall. The Constitution assumes from socialist internationalism that all nations and races are equal, that a difference in skin colour or in language, in level of culture or in level of state or economic development, as well as any other difference between nations and races, cannot serve as a reason to justify a legal inequality of nations. Socialist internationalism assumes that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present situation, irrespective of their strength or weakness, must enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, state and cultural life of society. It is not the wealth, not the national origin, not the inherited, historical position of a nation from the time of the old capitalist world order, but the social contribution that a people, a nation, makes to the world community that determines its position in the world.

## 4

World communism means the abolition of class rule in the world and the elimination of all exploitation and oppression of people by people, thus becoming a world community in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. "Each according to his abilities, each according to his needs." For the rest, the Comintern (SH) and its sections base themselves on the teachings of the classics on world communism.

## 5

The whole state power of the world socialist republic emanates from and belongs to the labouring peoples.

The working class, the cooperative peasants and the other toilers exercise power through the organs representing them as well as directly. The world socialist republic is based on the principle of councillor democracy, on socialist democratism. All its representative organs are elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. In the Socialist World Republic there is no ground for the existence of several parties, but only for the Comintern (SH) and its sections. The highest organ of state power in the Socialist World Republic is the Supreme Soviet, which consists of two chambers with equal rights: the Soviet of the Socialist World Union and the Soviet of all the Socialist Republics.

## 6

The organisation of the whole political and economic life of the Socialist World Republic is based on the principle of democratic centralism, i.e. centralised leadership is combined with the creative initiative of the subordinate organs and the working masses in the struggle against bureaucratism and liberalism. The representative organs of all socialist states base their work on the creative initiative and control of the masses, who are called to account to the governments of all countries and who, if necessary, can vote out and replace their representatives if the latter have lost the political confidence of the masses, have not fulfilled the assigned tasks or have violated the laws.

## 7

The constitution will start from the fact of the worldwide liquidation of the capitalist social order, from the fact of the victory of the socialist world social order. The main basis of the constitution will be the realised principles of world socialism: socialist ownership of land all over the globe, as well as of all production sites, means of production and instruments of production; the liquidation of exploitation and the exploiting classes, the liquidation of the misery of the majority and the luxury of the minority; the liquidation of unemployment; the application of the formulas: "He who does not work shall not eat. " and "To each according to his ability, to each according to his performance"; equal pay for equal work; the right to work, to rest, to education, etc., etc. i.e. the constitution is based on the social socialist achievements which are beneficial to the workers and labourers of the world. The basis for the political economy of world socialism is Stalin's teachings on the "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR".

## 8

After the establishment of the world socialist republic, the workers, peasants and other labourers will not lay down their arms to secure and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat of all allied states.

## 9

The socialist planned economy will be used throughout the world so that the economy can develop everywhere in a planned and proportional manner with the aim of constantly ensuring the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing and cultural needs

of the entire socialist world society through uninterrupted growth and perfection of socialist production on the basis of the most highly developed and ecologically compatible technology. It will be the task of the Comintern (SH) and its sections to fight for the abolition of inequality among the socialist nations, for the raising of the economic and cultural level of the peoples who are not yet so advanced, and to help the peoples to overcome the vestiges of nationalism and, in particular, to gradually win the confidence of the peoples oppressed by world imperialism and to overcome all vestiges of world imperialism which inhibit the unification of the peoples and hinder the World Soviet Republic of Labour in its economic construction.

## 10

The Comintern (SH) and its sections advocate Lenin's formula: the blossoming of national cultures (languages) in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country serves to prepare the conditions for their dying out and their merging into a common socialist culture ( and into a common language) in the period of the victory of socialism in the whole world.

## 11

The Comintern (SH) and its sections base themselves on the basic thesis of Leninism, which says that national differences cannot disappear in the next period, that they must remain for a long time, even after the victory of the proletarian revolution in the whole world. The nations will one day die off and merge, but this presupposes, on the contrary, that they develop and develop all round under socialism, and not by the weaker being assimilated and destroyed by the stronger. The linguistic chauvinism of world imperialism is a weapon of invasion for the subjugation of the peoples. It is not only limited to US imperialism, but also corresponds to the aggressive nature of every other imperialism, including social imperialism. The theory of the "death of national languages" and their fusion into one common language within the framework of one state in the period of fully developed socialist construction, in the period of socialism in one country is an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theory. This is a question of the victory of socialism on an international scale. The victory of socialism in one country must not be confused with the victory of socialism on an international scale. The Khrushchevians justified the restoration of Russian great power chauvinism, their nationalist and social imperialist Russification policy with the theory of the "merging Soviet people" through "internationalisation" and the

"withering away of national differences", the "denationalisation of language" in the Soviet Union. This has also been theoretically justified and practised by the Greater Serbian, Chinese and all other social imperialists. The process of amalgamation of socialist nations after the victory of socialism on a world scale would revert to old forms of national interrelations in the case of the restoration of capitalism, in the case of a temporary period when the working class would lose its world domination again. This is taught by the example of revisionist degeneration in the Soviet Union and the necessary anti-revisionist class struggle even under the conditions of world socialism.

## 12

The Comintern (SH) and its sections represent in perspective the dying away of the world socialist republic, but at the same time they represent the strengthening of the world socialist republic as the strongest and most powerful state power that will ever exist. Highest development of the international state power of the working class in preparation and as a precondition for the withering away of this state power - this is the formula of the Comintern (SH).



**Our 12 main**  
**MEASURES**  
**for the overthrow of world capitalism and for the construction of**  
**world socialism**



## Constitution

of the

W. U. S. S. R.

**World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

- 20 articles -

5th of December 2016





**Let us build the Socialist World Republic**  
**under the banner of Stalinism-Hoxhaism !**

(on occasion of the 80th anniversary of Stalin's Constitution of the USSR - 1936)

5th of December 1936 - 5th of December 2016



**What are the lessons that we Stalinist-Hoxhaists can learn**  
**today,**

**to replace the capitalist world economic system**  
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**The socialist revolution in Europe  
and the socialist European Union**

### Future Draft of a Socialist European Constitution

July 2015







# **CHAPTER VI**

## **The Comintern (SH)**

### **the proletarian world party, its Bolshevik character, organisation and statute**

- Stalin`s 12 theses for bolshevisation
- Statute
- against organisational right opportunism
- against organisational „left“ opportunism
- against organisational re-conciliationism and centrism

The basis of the Bolshevisation of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is Stalin's 1938 Short Course "History of the CPSU (B)", his 12 Bolshevisation Theses of 1925, the chapter "Party" from Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" and all the important documents of the Comintern's decisions taken for its Bolshevik construction.

## **1**

"In the international alliance of revolutionary internationalists we see the only guarantee for the liberation movement of the working class" (Lenin, Vol. 25, page 266, German edition).

In order to win in the world socialist revolution, the world proletariat forms its leading nucleus, its advanced international fortress; through the support of the proletarians of all countries, it creates its world political party as an instrument for the realisation of its overall revolutionary interests. This world proletarian class party is the Comintern (SH), which, with its sections, irreconcilably opposes all international forces of the world bourgeoisie, including its global agencies in the world workers' movement. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are guided by the principle of the hegemony of the proletariat - not only as a decisive condition for the strategic victory of the proletariat of this or that country and not only as a global principle of world revolutionary strategy, but the strategy of the Comintern (SH) is the revolutionary application and implementation of the dialectical relationship of the hegemony of the proletariat in a single country and the hegemony of the world proletariat. The world proletariat is not only the bearer of the ideals of world

communism, but also the main revolutionary driving force that liberates all the exploited and oppressed from capitalism, not only on the national level, but ultimately also on the international level. The Comintern (SH) and its sections make it clear that the world-historical role of the proletariat is to create the new socialist social order and ultimately the classless society. Of all the classes confronting the bourgeoisie today, only the proletariat is a truly revolutionary class. Therefore, the proletariat must lead and guide the revolutionary movements in the individual countries and the revolutionary world movement as a whole through its Comintern (SH) and its sections. The internationalist character of the international workers' movement only comes into its own through its world party, both in times of downturn of the world revolution, when the Comintern (SH) upholds and defends the traditions of revolutionary struggle (- from which the petty-bourgeois intellectuals hastily renounce in order to flow back to it just as hastily), and also in times of revolutionary upswing, to further develop and consolidate them, i.e. to apply the methods of struggle of that time all the more successfully the next time:

## 2

The Comintern (SH) and its sections base their entire activity on the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism as already laid down in the 12 §§. Without a complete break with all the anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian currents mentioned, there can be no question of building a truly Bolshevik world party and its sections.

"At the present time, that phenomenon of Lenin's time is evident, when the separation from the II International was followed by the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties. Inevitably, out of the revisionist betrayal, there resulted and results everywhere the foundation and strengthening of true communist parties which have taken the banner of Marxism-Leninism and revolution in their hands and raised it high" ( Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, page 78, German edition).

"In the preparation of the revolution, the unity and cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism has special importance" (ibid, page 285).

"They must all consolidate unity among themselves and coordinate the political, ideological and the fighting actions" (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, page 291, German edition).

The Bolshevik construction of the Comintern (SH) and its sections begins with ideological construction:

"As long as it was a question ( and in so far as it is still a question) of winning the vanguard of the proletariat for communism, as long as and in so far as propaganda takes the first place (...). When it is a question of the practical action of the masses, of the distribution - if one may so express it - of armies of millions, of the grouping of all the class forces of a given society for the final and decisive struggle, one can no longer achieve anything with propagandist skill alone, with the repetition of the truths of 'pure' communism (...). Here we must ask ourselves not only whether we have convinced the vanguard of the revolutionary class, but moreover whether the historically effective forces of all classes (...) are so grouped that the decisive battle is already fully ripe..." (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 81, German edition).

"There can be no strong socialist party if there is no revolutionary theory which unites all socialists, from which they draw all their convictions and which they apply to the methods of their struggle and activity..." (Lenin, Vol. 4, "Our Programme", page 205, German edition). This is true both on a national and on an international scale.

### 3

As the vanguard of the world proletariat, the Comintern (SH) with its sections fights for the victory of the working class and the labouring masses over world imperialism, including social imperialism, over the world bourgeoisie and international reaction and counterrevolution, for the re-establishment and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in individual countries, respectively. The world dictatorship of the proletariat, the building of socialism in the individual countries and for world socialism, as well as for the worldwide triumph of communism.

### 4

In order to fulfil its historical role as the vanguard party of the world proletariat and the highest form of class organisation of the world proletariat, the Comintern (SH) must constantly and uninterruptedly advance its Bolshevisation, its formation into a Marxist-Leninist world struggle party. It can only succeed in this on the basis of the Bolshevisation

of its sections.

## 5

This requires that the Comintern (SH) be structured according to the principle of democratic centralism ( For more detailed regulations see under: Principles of Organisation and Statute of the Comintern (SH)).

In order for the sections and the Comintern (SH) to reach a perfect unity of will and action in their ranks, they must create, develop and strengthen democratic centralism on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist structure of the organisations. The main means to implement the general political line is the tight leadership of the organisation, whose basic principle is democratic centralism. Only with established proletarian norms, which are common to all, is the Marxist-Leninist organisation capable of acting and functioning.

## 6

It is necessary that the Comintern (SH), and especially the leading comrades and cadres of the sections forming the dovetailing with the Comintern (SH), acquire the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is inseparable from the revolutionary practice of the international class struggle of the world proletariat; That they should define and adapt the more thorough elaboration and further development of a correct strategy and tactics, the international slogans and directives not on the basis of formulas and quotations once decided and learned by heart, superficial historical parallels, but always on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of the class struggle, the revolutionary movement of the individual countries and the changed world situation; that they should dialectically consider Marxism-Leninism not as a dogma but as a guide to revolutionary action on a national/international scale.

Stalin taught: "As for the rights of the Comintern and its interference in the affairs of national parties, I absolutely disagree with some comrades who have advocated the curtailment of these rights. They would like the Comintern to transform itself into an organisation that sits enthroned above the stars, looks down calmly on what is happening in the individual parties and patiently registers what is going on. No, comrades, the Comintern cannot become an organisation enthroned above the stars. The Comintern is a fighting organisation of the proletariat, it is interwoven with the workers' movement with all

the roots of its being, and it cannot but interfere in the affairs of the individual parties in order to support the revolutionary elements and fight their opponents. Of course the parties have their internal autonomy, of course the parties must be free, and the central committees must be elected by the party congresses. But to conclude from this that the Comintern does not have the right of leadership and consequently of interference is to work into the hands of the enemies of communism" (Stalin Werke, German edition vol. 7; page 57).

## 7

As a proletarian class party, the Comintern (SH) must heed the Bolshevik principles of social composition, as must its sections. If the world proletariat is the most revolutionary class in the world, then the revolutionaries of the Comintern (SH) and its sections must also be in large majority proletarian. If the proletariat is to hold the leadership everywhere, then a fortiori in the Comintern (SH) and its sections. The promotion of proletarian comrades must be central, so that a strong proletarian leadership can be developed and cadres recruited, especially from the industrial proletariat. These leading international workers' cadres must understand their revolutionary craft professionally, i.e. be familiar with the most advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism, be anchored among the working masses, lead alliance work with other toilers, e.g. with the peasants, have strike experience, acquire military knowledge and do excellent, exemplary work as communists on the international stage of the class struggle.

Of course, the conditions in the countries are different. Especially where the peasants predominate and the proletariat is still weak. It should therefore be noted that while the social base of the Comintern (SH) should be mainly proletarian, it is also indispensably necessary to recruit cadres from other social classes and strata, e.g. peasants. Without taking into account the importance of social composition, a successful construction of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is unthinkable. We Marxist-Leninists are also against the organisational separation of workers by nationalities, especially when this is demanded under the guise of Marxism. The rapprochement of workers of different nationalities in different countries is revolutionary, whereas their separation means a rapprochement with bourgeois nationalism. Both in the sections and in the Comintern (SH), the workers of all nationalities are equal, united and not separated, which corresponds to the standpoint of international Bolshevism.

## 8

Criticism and self-criticism are a law of development of the Comintern (SH) and its sections. They must not cover up their mistakes and must not fear criticism. The attitude of the sections and the Comintern (SH) to their mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria for the seriousness of the Bolshevik World Party and all its sections and the real fulfilment of their duties towards their class and the toiling masses. To openly admit a mistake, to expose its causes, to analyse the circumstances which produced it, to carefully examine the means of rectifying the mistake, that is to fulfil their duties, that is to educate and train the class and then also the masses. Without this, the formation of leaders and cadres of the Comintern (SH) and its sections would be impossible; for they are formed, educated and strengthened in the struggle against their own mistakes, in overcoming these mistakes.

Stalin remarked: "What will become of our parties if we, say, meet in the Executive Committee of the Comintern and turn a blind eye to individual mistakes of our parties, get excited about a parade of "complete agreement" and "well-being" and agree with each other on everything?...I am decidedly against this mutual approbation."

"Our advance is by struggle, by developing the contradictions, by overcoming the contradictions, by exposing and eliminating them. We will never, as long as there are classes, have a state where we can say: well, thank God, all is well. This will never be the case, comrades. Something in our life will always die. But what dies does not simply want to die, but fights for its existence, defends its surviving cause. Something new is always born in our lives, but what is born is not simply born, but makes noise, cries out and defends its right to exist (...) The struggle between the old and the new, between the dying and the new - that is the basis of our development. If we do not openly and honestly, as befits Bolsheviks, record and expose the errors and shortcomings of our work, then we block our own way forward. But we want to go forward. And precisely because we want to advance, we must make honest and revolutionary self-criticism one of our most important tasks. It is impossible to move forward in any other way. Development is impossible in other ways". (Stalin)

## 9

The Comintern (SH) and its sections are strong through their unity and iron



discipline. But the iron discipline in the Comintern (SH) and in its sections is unthinkable without the unity of will, without the complete and unconditional unity of action of all sections. The unity of programmatic, strategic, tactical and organisational views is the ground on which the sections united in the Comintern (SH) build and act. If the unity of the views of the sections disintegrates, the Comintern (SH) disintegrates, the unity of the sections disintegrates. Consequently, only those can be members of the Comintern (SH) who completely accept its programme, the General Line and the Statute, actively participate in the building and struggle of the Comintern (SH) and regularly make financial contributions, i.e., help with the necessary material support. Needless to say, it requires a greater portion of unity and discipline to defeat the world bourgeoisie than any other, single, national bourgeoisie in the world. Just as the world proletariat and the proletarians of the individual countries march in step, so too the Comintern (SH) and the sections must stick together "as one man".

The existence of factions is incompatible with both the unity and the iron proletarian discipline of the Comintern (SH) and its sections. They can only grow and strengthen to the extent that they wage the struggle against opportunist, anti-revolutionary and anti-party elements in their midst. They must ruthlessly remove from their ranks all elements of revisionism, pactarianism and capitulation, decomposition and disorganisation, without slipping into sectarianism. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are purified by purging themselves of opportunist elements.

## 10

The Comintern (SH) and its sections must stick to the fundamentally illegal structure even under the conditions of legality and semi-legality, because otherwise they would hardly be able to continue the struggle under the conditions of illegality without being smashed by the bourgeoisie. For this, new, suitable forms of struggle must be developed, since the enemy has an international, elaborate counter-revolutionary toolkit at its disposal, which must be circumvented or eventually and finally eliminated and smashed. On the other hand, the Comintern (SH) must strive - even under conditions of illegality - to use the existing legal possibilities of struggle in order to be able to establish close links with the masses and revolutionise the masses. Invoking the requirements of conspiracy, it must on no account become a secret society isolated from the masses and an easy prey for the enemy. Likewise, a decisive struggle must be waged against bourgeois and opportunist legalism when it comes, therefore, to the justified and necessary struggle for

every bit of legality.

"For all countries, even for the freest, most 'legal' and 'peaceful' in the sense that the class struggle expresses itself less sharply there, the time has come when the systematic combination of legal and illegal work, of legal and illegal organisation, is an absolute necessity for every communist party. For even in the most enlightened and free countries with the most 'stable' bourgeois-democratic order, the governments, contrary to their mendacious and hypocritical declarations, are already resorting to the drawing up of secret lists of communists, to endless violations of their own constitution (...) to the secret preparation of arrests of communists (...), etc., etc. Only the most reactionary philistinism, in however beautiful 'democratic' and pacifist phrases it may cloak itself, can deny this fact or the indispensable conclusion from it that all legal communist parties must immediately create illegal organisations in order to carry out systematic illegal work and prepare thoroughly for the moment when the persecutions by the bourgeoisie begin" (Lenin, Vol. 31, page 183, German edition).

In concrete terms, this means from now on: all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, wherever and whenever they carry out their revolutionary work, must already have taken the measures to create an illegal leading core within the legally existing party committees. For both the party and the members, especially its legal leaders, the moment must be thoroughly prepared for the abrupt transition to illegality without any great harm to the comrades and the parties as a result of illegalisation, i.e. that party work can continue unabated and smoothly under illegal conditions. Similarly, preparations must be made in illegality to convert the party legally or semi-legally, to the extent that the party has created the conditions for this. The creation of the illegal party apparatus cannot be done "on the side". It requires not only ideological acumen, but also a high degree of revolutionary consciousness, perseverance, vigilance, and special training, education and constant training. Thus, the emergency must be rehearsed and practised. Especially in the revolutionary phase, illegal party work must function perfectly, because no communist party has ever come to power legally through revolution.

## 11

In their work, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must understand how to combine an irreconcilable revolutionary attitude ( not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with a maximum of elasticity and manoeuvrability ( not to be confused with

adjustment politics!). In order to lead the world proletariat and the labouring masses of the whole world to world revolution, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must know how to develop the correct strategy and tactics and master all forms of struggle ( peaceful and violent, open and covert, legal and illegal, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, struggles at the national and international level, etc. ) and all forms of organisations. ) and all forms of organisations, to combine them dialectically with each other and to quickly replace one form of struggle with another according to the situation of the struggle in order to surprise the highly armed opponent, to make use of his people and equipment, to deceive him, to wear him down and finally to attack him openly. A bloated administrative apparatus is unsuitable and dangerous for such operations, because it can hinder the class struggle more than it can help it. Smaller, operative units are more suitable to act flexibly.

## 12

It is necessary that the Comintern (SH) and its sections understand how to combine the highest firmness of principle ( not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum of connections and contact with the masses ( not to be confused with post-trab politics! ), because without this it is not possible not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the Comintern (SH) and its sections, but also to listen to the voice of the masses and to guess where the shoe pinches them. The measure of Bolshevisation is also the seriousness with which the actions are carried out. There is neither a communist party nor a Comintern (SH) without actions. It is action and struggle that contribute to the growth and consolidation of the sections and their Comintern. We cannot lead the world proletariat and the peoples of the world if we do not show them that we are capable of leading them. The actions are at the centre of the whole development of the sections and their Comintern (SH) - and this from the very beginning, i.e.

a) in the period of the formation of the vanguard of the world proletariat (i.e. the joint building of the Comintern (SH) by the sections), the period of the unification of the section cadres on a world scale ( in this period the sections with their Comintern (SH) are still weak as a driving force ( not only to be explained by their own phase of development, but also to be explained by the weakness that socialism as a world movement has to overcome its first period of decline), When they establish a programme, a general line, i.e. the outline of the general bases of Marxist-Leninist theory and especially of the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, the sections and the Comintern (SH) are still weak in

the mass actions, the attention is still directly concentrated on the creation and formation of the fighting staffs of the sections and on the general staff; in this period it is a question of the existence and maintenance of the international forces of the Marxist-Leninist world movement as a certain, self-sustaining, self-sufficient force; in this period the forces are formed and put on their feet on an international scale as the vanguard of world communism);

b) in the period of mass revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the sections and coordinated by the Comintern (SH). In this period, the sections with their Comintern (SH) transform themselves from organisations of mass agitation into organisations of mass action, the period of preparation is replaced by the period of revolutionary action; in this period, the collected, educated and formed forces are no longer as weak as in the initial phase. From the self-sufficient force, firm organisations have emerged which are now directly transformed into a tool for winning over the masses of workers and peasants to lead and guide the struggle to overthrow the power of world capital.

c) The period after the seizure of power, after the transformation of the sections into government parties and the Comintern (SH) as a union as an association of government parties. Other than through isolated actions up to mass struggles coordinated on a world scale, there can be no building up of the sections, nor of their union in the world party. Everything else inevitably leads to liquidationism, if one contrasts the building of the sections and the Comintern/ML with the actions and the mass struggles.

In all three phases, the character of the sections and the Comintern (SH) is clearly recognisable as parties of world overthrow, as parties of world revolution. Not only must the sections and the Comintern (SH) be constantly clear about the respective main tasks arising from these three stages of development, but in overcoming these three stages they must overcome both "left" and right errors in order to avoid regressions of development, whereby in struggle there are never any guarantees of a dead straight development, i.e. certain fluctuations and regressions are inevitable.

\* \* \*

### **Concerning a future Statute (written in 2001)**

*The following draft statute is a proposal inspired by the old Comintern. However, the*

*statute cannot and will not function in the old Comintern way today. However, we want to avoid a dogmatic, template-like transfer to today's conditions at all costs (see § 18). The present and constantly changing conditions and preconditions of the international revolutionary class struggle must always be elastically taken into account and reflected in constantly adapted forms of organisation. The Bolshevik principles of party building must always remain the basis of the new forms of the statute, for we want to overcome the spontaneism of the movement, which at present inhibits the Marxist-Leninists and condemns us to retreat.*

## ***Thoughts about our Statute***

***(old edition of a draft from 2001)***

***[in 2009 the „Comintern/ML“ was renamed in „Comintern (SH)“]***

*(a possible form to be aspired to at a more advanced stage of the construction of the Comintern/ML)*

## ***Preamble***

*Following the example of the Comintern, the members of the Comintern/ML seek to form sections at the country level.*

*The Comintern/ML is freely joined by all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world who seek both Bolshevik party-building in their own country and its world-wide fusion into a world Bolshevik proletarian party.*

*All sections are parties of Lenin's type, are Bolshevik-built parties. The Bolshevisation of its members is a fundamental prerequisite for the functioning of the Comintern/ML and is therefore enshrined in its statutes:*

*Members of the Comintern/ML are therefore only parties which enshrine and practise Stalin's Bolshevisation theses in accordance with the statutes.*

*Furthermore, the members of the Comintern/ML undertake not only to recognise*

*the General Line, the Statute and the Programme, but to implement and apply them in the practice of the class struggle in their own country and on a world scale, and to support and help each other in solidarity in order to finally unite the world proletariat for world revolution, i.e. to send their best proletarian revolutionaries to the Comintern/ML so that they can actually lead the world proletariat.*

*The organisation of the individual proletarian parties in the Comintern/ML takes the form of an instrument of the greatest possible help for the struggle of the proletarians throughout the world in its entirety and equally in each individual country. The strength of mutual solidarity is achieved through the tight centralisation, unification and optimal coordination of all forces through a common general staff of the world proletariat, which is in close, elastic and dialectical connection with the leadership of the section in each individual country, which organises there the alliance of all forces in order to lead the struggle independently and autonomously on the spot, according to their particular situation, whose independent strategy and tactics, agitation and propaganda, are based on the implementation of the general line, i.e. on the special application of common principles. Due to the different conditions all over the world, the forms of organisation are very manifold and different. However, there are, without exception, certain commonalities and agreements in the forms of organisation everywhere, so that the following principle is helpfully applied : to organise the class struggle as uniformly as possible and as specifically as necessary, both internationally and in each individual country, and to develop agitation and propaganda accordingly. The binding nature of the decisions, the reliability of their practical implementation and the control through organisational forms of criticism and self-criticism are achieved through proletarian discipline and democratic centralism. The democratic centralism of the Comintern/ML not only presupposes the democratic centralism of the sections, but serves as its synthesis, its fusion for the optimal productivity of labour and the most effective struggle performance, as well as for the highest elasticity and manoeuvrability of the world proletariat, in order to be able to really defeat and smash world imperialism. The sections not only work together on international struggle tasks, but also cooperate with each other in a centrally coordinated way, where it is possible and necessary, e.g. neighbouring sections or sections operating in certain world groups, or transnationally, such as the countries on the continent of Europe - North America - Australia - New Zealand; Central and South America; Africa; Near East - Central Asia - South East and East Asia; and the countries of the former Soviet Union, etc.*

*The General Line of the Comintern/ML does not replace the General Line of each section, but is only the basic line valid for all, on which the General Line of each section, to be worked out under the particular conditions of each country, is built. The organisational apparatus of the Comintern/ML must guarantee the workers of each country the possibility of receiving the greatest possible help from the organised proletarians of the other countries at any given moment.*

***To this end, the Comintern/ML confirms the following §§ of the Statute:***

### **§1**

*The new International Workingmen's Association is created for the organisation of joint actions of the proletarians of the various countries, striving for the one goal:*

*Overthrow of capitalism, establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of an international Soviet Republic for the complete elimination of classes and the realisation of socialism, this first stage of communist society.*

### **§2**

*The new international workers' association calls itself: "Communist International/Marxist-Leninist".*

### **§3**

*All parties belonging to the Comintern/ML shall bear the name "Communist Party of this and that country/Marxist-Leninist (Section of the Comintern/ML)".*

### **§4**

*The symbol or flag of the Comintern/ML is "hammer, sickle and rifle" to express the revolutionary unity of workers, builders and soldiers and the arming of the revolution as a distinction from the old "hammer and sickle" flag used by the revisionists*

### **§5**

*The Comintern/ML is a world Bolshevik party and - just like the sections - is committed to,*

*to consistently apply Stalin's Bolshevisation theses.*

*The Comintern/ML, together with its members, ensures purity in its ranks.*

## **§ 6**

*The World Congress shall determine the criteria for admission to membership of the Comintern/ML. The basis for this is the Guiding Principles of 6.8.1920 - II Congress of the III Comintern),*

## **§7**

*The World Congress decides on the number and social composition of the members of the Executive Committee, as well as on the voting distribution of the countries represented.*

## **§8**

*The organisational principle is democratic centralism: admission or deselection of sections by democratic vote; democratic election / deselection of all governing bodies of the Comintern/ML; accountability of all elected bodies, binding nature of decisions from top to bottom; subordination of the minority to the majority; adherence to iron discipline. The organisation of the Comintern/ML is based absolutely on the collectivity and equality of its members.*

## **§9**

*The highest authority of the Comintern/ML is the World Congress of all its affiliated parties and organisations. The World Congress meets by decision of the affiliated parties and organisations. The World Congress decides on the General Line, Statute and Programme of the Comintern/ML and also on the necessary amendments. All questions*



*concerning the Comintern/ML shall be decided by the World Congress.*

## **§ 10**

*The World Congress shall elect the Executive Committee of the Comintern/ML, which shall be the governing body of the Comintern/ML in the period between World Congresses. The Executive Committee, as the collective leadership of the united sections, is responsible and accountable only to the World Congress. Decisions of the World Congress are binding on both the Executive Committee and the individual Sections. The World Congress shall establish its own supervisory body to ensure compliance with the resolutions.*

## **§11**

*The World Congress decides on the tasks, instruments and competences of the Executive Committee, the control of the decisions and the necessary regulations in case of violation of the international discipline, including violations by the Executive Committee...*

## **§12**

*The World Congress decides on modalities of financial and material provision, as well as on the necessary communication system and a staff of specialists from the Comintern/ML.*

## **§13**

*The seat of the Executive Committee and the place of the World Congresses shall be determined by the World Congress itself.*

## **§14**

*The World Congress shall decide on guidelines for co-operation and co-ordination of tasks between the Parties of the countries and the Comintern/ML or, in the case of direct co-operation between individual Parties, the Executive Committee shall be*

*given full and timely notice.*

## **§15**

*In all its activities, the Comintern/ML and its Executive Committee must not only take into account the central, international tasks, but must also take into account the related diverse conditions under which the individual sections are struggling. This means that generally binding decisions may only be taken if such decisions can be implemented in the individual countries.*

## **§16**

*The World Congress shall decide on the creation of the necessary international sub-organisations of the Comintern/ML, such as a World Red Army or the R G I (Revolutionary Trade Union International) or International Red Aid, etc.*

## **§17**

*The revolutionisation of the world situation and the consequent growing militancy of the international class struggle makes the illegal build-up and special measures to protect the Comintern/ML and its members imperative from the outset, as does the building of a second front against the class enemy. The linking of illegal and legal activity is an absolute necessity. Restriction of the eligibility of the leadership and organs, as well as the conversion of the reporting and communication system of the Comintern/ML is inevitable in illegality. However, a minimum of will-formation and control from below must be guaranteed in order to avoid isolation of the leadership and lack of control from the rank and file. A bureaucratic independence of the general staff is against the statutes.*

## **§ 18**

*Amendments to the Statute are to be made accordingly in the various phases of the building of the Comintern/ML. The statute in its present form cannot be realised at once. Only those forms of organisation that are feasible can be enshrined in the statute. The necessary conditions for this must first be created. Therefore, if these organisational structures are not yet realisable in the preparatory and construction phase, or if the class*

*enemy has destroyed these organisational structures, the Comintern/ML members must dedicate themselves to the common task of building the Comintern/ML or its reconstruction and in doing so commit themselves to the general line of the Comintern/ML. For this, they must create appropriate means for themselves, which are possible under the given circumstances and conditions, starting with loose links.*

## **Against the right opportunism**

**On the question of organisation of the world proletarian party.**

**The creation of the Comintern (SH), when one has created the conditions for it and fought to create these conditions, is the very first necessity, is the main subjective factor, is the guarantee of success in the world revolution. No one other than the Marxist-Leninists all over the world, in all countries, can judge whether these conditions are ripe for the creation of the Comintern (SH). Every success and defeat of the Comintern (SH) and likewise of its sections depends on the correct or incorrect assessment of the situation on a national and international scale, depends on its maturity and the maturity of its revolutionisation, depends on the general line on an international and national scale which it adopts and which must be guided by Marxism-Leninism, depends also on the external moments and the all-round internationalist help of the Marxist-Leninist parties and on how firmly they stand on Marxist-Leninist positions.**

Right opportunism on the question of the foundation of the Comintern (SH) consists in recognising the above in letter but refuting it in principle with counter-arguments, in order to postpone, delay and prevent the foundation of the Comintern (SH) at every possible moment, especially in such mature situations where the foundation becomes or has become most urgent and imperative.

Another ideological variant of right opportunism on the question of the foundation of the Communist International is to gain time and passively wait until the individual Marxist-Leninist sections develop in the various countries. Always wanting to "wait" for the others, always painting the conditions of the others as faster, better, maturing sooner, exaggerating the conditions of the others and underplaying one's own conditions, putting them in opposition to the development of one's own initiative, not recognising, acknowledging, wanting, preparing, uniting, combining the dialectical unity of the foundation of the individual Marxist-Leninist parties with the foundation of the Comintern (SH), to fuse - that is, in fact, to establish ever more perfectly, - this has nothing to do with the organisational construction of a systematically and uniformly functioning proletarian internationalism, for the conditions for the creation of organisational forms of proletarian internationalism are always present and prove valuable and useful, even indispensably necessary, precisely when conditions in general are as difficult for all as they are now.

In words, the opportunists are in favour of a Communist International, but if they have not been able to prevent its foundation, they continue to fight in it in order to divert it from the revolutionary road again and liquidate it. Without a Communist International, there is no real world revolution, all revolutions will limp on their way there, they will encounter serious surprises and suffer painful regressions. And when this occurs, and it has historically occurred, it is the opportunists who have "always" warned against a foundation where the preconditions and conditions "were not yet ripe" who are the first to do so, and it is precisely such opportunists that we are dealing with again today.

When are the conditions ripe for the creation of the Comintern (SH)? What thoughts would the classics have had on this question? What is right, what is wrong? We do not know. Do we mean that the subjective factors are ripe in all countries or, let us say, only in most or, more modestly, in many countries, yes, or at least in a minimum number of countries? What, pray tell, is the minimum here? What minimum at what time and under what conditions? Is this even a serious way to approach the question? To presuppose ready-made parties in all countries with mature subjective factors for the maturing of the main factor Comintern (SH) would be rather a "mature" right deviation of founding opportunism. No International has ever been founded under such conditions, or could be so founded. The term "mature" leads to the illusory view that one has to imagine something that has been thoroughly prepared, finished, functioning, tested, consolidated, perfect, grown structurally over many years, etc., as well as raging revolutionary movements in the world, parties that carry out revolutions, masses that rise up by the millions all over the world, enormous revolutionary machinery with highly developed theories, organisations and world-wide agitation and propaganda departments, etc., etc. Imagine a huge banquet hall with thousands of delegates at a world congress, and at the front of the stage sit our comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, and we shout enthusiastically to them: Long live the new Communist International, long live the world revolution!

Yes, we admit it comrades, we have dreamed of this for many years, we have imagined it in our heads and hoped that it would happen. Disillusioned by the present situation, it is deduced with equally hasty self-evidence that a few Marxist-Leninists scattered all over the world cannot throw themselves into the decisive international class battles without being declared crazy. Those who make the argumentation so easy for themselves get caught lightly in the stereotypical chains of argumentation of founding

opportunism without having come one millimetre closer to the solution of the question. And it is no accident that up to the present day there is not a single "minimal", let alone "mature" Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis for the creation of prerequisites and conditions for the foundation of the Communist International. Similarly, there is no elaborated Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis for the prerequisites and conditions of a dissolution of the Communist International. Little wonder that it is difficult to refute the arguments of the Communist International's foundation and dissolution opportunism - and there are a lot of them, and not only in the minds of the opportunists, but especially in our own minds! We ourselves, our nebulous consciousness - hinders us the most from formulating clear ideas and thoughts, from gaining assured knowledge, from making mature decisions and taking correct resolutions. Yes, comrades, this is probably the crucial point: - No criticism of founding and dissolution opportunism - no Communist International! The Marxist-Leninist movement must seriously realise this, and if, after "careful" consideration, it has decided to remove the opportunist obstacles, voilà - then this readiness testifies to a truly internationalist consciousness, a very decisive one indeed! The foundation of the Communist International begins in the minds of those Marxist-Leninists who are fighting on the ground today at this very moment. With the consciousness thus created of all Marxist-Leninists fighting now throughout the world, the preliminary stage for the very first step towards the fulfilment of the necessary conditions for the foundation of the Comintern (SH) would thus already be created. Now, one would think that we would only have to ponder enough behind our desks to continuously tackle one chain link after the other on this question until we have reached our common goal. Unfortunately, it is not that simple. It is necessary to return to the reason why we are so intensively occupied - not to say "so tormented" - with the question of the founding of the Comintern (SH) at this very moment, and why we are criminally neglecting other questions which are no less important, above all on the side of the working class. Why do we find it so difficult?

In the period of the founding of the Comintern (SH), all responsible Marxist-Leninists are faced with a worrying, seemingly inexorable process of disintegration of the present Marxist-Leninist world movement. The reality seems to have become clear to even the last comrade by now that neither as an individual comrade, nor as a single group, organisation or party, could anything be done to oppose this painful development in order to stop this retrogressive process - and this, of all things, in a situation where the world situation is becoming more and more threatening for the world proletariat and the peoples, where the necessity to intervene effectively could not be more compelling. Craftsmanship and circularity are eating away at the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, attempts

are being made to create a lowest common denominator of a halfway principled united front to hold the movement together, and one disappointment after another is being experienced. Ideological confusion and agitation of various splinter organisations create confusion, mistrust and disorganisation, give us headaches and cause dejection and helplessness. The connection between the Marxist-Leninist world movement and the workers' movement is in a desolate state and almost at a standstill. In short, we are drifting into a catastrophe and nobody knows exactly how to get out of it. We are not exaggerating when we state that the entire revolutionary Marxist world movement has never in its history been in an approximately comparable crisis. This is crying out for a solution. One looks at the other to realise with resignation: there are no more of them who have bravely persevered until now and remained truly faithful to Marxism-Leninism and who continue their struggle courageously despite all this. The comrades search the world for like-minded people, try to help each other, encourage each other, gather, keep in touch, discuss the questions of the day, look for organisational cohesion, want to do regular party work again, but they lack the foundations for it. There is a lack at all ends. The movement is paralysed.

### **What is most lacking in the Marxist-Leninist world movement?**

We have come to the view that what is most lacking are the most active, best and most faithfully serving forces of the working class to the cause of the world proletariat, as the driving force to form a nucleus of the movement that is unified, reliable, prudent, leading in solidarity and collectively, trustworthy, patient, tenacious and persistent enough to gather all the scattered Marxist-Leninists into a single whole, to hold together, to form, to unite, to prepare the conditions for an ideological perspective and tactical unity, and thus to lay the foundation of a real Communist International, in order to move forward in the present situation mainly of the movement, to support the individual organisations and comrades in the world, and to overcome the low point of the movement. It must be a nucleus that serves as a theoretical, propagandist and organisational mouthpiece for all Marxist-Leninists and creates better conditions for the building, consolidation and unification of Marxist-Leninist organisations and the winning and formation of the vanguard of the proletariat by making use of the experiences and ideas of all comrades. These are for all equally the preconditions for solving the task of anchoring itself in the working class and among the masses and establishing starting points for actions of the class struggle. With such a nucleus of the movement, the problems would of course be far from solved, but it would be a beginning, a first step in the right direction, would be the push that could set the engine in motion everywhere in the world, though not yet, but at least become an

initial spark for it. This core of the movement, which could provide the Marxist-Leninists with a common stage from which all the views and actions of the movement could converge and spread everywhere again, this core is nowhere to be found since the death of Enver Hoxha. This, dear comrades, is the sad truth. This is what we are missing and where no one can help us. We waited for it and hoped for it, because we did not think we could do it ourselves - but nothing came that we could be satisfied with. So, for us, there were no preconditions at the time for the foundation of the Communist International in the conventional sense to mature, but we still knew: only a Communist International, or at least its nucleus beginning work, could save us. That was the dilemma. Did we have any other choice? To start immediately with the foundation or not? This was the question we had been asking ourselves today for more than 10 years. In the end, the only basis for our decision was the conscientious assessment of the actual state of the current Marxist-Leninist world movement, in which we have been actively participating for more than 30 years: either go under or take the decisive step and try to form this common initial core? We decided on the latter, and thus the foundation of the Comintern (SH) came about of necessity - very quietly, timidly, modestly and at a weak and unfavourable moment, as it could not have been weaker and more unfavourable. What mattered to us was the concern for the movement, its existence, its preservation, our effort to help put it back on its feet. Unfortunately, this was not a classical moment of maturity of a revolutionary upswing of the movement, but rather an untypical moment when the end of the flagpole of a chronic crisis of the flagging movement seemed to have been reached - i.e. a situation obeying necessity with conceivably bad starting conditions, these were the special circumstances under which the Comintern (SH) saw the light of day and from where it simply "took" its raison d'être. The Marxist-Leninist world movement is still too young to die, it has nothing to leave behind but the deep valley of its crisis - but a world to win. It deserves this chance. We have said above - and we mean this sincerely - that no one other than the Marxist-Leninists themselves will decide when the moment has come for the founding of the Communist International and when it has not. We would be glad and relieved if the Marxist-Leninists in the world would criticise us properly for our "arbitrary" action and if we had really painted the state of the Marxist-Leninist world movement too black. We would like to be proved wrong, but we cannot imagine that the other Marxist-Leninists all over the world are suffering less from the heavy burden of the crisis than we who founded the Comintern (SH). Let history be the judge. We have done what we thought we had to do for the movement - sincerely and honestly - and for this we are ready to take responsibility. We fervently hope that the General Line will provide modest proof of our



sincerity and earnestness, which would at least begin to ease our consciences. We hope for the goodwill and support of some comrades in the world who will join with us in ensuring that the Comintern (SH) will quite soon overcome the period when it can be no more than a self-sufficient force.

The general line, the guideline, is of course worthless in itself if one waits and hopes until someone comes along to put it into practice. One can wait and hope for a long time. Isn't it the case that one puts a maximum of effort into working out a line, but then neglects everything when it comes to implementation and only uses a tenth of the effort. This is how castles in the air are created, soap bubbles that burst in the air. Lenin and Stalin often had to fight against over-zealous plotting.

So the general line must not somehow be put into practice and by anyone, according to the motto: "Here you have the right line, now do something with it, how - that is your business and none of our business!" Everyone knows that it doesn't work like that. Independence and detachment of theory on the one hand and manual practice on the other, separation between head and hand, must not exist in the Comintern (SH) and its sections, and therefore the whole work of the Comintern (SH) and its sections must be organised in Lenin's way ("What is to be done?") in order to avoid spontaneism, manualism, economism, circle spirit, etc., etc., on the one hand and doctrinarianism, theorising, intellectualism, on the other. In order to be able to tackle the organised construction of the Comintern (SH) and its sections, one must first solve the question of its preconditions, namely, the training and correct selection of people, a Bolshevik cadre policy which must be based on the active support of the proletarians of all countries and, of course, the organisation of the control of the implementation of decisions, directives, slogans, etc., etc. In the whole period of building the Comintern (SH) and its sections, the wagon must also go where it is supposed to go. To take care of this is the highest duty of every single communist towards the world proletariat and towards the Comintern (SH) and its sections. It has unfortunately also always been a fact that there have been people who only pretend to stick to the general line, to the programme and to democratic centralism in implementation and control. All this is well known and overcoming the mistakes of that time helps us to move forward a thousand times faster today, and to tackle the question of organisation properly. Even in the initial stage, the question of organisation must be defended and strengthened against opportunism, against founding opportunism, in order to be able to solve it properly. Under certain circumstances, in the course of its strengthening, the Comintern (SH) may run the risk of being diluted by fickle groups that

pursue a policy of half-measures and liberalism and have not yet freed themselves from the ideology of neo-revisionism. Moreover, there will be Marxist-Leninist fractions and minorities in the neo-revisionist organisations who are caught between two stools, attracted both to their own party and to the Comintern (SH). They must be helped to conquer the leadership or, if this fails, to form a new party that meets the criteria for membership of the Comintern (SH). They too must be helped in the ideological liberation of their neo-revisionist influences. Under no circumstances must the neo-revisionist organisations be allowed to infiltrate their factions into the Comintern (SH) in order to be able to actively sabotage the Comintern (SH), the proletarian revolution. Mergers with revisionist groupings, however weak their skins, must never take place. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) must also create sharp conditions for the admission criteria and also develop competences to hold the members accountable. The same applies to the Comintern (SH):

**A Bolshevik organisation strengthens itself by ridding itself of the rubbish in its ranks, purifying and cleansing itself, which is not to be confused with blind, draconian, sectarian exclusionary policies, which the classics of Marxism-Leninism never advocated or tolerated.**

Preventing bureaucratic styles of leadership through the development of proletarian democracy, the development and strengthening of the united will and action of the majority, of the proletarians, of the masses, through the creation of a political mechanism with smooth connections and close contact and lively interaction between the leadership and the rank and file. This must be well regulated, organised and thought out, monitored, maintained and constantly improved, because mistakes happen here which can have serious consequences for the functioning of the whole Comintern (SH). Weaknesses and frictional losses are known to be readily and immediately exploited by the opponents when there is insufficient oiling between the gears of the leadership and base and the gearing is damaged so that gear damage occurs and as a result the whole gear has to be laboriously replaced.

The Maoists in the Chinese section of the III Comintern rejected subordination to a superior international centre under the guise of fighting "superior" and "subordinate" parties. The accusation by the Soviet revisionists that the brother parties which opposed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union were thereby "breaking the will of the majority" or "violating international discipline" was rejected by the Chinese in an opportunist manner, rather than as Marxist-Leninists. As Marxist-Leninists, they should

have first criticised the revisionist betrayal of the Comintern. But they contented themselves with criticising Khrushchev that.

"under the present concrete conditions\* [= 1960, Moscow Consultation]... no leadership of the Comintern exists, nor should exist" (From: "The Leadership of the CPSU is the Greatest Split of the Present" - Seventh Commentary on the Open Letter of the CC of the CPSU of 4 February 1964).

and therefore had no right to impose its will on the brother parties. But the Chinese revisionists only wanted to exchange the candidate Mao with Khrushchev, because - as it turned out later - they never thought of raising the banner of the III Comintern, which they themselves - long before Khrushchev - trampled underfoot. Otherwise they would have fought FOR a new Comintern, for a new Bolshevik leadership, for international discipline, FOR the strengthening of the will of the majority of the brother parties, FOR their solidarity with international democratic centralism, FOR their reuniting in Lenin's World Party to defeat revisionism together. Thus, the arguments of "preservation of independence", rejection of "subordination of the minority to the majority" , the non-binding character of "agreements through consultations", etc., served the Chinese only as a pretext for their own splitting activity, for their line of dissolution of the world communist movement in the spirit of the Comintern, for the elimination of any obstruction by international subordination, whether by the world proletariat and its Comintern, or by the international bourgeoisie - including the revisionist bourgeoisies in power competing abroad. In this context, it is part of the ABC of Marxism-Leninism that one must not talk up artificial contradictions without abandoning Marxism-Leninism. Those who violate the principled unity of democratic centralism at the national level and democratic centralism at the international level have no right to insist on either democratic centralism at the national level or democratic centralism at the international level. Just as one must not tolerate any artificial opposition between democracy and centralism in the democratic centralism of a Bolshevik party of one country, so one must also observe on a higher, international level that the democratic centralism of the Bolshevik world party, that the dialectical unity of the parties of the individual countries and their common central leadership is correctly applied in the class struggle. What Lenin and Stalin taught in general in defence of democratic centralism both at the national and international level is of course also the general line of the Comintern (SH). The circular system must be overcome both on the national and then on the international level and replaced by strict democratic centralism. As an advocate of the

Communist International, one can never defend polycentrism in the question of organisation, as the revisionists do, in order to drop this tactic in favour of a world-wide social-fascist organisation or to dissolve in order to openly integrate into the world-imperialist system once they have come to power internationally.

Equality and autonomy, consultations and advice, mutual exchange of information and experience, creation of instruments of liaison, etc., are basic prerequisites for cooperation under international leadership. There can be no internationalist movement that does not fight for such a union in the Communist International! In times of globalisation of world capitalism, class struggle in one's own country alone will not get us anywhere. On the question of neo-colonialism and the nations exploited and oppressed by world imperialism, the sections of those countries whose bourgeoisies are involved in it must take a particularly clear, unequivocal stand. Each of these sections is obliged not only to expose the machinations of "its" imperialists with words, but also to follow them up with revolutionary deeds, not only to demand the expulsion of its "own" imperialists, but also to actually organise it, to arouse in the hearts of the workers of their country real fraternal feelings for the labouring people of the neo-colonial countries and nations exploited and oppressed by the world imperialists and to support their liberation struggle against their "own" bourgeoisie and to carry out among the troops of their country not only a systematic agitation against all oppression of these countries, but to call upon the soldiers to turn over their guns, to side with the armed liberation movement, to sabotage warlike interventions of the imperialists, but at least to fight for the withdrawal of the imperialist occupation forces. The same is true in the event that the imperialists wage war among themselves or use transnational counter-revolutionary contingents of troops to crush uprisings, general strikes and eventually proletarian revolutions in the imperialist countries. These are the lessons of the betrayal of the II International. These are the internationalist tasks which, in the event of an expected new world war, are to be carried out by the workers and soldiers from the imperialist metropolises and which are to be supported by the revolutionaries of the liberation movement through tactical entanglements with the occupying powers in order to make the redeployment of the troops more difficult, if not impossible, by binding them. This is called proletarian internationalism of action, this is called coordination of ONE common international class struggle under the leadership of a superior general staff, under the leadership of the Comintern (SH). This is an example of the necessary centralised coordination of all sections of the world revolution and the forging of the organisational forms necessary for this, which the revisionists reject and fight against:

"The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party has long since broken with its opportunists. (...) The III. International should, in our view, be created precisely on such a revolutionary basis. Whether the break with the social-chauvinists is expedient, that is not in question for our party. This question has been irrevocably decided for the party. The only question for it is whether this break can be made on an international scale in the very near future.

It is quite clear that an international Marxist organisation can only come about if there is a willingness in various countries to create independent Marxist parties. Germany, as the country with the oldest and strongest workers' movement, is of decisive importance in this respect. The near future will teach whether the conditions for the creation of a new Marxist International have already matured. If so, our Party will be happy to enter such a III International purged of opportunism and chauvinism. International purged of opportunism and chauvinism. If not, it will only prove that such a purge still requires a more or less long evolution. And then our party will form the outermost oppositional wing within the old International - as long as the basis for an International Workers' Association standing on the ground of revolutionary Marxism will not have been created in the various countries.

We do not and cannot know how developments will continue in the international arena in the coming years. But what we do know for certain, and of which we are unshakably convinced, is this, that our Party will work tirelessly in our country among our proletariat in the direction indicated and will strive in its day-to-day struggle to create the Russian section of a Marxist International..." (Lenin, Vol. 21, pp. 317/318 and 327-332, German edition).

We measure the seriousness of the work of the Marxist-Leninists first and foremost by their actions towards Lenin's unshakeable conviction of the creation of the International. How we in the world judge a Marxist-Leninist today depends first and foremost on his attitude (in word and deed!) to the International. This is the touchstone for the Comintern (SH) and will always remain the touchstone.

# **Against the "left" opportunism**

## **on the organisational question of the world proletarian party**

The historical process of the formation of the Bolshevik Party was by no means finished with the II Congress of the RDSLP - the actual founding - but lasted until the complete organisational separation at the Prague Conference in 1912. This whole period was the period of confrontation with the opportunism of Menshevism. In fact, it had been necessary to develop and impose the characteristics of this new type of party in the ideological, political and practical confrontation with revisionism. Did the later parties of the Comintern have to repeat these features? Not at all. They could take as a basis the Leninist norms which had emerged as the universally valid results of this process and set about realising these norms in the particular conditions of each country. The circle theorists who mistake particularity for generality are not only acting schematically, but they are in fact denying the universally valid teachings on the Leninist type of party and its construction. Thus, a stage of circularism as a prerequisite for the present development of the formation of Marxist-Leninist parties is no longer necessary, both on a national and international scale, and is therefore also an opportunist stumbling block that must be removed. In this context, we have repeatedly pointed out that the road to Bolshevisation must not be arbitrarily shortened. Bolshevism can never be exported, but can only emerge through hard work on both the national and international levels - and in their dialectical connection. The general conditions for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist parties are therefore given today just as they are for the creation of the Comintern (SH), both as regards the fundamentally clarified question of Marxist-Leninist theory belonging to its construction, as regards the maturity of the proletariat, especially the world proletariat, and as regards the existence of a Marxist-Leninist world movement, even if it is still in a weakening and torn position at present. If the Marxist-Leninists unite on this basis, then the most minimal basis for the creation of their own and common organisations will be fulfilled. All the other subjective conditions that a developed Bolshevik party must fulfil will be developed in the conscious party-building process itself.

All other tasks of party building are tackled on the ideological and organisational bases with the means of division of labour under the planned leadership of a unified centre which can rely on the collective wisdom and discipline of the organisation. Whoever demands the solution of certain tasks of party building, such as anchoring in the masses or a developed programme, as a necessary precondition for party building, demands nothing else than that these tasks should gradually develop in the spontaneous process of the circles, in the spontaneous process of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. Those who want to wait for this have not recognised the essence of Bolshevism, hold petty-bourgeois spontaneist views which are harmful to the party principle, both on the national and international level. So how is the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement established? Planned according to the principle of party building or spontaneist according to the principle of international circles? The basis of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties is the Marxist-Leninist theory, since the creation of the international General Line of the Comintern and the General Line of the Comintern (SH) developed from it, the systematic

building work of the Marxist-Leninist parties, or their reconstruction, can be started. To arm oneself against spontaneism, craftsmanship and cronyism in the Marxist-Leninist world movement by deciding for the planned party-building principle according to Lenin's and Stalin's bases, this is of course not the last word on the struggle against neo-revisionism in this question. There are no guarantees, but at least a better starting position. But those who make the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement dependent on concepts and theories that have to be discussed again and again, and who put off the movement to "perfectionist" elaborations, basically have no interest in Bolshevism, but try to put a brake on its development.

As with the Comintern in its organisational demarcation from the degenerate II. International, the strong "left" sectarian currents are to be expected in the organisational formation and building phase of the Comintern (SH). Why? The revisionists are busy building their OWN international organisations, because there is no ready-made Marxist-Leninist world movement, both ideologically mature and Bolshevik-organised and consolidated, strongly rooted in the masses, in which they can penetrate, develop their stirring activity and liquidate. The present situation is rather characterised firstly by overcoming the ideological fragmentation and striving for a common ideological foundation, secondly by overcoming the circle system and finding and gathering the true Marxist-Leninist forces and their efforts to coordinate and organise their cooperation in a Bolshevik way i.e. in a centralist way, thirdly, the transition to the planned and systematic organisation of actions, to launch action-oriented direct attacks on the world capitalist system and to participate in the class struggle of the world proletariat in order to train the most revolutionary proletarians in their own country and the world proletariat as a whole as communists, to steel them as the vanguard, thus to advance the building of the Comintern (SH) and its sections and, in perspective, to prepare them for mass work in order to create the conditions for carrying out the armed socialist revolution.

Because the criticisms of the most diverse political currents of the revisionist and neo-revisionist degeneration of the present international movement are not automatically limited to Marxist-Leninist criticisms, but - on the contrary - PREVENT sectarian ideas, these sectarian currents will also try to penetrate into the Comintern (SH), if this is not thwarted from the outset by a clear ideological dividing line and a complete break with sectarianism is demanded. Thus, every section must undertake to carry out systematic, persistent communist work on a daily basis in the mass organisations of the workers and labourers, must appear everywhere where the workers and labourers struggle, work and

live, in order to be able to win the most advanced workers for the building of their sections.

Organisations that honestly want to join the Comintern (SH) because they hate the opportunists, still have problems with the right views and principles, but have a proletarian core and are rooted in the proletarian masses, will be treated amicably by the Comintern (SH) and its sections and will be supported in solidarity to the best of their ability and will not be confronted with sectarianism. For this, however, one has to develop tact with principled elasticity.

Not only those are splitters who want to impose a revisionist line on the proletarian majority, but also those who criticise it from the "left" only in order to create their own revisionist majority, which in the same way fundamentally renounces the need for a Bolshevik world party with the organisational structure of democratic centralism. Under the guise of "defence of Marxist-Leninist organisational principles", under the guise of "adherence to democratic centralism", the Comintern (SH) and its sections must not allow an artificially induced fragmentation and split by the dogmatists. Just as Lenin fought against cronyism and craftism, against Menshevism in organisational questions, within the Bolshevik Party, so too the Comintern (SH) and its sections must defeat these liquidationist currents in order to safeguard the Bolshevik construction of the Comintern/ML and its sections. If every difference of opinion immediately leads to a split, if bickering is more important than unity, the Comintern (SH) and its sections cannot be saved from "decay". This radical approach does not correspond to the striving and struggle of the proletariat for principled unity, confidence and solidarity. The general line must not be misused to arbitrarily overdraw the line of principled separation in order to make the principled unity of the Comintern (SH) and its sections practically completely impossible, or to make it unnecessarily difficult and to unnecessarily strain the forces and finally to lose members by riding on principles. The organisational structures of the Comintern (SH) and its sections should open the doors wide to the proletariat, but otherwise be cautious and vigilant, this concerns the attention to the social composition of the members especially in the organisational building phase.



# **Against the Reconciliationism and Centrism**

## **on the organisational question of the proletarian world party**

The Comintern (SH) will first be approached by some groups which have hitherto oriented themselves towards the neo-revisionists and their international unions, are dissatisfied with them and have recognised the hopeless situation there. They are not yet Bolshevik organisations and will still carry the traces of the neo-revisionists with them. When they realise that the Comintern (SH) is strengthening and gaining sympathy among the class-conscious workers, they will practise "self-criticism" and lean on us, hoping to salvage their previous "autonomy" in the process, which should enable them to continue their earlier opportunist and centrist policy. It is necessary to pull the teeth of these organisations and help them in solidarity to overcome their mistakes. In any case, the mendacious Trotskyists will NOT get a ticket into the Comintern (SH) with their entrust tactics, and there will be no unification of the Comintern (SH) and IV. International or with any other "International". In all Marxist-Leninist organisations, whether in the parties of individual countries or in the world party, in all Marxist-Leninist movements, whether in individual countries or in the Marxist-Leninist world movement, their opponents first nest themselves as "honest" Marxist-Leninists and form in them, through the interaction of their criticism from the "left" and from the right, a seed for a new, second party or movement under the skin of the Marxist-Leninist movement or party, in order to degenerate our movement, our party under it and, after its victory, to strip off what remains of our movement and our party, to transform our movement and our party into a bourgeois movement and a bourgeois party, to dissolve it and to integrate its remains into the existing bourgeois parties. The theory of "refounding" the party, the theory of "renewing the party", the "new" line etc. etc. - arises from the denial of the possibility of the party's victory, arises from the perspective of its degeneration, which it camouflages with "refoundation", "renewal", "new" line, etc., etc. An actual refounding, actual renewal, actual new line only arises under the condition when the party has already degenerated and when all possibilities have been exhausted to "turn the rudder around again". The Bolshevik parties and their Bolshevik World Party are stronger than all their liquidators! There will be only one true, one anti-Trotskyist IV. There will only be one true, one anti-Trotskyist IVth International, free from Trotskyism, one Marxist-Leninist International based on the 5 Classics - the Comintern (SH), just as there can only be one world proletariat which has the fullest confidence in it and which will never share the Comintern (SH) with any other class and will never voluntarily surrender its leadership in it. Should the class enemy

succeed - in whatever way - in destroying the Comintern (SH), the world proletariat will create for itself a new revolutionary Communist International, which will follow in the footsteps of the previous Communist International and continue the struggle until the victory of the world socialist revolution. Temporary, tactical alliances and compromises are of course kept open by the Comintern (SH) - they will even be indispensable - but they serve the strategy of the Comintern (SH), namely never to touch the leadership and independence even in a possible united front tactic and to barter away its principles in a centrist way. The door of the Comintern (SH) is open to the world proletariat, but not to the opponents of the world proletariat.



## On the organizational Questions of the Comintern (SH)

01 - 01 - 2018

# **CHAPTER VII**

## **Ideological line of the Comintern (SH)**

### **12 ideological guidelines**

*(following 3 paragraphs of the general-line got lost. We refer to the texts of our theoretical organ concerning struggle against rightist, „leftist“ and centristic opportunism)*

- against the ideology of the right opportunism**
- against the ideology of the „left“ opportunism**
- against the ideology of the re-conciliationism and centrism**

### **12 Ideological Guidelines**

These 12 Theses form the ideological basis of the General Line of the Comintern (SH) . They are based on the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the historical experience, and the corresponding conclusions from the mistakes made - both by the previous three Internationals and by the individual communist parties.

## **1**

The further development of the science of Marxism- Leninism is the ideological basis of the Comintern (SH).

"Marxism is the science of the laws of development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of the building of communist society" (Stalin, Vol. 17, page 253, German edition of the KPD/ML).

The theory of the Comintern (SH) is the experience of the workers' movement of all countries taken in its general form. This means nothing else than that this theory can only be developed in a world party of the world proletariat, where all Marxist-Leninist

parties cooperate in the theoretical development and which serves all together.

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is based on the teachings of the 5 classics Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, on their international translation and dissemination in all mother tongues of the world, so that the world proletariat and all toilers of the world can study them and use and apply them for themselves and the world revolution and revolutions in all countries. The Comintern (SH) and its sections consider the defence of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism against any "left" and right deviation and against any conciliationism in the ranks of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, as well as the principled criticism of any Marxist-Leninist party, which violates or distorts the Marxist principles of proletarian internationalism and proletarian revolution and which distances itself from the interests of the proletariat in any way, not only as a right but also as an internationalist ideological duty and aid to the revolutionary world proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties struggling with opportunism. This emerges from the principled content and international character of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, from the common interests and aims of all sections of the working class, from proletarian partisanship and the responsibility of each section of the Comintern (SH) for the destiny of the international communist movement.

## 2

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is the guiding principle of the support of the world proletariat in its revolutionary liberation, is the common road of the united proletarians of all countries to the violent overthrow of the capitalist social order through socialist revolution, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat of every country, to the creation of the world socialist republic, to the building of communism throughout the world.

## 3

The General Line of the Comintern (SH) is the guideline for the correct, creative application of the principles of proletarian internationalism under the changing conditions of the international class struggle. In particular, the General Line is directed towards overcoming all bourgeois opportunist and revisionist deviations and interpretations of the

doctrine of proletarian internationalism in the international class struggle, otherwise world imperialism cannot be defeated. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are not content with merely propagating proletarian internationalism or "declaring" themselves internationalists and giving advice, not only to register in theoretical sentences the actual conditions of the existing class struggle and the world proletarian movement that is going on, but also to be internationalists in deed themselves in the most difficult moments and situations - i.e. absolute conformity of word and deed, so as not to violate the confidence of the world proletariat and the peoples of the world. The General Line of the Comintern (SH) is a guide to the revolutionary action of the world proletariat.

## 4

The General Line of the Comintern (SH) is directed towards the gathering, formation, orientation and unification of the iron will and disciplined action of all revolutionary forces of the world under the leadership of the world proletariat and under the banner of its world outlook - Marxism-Leninism.

## 5

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is directed towards the creation, building, extension, consolidation, defence, further development and strengthening of the link between international Marxism-Leninism and the world proletarian movement.

## 6

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is the summary, revival, further development, continuation and renewal of the revolutionary general line of the Communist International, which correctly reflected the experiences of the international revolutionary class struggle in its time ( with the exception of its last period since the VII World Congress, which initiated the later revisionist degeneration of the world communist movement, caused great damage to the world revolution of the world proletariat through its betrayal and also contributed to the dissolution of the Comintern).

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is based on the arming of the revolutionary world proletariat with the historical doctrines of Marxism Leninism and their all-round defence against the old opportunism (which appears again and again in new forms), doctrines as they are especially...

in the Communist Manifesto, the general line of the International of Marx and Engels against anarchism, the II International against reformism, the betrayal of social democracy, the defenders of the fatherland and social chauvinists) and the general line of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. Comintern of Lenin and Stalin in the struggle for the spread of the October Revolution all over the globe and its international support against the betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the general line of Stalin against Tito revisionism and the general line of the PLA with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head against the Khrushchev revisionists and their vassals especially in Eastern Europe, against Western Euro-"communism", and finally against the Maoist revisionism of China and its betrayal of the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat and other revisionist offshoots - especially in the so-called "Third World" were developed and anchored. While the bourgeoisie, from the blackest reaction to the "reddest" revisionism, aims to eradicate the memories and tradition of the Communist International, of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the former real existing socialism from the workers' consciousness altogether and to present them as crimes, the Comintern (SH), on the other hand, must use all its strength to keep these memories and traditions alive, internationally, as well as in each country. This is a tremendously important part of mobilising the revolutionary driving forces and strengthening communist morale.

"The same Marx who held the revolutionary traditions in such high esteem and relentlessly castigated every renegade and philistine distortion to them, at the same time demanded of revolutionaries the ability to think, the ability to analyse the conditions of applicability of the old methods of struggle and not simply to repeat familiar slogans" (Lenin, Vol. 13, page 27, German edition).

In concrete terms, this means organising training not only for the cadres and members of Marxist-Leninist organisations, but for the masses throughout the world. This is an enormous task that the Comintern (SH) has set itself and must fulfil. The

appropriation of Marxism-Leninism, both on a national and international scale, is an uninterrupted process, which means that this task can never be considered as "solved", but is a daily task "over the centuries". The question of how this task is solved or not is a question of the victory and defeat of the world revolution, because this task can only be solved in the class struggle. One cannot schematically "appropriate" Marxism-Leninism in order to solve all the problems of practice afterwards. Marxism-Leninism is not a privilege or a monopoly for some people who have the brains to understand it. It is the scientific ideology of the working class and the labouring masses and only when its ideas become the common good of the labouring masses does it not remain something abstract but transforms into a great revolutionary force for transforming the world. That is its only destiny.

## 8

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is also based on the creative application of the international teachings of socialism and the international struggle of the proletariat. It is based on the experience and realisation that the intensification of the basic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat throughout the world, that the polarisation of classes between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, that the social basis of international class society, that the international class struggle itself, the struggle between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between world imperialism and world communism, is constantly developing in principle in favour of the rising world proletariat and to the disadvantage of the dying class of the world bourgeoisie. In these struggles, new forms are necessarily developed and brought forth again and again, and therefore the ideological dividing line, as a prerequisite for ideological unification, is always more sharply formulated, redefined and fixed internationally. The creative renewal of Marxism-Leninism is necessary for the constant correction and further development of the general line of the Comintern (SH). The Comintern (SH) fights for the dissolution of rigid ready-made Marxist forms of thought that prevent us from constantly revolutionising it. As the world revolution develops, we have to develop our world revolutionary thinking in order to not only correctly interpret the revolutionary development in the world, but to change the world. In this process, errors and difficulties that arise are overcome through criticism and self-criticism so that the international class enemy of the proletariat cannot exploit them and opportunism cannot get a chance to shed its skin anew and spread again. Only when we

have stopped or even lagged behind in our ideological and theoretical development will it be possible for bourgeois ideology to seize Marxist-Leninist ideology and put it at the service of the bourgeoisie.

## 9

"The communist revolution is the most radical break with the traditional property relations; no wonder that in its course of development the most radical break is made with the traditional idea" (MEW, vol. 4, page 481, German edition).

The general line is directed in particular against any criticism from the **right**.

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is directed against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the ideology of all previous exploiting and oppressing classes in the history of class society, especially against their influence in the present workers' movement. We have not yet inflicted a full defeat on bourgeois ideology and its influence in the workers' movement, Marxism-Leninism has not yet finally triumphed over revisionism, but has only accelerated the rot of bourgeois ideology, bringing it closer to its grave. The bourgeoisie, as long as it has the strength to do so, tries to save bourgeois ideology from the grave by itself pretending to "criticise", "fight" or even "overcome" the influence of bourgeois ideology in the workers' movement, the bourgeois influence on Marxism-Leninism. If the struggle is not carried through consistently enough and uninterruptedly against bourgeois influence within the revolutionary, proletarian movement, until revisionism as an ideology is buried altogether, then this means retreat from the positions already won, it means an advantage for the revisionists, they will strengthen their positions again and gain advantages once more.

The Comintern (SH) draws an ever sharper line of separation from revisionism - once and for all and in all fields. It is based on the struggle against revisionism as the main enemy in the international revolutionary workers' movement and in the Marxist-Leninist world movement, whereby the focus is already no longer on modern revisionism, but on its already completed dangerous skins - i.e. forms which have repeatedly emerged and continue to emerge under the guise of the "anti-revisionist struggle" and which we group together under the term "neo-revisionism" (consisting of various currents, e.g. Maoism). We Marxist-Leninists thus distinguish ourselves from the outset from those forces that want to limit ourselves to restricting today's struggle against revisionism only to the old



"modern revisionism". In the permanent critique of revisionism, we are concerned not only with the forms, but above all with the contents of revisionism, through which it tries to adapt itself to the changes in the class struggle and new conditions within the revolutionary movement.

In the first phase of its development, neo-revisionism concentrated on the mantling of revisionism in power or its reconciliation with it

a) for the purpose of building or strengthening its own independent revisionism in power or for the purpose of mutual support of all revisionists on the national and international level in order to jointly accelerate and secure the way back to capitalism, i.e. to the ruling world imperialist system.

b) for the purpose of overthrowing socialism in Albania, which was the only state in the world that had developed in the struggle against revisionism and proved resistant to ALL modern revisionist varieties in the world. Since no single variety of modern revisionism caught on in Albania (especially not according to the revisionist ideas of Mao Zedong), and Albania withstood both imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement, the revisionists were forced to disguise themselves as "anti-revisionists". Only in this way - and only with united forces - were they able to penetrate the Albanian anti-revisionist world bulwark from within and without, which was spreading dangerously across the world for the revisionists.

Thus, revisionism could still shed its skin in the last socialist country in the world. With the completion of the first stage of socialism "in one country", its second, i.e. today's phase of neo-revisionism, the stage of socialism "on a world scale", began at the same time. In this second stage, neo-revisionism serves to

a) to repel the Marxist-Leninist critique - of the aged and rotten, parasitic remnant of the revisionist system in power, the critique of social imperialism and social fascism, the critique of the rule of the labour aristocracy and the critique of the transformation towards complete assimilation into the capitalist, ruling world system - and

b) to ward off the advance of the Marxist-Leninist world movement - under the banner of Enver Hoxha as the 5th classicist - to prevent the reconquest of socialism and thus its spread on a world scale and finally the world revolution.

Here the revisionists are scraping together all the old revisionist currents to unite against us with those who have nested and are moulting in our own ranks. That is why the moulting of neo-revisionism in the garb of the classic Enver Hoxha is the most dangerous current of revisionism today. We defend Enver Hoxha first of all against the falsifiers of the classic Enver Hoxhas.

There are two ways to fight revisionism - one proletarian and one bourgeois. The proletarian way is that of Marxism-Leninism, namely, to expose and expose the content of bourgeois ideology, which has been cast into a Marxist-Leninist form by the bourgeoisie, in order to eliminate its counter-revolutionary influence on the revolutionary movement. The bourgeois road is the road of neo-revisionism, namely, to cancel, to revise the revisionist influence on the revolutionary movement, which has been eliminated by proletarian means, by the bourgeois content shedding its old revisionist shell, which has become worthless, shedding its skin in order to slip into a new form, precisely into the form of "anti-revisionism".

As Stalin polemicised against Zinoviev (VII Extended Plenum of the ECCI, vol. 9, Stalin Works, dr. edition), revision is not only a perfectly legitimate dialectical means (e.g. negation of negation) to critically review the fitness of the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism, especially when the changed situation makes this necessary, but this is also a necessary means, even a compulsory law, in order not to kill off Marxism-Leninism in dogmas, in order to keep it alive, in order to develop and strengthen it further. In this sense, it is also not only completely legitimate but also urgently necessary to examine the Marxist-Leninist guiding principles on modern revisionism for their suitability, especially when modern revisionism is not at all as modern as it seems. This term "modern" is even meant to confuse, because it is already old, decaying, stinking revisionism, while a new revisionism has long since shed its skin - neo-revisionism. It is the result of the revision of the revisionists. They were forced by the victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism to review the unsuitability of the old revisionist guiding principles and would have disappeared from the stage of history if they had not shed their skin. As neo-revisionism, however, the old "modern" revisionism can continue to fulfil its essential function, namely, to continue, to intensify the bourgeois influence on the revolutionary movement, by which we mean to point out that neo-revisionism is much more dangerous than modern revisionism and in this respect also deserves our undivided attention.

The Comintern (SH) was the first in the world to establish this Marxist-Leninist

theory of struggle against neo-revisionism and to apply it successfully in the class struggle, thus standing in the front and leading ideological line in the struggle against modern revisionism. The struggle against revisionism cannot be brought to a victorious end if it stops at the stage of the struggle against modern revisionism. It is precisely the nature of neo-revisionism to create confusion about the struggle against revisionism and, for example, to limit the "anti-revisionist" united front to the epoch of modern revisionism in order to camouflage its moulting and sail under the flag of Marxism-Leninism. The line of neo-revisionism is also expressed in playing down revisionism and reconciling Marxism-Leninism with it and stopping the struggle against it.

The general line is thus increasingly directed at those currents of revisionism which have skinned themselves to the "latest state" under the guise of "anti-revisionism" and are therefore particularly difficult to see through and dangerous for the world proletariat. There is only one anti-revisionism, that is Marxism-Leninism, any anti-revisionism outside Marxism-Leninism is neo-revisionism, i.e. anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deed. The unity of the anti-revisionists is the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, the unity of the proletariat - and not the unity of the Marxist-Leninists with the neo-revisionists. The proletariat can only liberate itself AGAINST its class enemies, NOT WITH them, even if these enemies disguise themselves as friends. It is also pointless to talk to the neo-revisionists, because they are not only the spearhead of modern revisionism, but of all renegadeism in the history of the class struggle.

## 10

The general line is directed in the same way - and this especially in dialectical connection with right opportunism - against all criticism from the "left", against "left" opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism, and quite especially against all forms which constantly develop and skin themselves from them. Neo-sectarianism means sectarianism in disguise, camouflaging itself with anti-sectarianism. The true communists have no interests separate from the interests of the whole proletariat, no separate organisations, no separate ideology, and have nothing to dictate or impose on the proletarians and their movement. The Comintern (SH) is not the proxy of the proletarian movement is not above it, but is only its driving force. The liberation of the working class can only be the work of the workers themselves, not the work of the communists without the proletarians and not the work of representatives of any other class to which the world proletarian movement

would have to subordinate itself. In this, neither the international proletariat nor its Comintern (SH) allows itself to be dazzled and deceived by hollow phrases and solemn invocations from representatives of other classes who pose as representatives of proletarian interests, as representatives of communism, and who want to nestle themselves in the proletarian movement only in order to prevent the world proletariat from carrying out its historical mission. The Comintern (SH) preserves the doctrine of the hegemony of the proletariat against sectarianism, even if it hides behind neo-sectarianism.

## 11

The general line of the Comintern (SH) is based - and this in dialectical connection with the struggle against right and "left" - on the struggle against conciliationism, which takes the opportunists under its wing, which pretends to overcome opportunism but prepares the way for it in deeds. Conciliationism is a form of preparing and enabling the split of the unity of the proletariat and provides the class opponents in their own ranks with the possibility of gaining more easily harmful influence within the proletariat, within the Comintern (SH) and its sections. Of all forms of conciliationism, the most dangerous is the one that tries to make it credible that it wants to "fight conciliationism itself" - this is neo-reconciliationism. But the proletariat can only protect itself through itself, not through reconciliation with the class enemy. The Comintern (SH) is fighting against centrism, which is an ideology of accommodation, an ideology of subordination of proletarian interests to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie within the Comintern (SH) and its sections. Very dangerous is the conciliationism towards Trotskyism ( see resolutions of the V Congress of the Comintern).

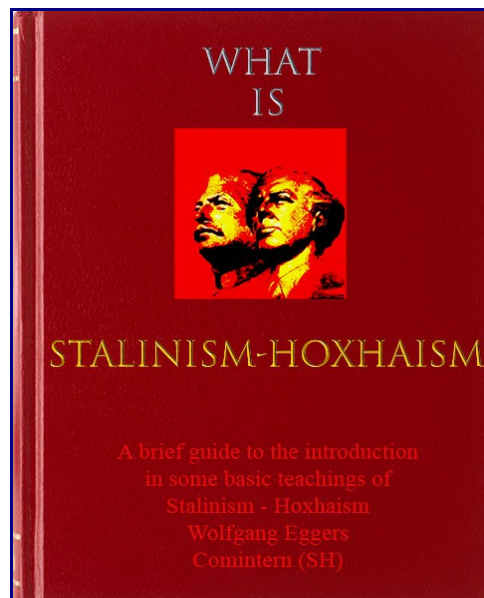
Trotskyism is still today the most pronounced current of opportunism of all existing oppositional currents and a petty-bourgeois deviation aiming at the liquidation of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The Comintern (SH) fights petty-bourgeois, intelligentsia Trotskyism and all forms of the wavering line of centrism, even if it masquerades as neo-centrism, which has skinned itself from the old centrism and pretends to fight it. With their various right and "left" zigzag manoeuvres, they try to manoeuvre between the fronts of the revisionist "united front tactics" of the bourgeoisie and the united front tactics of the proletariat in an unprincipled way ( viz: To irritate the proletarian united front policy, to divert it from the path and gradually to swing it via the path of the petty bourgeoisie finally into the bourgeois camp in order to make it easier for the bourgeoisie to assimilate and thus liquidate it). Centrism between Marxism-Leninism and neo-revisionism and any form

of striving for its unification is rejected by the Comintern (SH). First to build an "anti-revisionist" united front and then to catapult out the Marxist-Leninists as "sectarians", this is the devious task of the neo-revisionists' accomplices. Thus, under the guise of "anti-revisionist unity", the centrists are fomenting divisive currents and deviations in order to weaken the unity of the world proletariat, its Marxist-Leninist parties and the Comintern (SH) through factionalism and to undermine the necessary, principled organisational demarcation and detachment from the opportunist line of so-called "anti-revisionism". The petty bourgeoisie's balancing act between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can never and will never succeed. The pest work of the bourgeois/petty-bourgeois intellectuals is one of the most dangerous forms of resistance against the workers, against their ideology. This pest work is all the more dangerous because it is linked to international capital and to the labour aristocracy. That is why the working class throughout the world must acquire the necessary knowledge, must arm itself with the armoury of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, in order not only to be equal to these intellectual attacks of the class enemy, but to repulse and destroy them, the working class must also use its intellectual power, its intellectual weapons, to liberate itself and the whole world from the domination of bourgeois ideology. It is the task of the Comintern (SH) to train and teach the world proletariat accordingly, studying itself the conditions of the existing class struggle by participating in it and learning from the workers, so as not to fall into the elaborate traps that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia keep setting against the Comintern (SH) and its sections.

## 12

**Before uniting and in order to unite, one must first decisively and definitely demarcate oneself from one another.** It is clear that after each demarcation, all pseudo-Marxist-Leninist currents are forced to disguise themselves anew, to shed their skin anew, after they have been unmasked and exposed and thus lost their harmful influence in the workers' movement. It is clear that the class enemy is very angry about this and its anti-Marxist-Leninist resistance is renewed and intensified where the Marxist-Leninists have dealt sensitive blows to the opportunists. It is clear, therefore, that the general line of the Comintern (SH) must not be content only to repel neo-Trotskyism, neo-sectarianism, neo-revisionism and all other newly disguised ideologies one by one. It is necessary, firstly, to recognise the dialectical connection and the interplay of all the hostile currents, the common class character hidden behind the garb of Marxism-Leninism, secondly, to circumnavigate all these ideological cliffs in a principled and tactically wise manner, and thirdly, at the right time, to strike these enemies all severely on the head and condemn

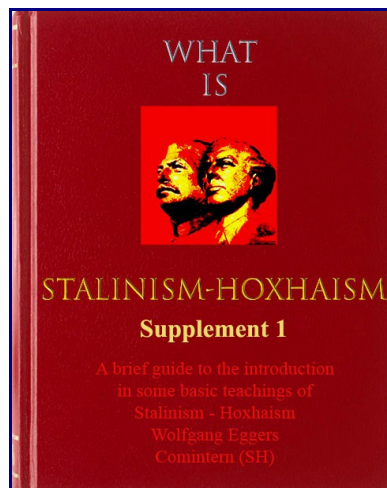
their machinations before the eyes and with the help of the masses. It is clear that the general line of the Comintern (SH) can only preserve and consolidate its Bolshevik character if it ALWAYS thoroughly, at the right moment, uncompromisingly and comprehensively thwarts and disarms the living essence, the mutability of opportunism and the manoeuvres and eliminates the opportunist rubbish dumped on the working class together with the masses. The Comintern (SH) and its sections accumulate their experience, i.e. they systematise their struggle against non-communist currents, and only in this struggle do they strengthen, prevent the proletariat from being exposed to these currents without protection. One cannot take away from the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism a single fundamental thesis, not a single essential component, or arbitrarily replace one thesis with another, without distancing oneself from the objective truth, without falling into the clutches of bourgeois reactionary dodges - and especially when they are nicely "Marxist" packaged. What is written on it does not have to be in it!



## WHAT IS STALINISM - HOXHAISM ?

16 - 07 – 2018





## **SUPPLEMENT 1** (HTML)

**PDF**

**2018-2020**



**What is the communist ideology ?**





**From the questions of Leninism**  
**to the questions of Stalinism-Hoxhaism**





**"The mark of the true communism  
is a brake with opportunism"**

**Handbook  
against Opportunism**



**Comintern (SH)**

# HANDBOOK

## AGAINST OPPORTUNISM



### What is Revisionism ?

February 2016



### "Declaration of War on Maoists"





## **"Four and a half heads"**

**a neo-revisionist ideology**



**Declaration of War  
Against the neo-revisionist  
ICMLPO**

**June 16, 2015**





## **CHAPTER VIII**

### **Historical teachings of the Comintern and the Communist World Movement**

- against the right opportunism within the Communist World Movement
- against the „left“ opportunism within the Communist World Movement
- against the re-conciliationism and the centrism within the Communist World Movement



### **The Communist Manifesto and Neo-Revisionism**



### **Main features of the historical development of the proletarian International**

- from the First International to the Comintern (SH)

March 14, 2019



## OVERVIEW

**The History of the Communist International and the world communist movement are inseparably linked with the History of the world socialist revolution.**

**The Third International (1919 - 1943) - called the "Comintern" - continued the Marxist legacy of the First International and the Second International, namely as long as it had not yet deviated from Marxism, thus, so long as it had not yet turned into an open tool of the international counter-revolution (1914).**

**The Communist International was founded by Lenin, emerged from the victory of the October Revolution (1917) in the end of the First World War, and organized all internationalist forces of the world proletarian revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.**

**The Communist International linked the center of world revolution with all revolutionary movements around the world and was the international collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of the world socialist revolution.**

**The Communist International became the highest form of class organization of the world proletariat and was the leader of the communist movement.**

**With the goal of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, the Comintern united the proletariat of the Soviet Union with the proletarians of all countries who were still fighting for the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By this symbiosis, the**

**Soviet Union became a powerful, open base and mighty lever of the world revolutionary movement. And the Soviet Union, in turn, received its necessary support from the world revolutionary movement - organized by the Comintern.**

**Only the Comintern embodied the true unity of the revolutionary workers and the liberation movements of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.**

**The glorious history of the CPSU (B) Lenin and Stalin gave significantly distinction to the glorious history of the Comintern, which began its work on Soviet ground and finished its work from there.**

**The Comintern of Lenin and Stalin occupies an honorable place in the history of world communism.**

**The Comintern grew up to be a strong umbrella organization of the communist parties of the countries, which were affiliated to the Comintern as its Sections.**

**With the VI. Congress and under the leadership of Stalin, the Comintern reached its most powerful stage and even transcontinental detachments of the Comintern were formed. However, with the Seventh World Congress, Dimitroff prevented the further development of the Comintern towards a globalized, monolithic world Bolshevik party.**

**Instead, the Comintern was disintegrated and only the communist parties remained as separate isolated parts. The dissolution of the Comintern bequeathed the world proletariat a period in which the victory of the socialist world revolution was *questionable*.**

**The continuation of the history of the Comintern is an important step for the victory of the socialist world revolution and socialism on a world scale, namely a victory in the fight for the elimination of the inevitability of the danger of its own bourgeois degeneracy and repeated dissolution. This danger exists as long as imperialism dominates the world.**

**Nobody in the world has been fighting for the re-establishment and reconstruction of the**



Comintern of Lenin and Stalin so thoroughly, as the Comintern (SH).

Not until the turn of the millennium, 57 years after its dissolution in 1943, the Communist International was re-established - exactly on December 31, 2000.

This foundation of the Comintern (SH) is an event of great historical importance. From that day on the great work of the Comintern had been continued actively and honorably.

The Comintern (SH) was founded because the Comintern history teaches that the world proletariat can not be victorious without its world party. Without revolutionary leadership of a Bolshevik world organisation, the matter of the world-proletarian revolution is doomed to failure.

Only a party of a new type of Stalinism-Hoxhaism is functioning under the present conditions of globalization, to lead the world proletariat in the decisive battles against the global power of the world bourgeoisie, and to eliminate the danger of the inevitability of its own bourgeois degeneracy. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist party of new type is not an umbrella organization of separate, independent Communist Parties of individual countries (as it was the case with the Comintern), but a unique, one and only monolithic Bolshevik world party - equipped with its own global system of democratic centralism and *global party structure* (from the party cell to the ECCI).

Our party-banner - "hammer, sickle and rifle" - demonstrates not only the continuity in the further perfecting of the invincible communist ideology, but also the resoluteness in eliminating the possible risk of the destruction of the Comintern, and last not least, it is an expression of over 150 years vitality and life force of the tradition of the communist movement.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement was born out of the struggle against the neo-revisionism. The Neo-Revisionists operate under the guise of "Marxism-Leninism" and "anti-revisionism" for the restoration of modern revisionism. The victory of the old glorious Marxist-Leninist World Movement of Comrade Enver Hoxha can only be defended and successfully be continued by defeating the neo-revisionism, thus by the global destruction of various poly-centrist camps and centers of the neo-revisionists.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement is the communist world movement of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx - Engels - Lenin - Stalin - Enver Hoxha.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement is the globally centralized and coordinated movement of the proletarian fight-detachments of countries on all continents for the victory of the rule of the world proletariat on a world scale.

We call the today's Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement the most conscious and the most revolutionary movement for the global socialist transformation of society, that is the only real movement which globally terminates and eliminates the present condition of the world capitalist system.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is a chain-link and current result within the history of Bolshevization of the world communist movement.

To study the history of the world revolution in its various stages and from its inception until today, we need to follow up the course of the main front line of the historic struggle of the antagonist classes on a global scale. In particular, we need to examine the historical global relations of classes in terms of their attitude toward the world socialist revolution. We must study the historical development of the relationship between revolution and counter-revolution on a world scale and have to extract its inner principles. Most important here is the elaboration of the law of development of the world camp of the proletarian class face to face with the world camp of the bourgeoisie - that is its international history, its trend of further globalization, in present and future. After all, it is the special long-term objective of the world communist movement to eliminate the inevitability of class struggle between these two world camps, and in general, the global abolition of the class society.

In short, using the dialectical and historical materialism, we have to study the development of the world communist movement and the history of the Communist International on the

basis of the changing global relations of classes in their past and present. Only then can we draw the correct conclusions for our future strategy and tactics.

### **What are the stages of the proletarian world-organisations in their historical development ?**

The First International was the international organization of the world proletariat in the pre-imperialist stage of capitalism.

The Second International was the organization of the world proletariat in the beginning of the imperialist era, before the First World War and before the establishment of the first proletarian state.

The Comintern was the organization of the world proletariat in the period of socialism in "one" country.

The Cominform was the organization of the world proletariat in the period of the emergence of the Stalinist world camp.

The Comintern (SH) is the organization of the world proletariat in the period of the revolutionary transition from world capitalism to world socialism, and from world socialism to world communism.

What is the dialectical-historical principle of the permanent renewal and advancement of the proletarian world-party ?

Karl Marx defined this iron principle as follows:

"Thus, instead of dying out, the International did only pass from its first period of incubation to a higher one where its already original tendencies have in part become realities. In the course of its progressive development, it will yet have to undergo many a change, before the last chapter of its history can be written." [ Karl Marx: "Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working-Men's Association", in: Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, Volume 19, page 147, German edition. - , 1878]

"The Communist International had not ceased to exist and it will not cease to exist" (Lenin ).

The International is indestructible, because the world proletarian revolution is indestructible [ Comintern (SH) ].

## **The First International**

In the 19th Century, the efforts for organizing an international association of the first revolutionary forces of the proletariat in the capitalist countries began. The former main task and the general-line of Marx and Engels was, to create an instrument for the organization of the international proletarian struggle - the foundation of a world organization of the socialist proletariat, thus the First International.

It was Karl Marx who issued the historical birth certificate for the communist world movement with his famous inaugural address.

It was Karl Marx who created the world communist movement in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

It was Karl Marx who combined both the theoretical and practical international class struggle of the proletariat with the prior-ranking, world-revolutionary aim:

"To conquer political power has become the great duty of the working classes." (Marx, *Inaugural-Adresse*, 1864).

"My life will be devoted (...) to the triumph (...) of the universal rule of the proletariat." (1872, MEW, Marx - Volume 23, page 256, English edition).

The foundation of the First International is the most significant achievement in the history of the workers' movement of the 19th century.

The First international was the highest organisational expression of the first period of the international workers' movement - namely expressively under the banner of communism. The First International paved the way for the Second and Third International, and last not least for the Comintern (SH), as the communist world party of the world proletariat in its global struggle for the overthrow of world capitalism, for the construction of world socialism and finally creation of the classless world society.

In his famous book "*Civil War in France*" (1871), Marx himself called the First International:

"the international counter-organisation of labour against the world-bourgeois conspiracy of capital."

And Lenin appreciated the historical significance of the First International in the following quotations:

"The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The Third International actually emerged in 1918, when the long years of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, especially during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries. Officially, the Third International was founded at its First Congress, in March 1919, in Moscow. And the most characteristic feature of this International, its mission of fulfilling, of implementing the precepts of Marxism, and of achieving the age-old ideals of socialism and the working-class movement - this most characteristic feature of the Third International has manifested itself immediately in the fact that the new, third, 'International Working Men's Association' has *already begun to develop*, to a certain extent, into *a union of Soviet Socialist Republics*."

*„The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Workingmen's Association - the celebrated First International - was founded in London. Marx was heart and soul of this organisation, and author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestos. In uniting the labour movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassalleian vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries. Following the down fall of the Paris Commune (1871) - of which Marx gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant, effective and revolutionary analysis (The Civil War in France, 1871) - and the Bakunist-caused cleavage in the International, the latter organisation could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), Marx and the General Council of the International transferred to New York. The First International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in scope, and mass socialist working-class parties in individual states were founded." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 21, page 49, English edition). [ In 1876 the First International was officially disbanded at a conference in Philadelphia - remark of the editor]*

"In 1864 Marx founded the International Working Men's Association, and led this society for a whole decade. Engels also took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, in accordance with Marx's idea, united proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance in the development of the working-class movement. But even with the closing down of the International Association in the seventies, the unifying role of Marx and Engels did not cease. On the contrary, it may be said that their importance as the spiritual leaders of the working-class movement grew uninterruptedly. After the death of Marx, Engels continued alone as the counsellor and leader of the European socialists." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 2, page 26, English edition)

"In the sixties the struggle shifted from the field of general theory to one closer to the direct labour movement: the ejection of Bakunism from the International. In the early seventies the stage in Germany was occupied for a short while by the Proudhonist Mühlberger, and in the late seventies by the positivist Dühring. But the influence of both on the proletariat was already absolutely insignificant. Marxism was already gaining an unquestionable victory over all other ideologies in the labour movement. By the nineties this victory was in the main completed. Even in the Latin countries, where the traditions of Proudhonism held their ground longest of all, the workers' parties in effect built their programmes and their tactics on Marxist foundations. The revived international organisation of the labour movement - in the shape of periodical international congresses - from the outset, and almost without a struggle, adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials. But after Marxism had ousted all the more or less integral doctrines hostile to it, the tendencies expressed in those doctrines began to seek other channels. The forms and causes of the struggle changed, but the struggle continued. And the second half-century of the existence of Marxism began (in the nineties) with the struggle of a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism itself. (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 15, page 32, English edition)

"The recent Congress in Stuttgart [18-24 August 1907] was the twelfth congress of the proletarian International. The first five congresses belong to the period of the First International (1866-72), which was guided by Marx, who, as Bebel aptly observed, tried to achieve international unity of the militant proletariat from above. This attempt could not be successful until the national socialist parties were consolidated and strengthened, but the activities of the First International rendered great services to the labour movement of all countries and left lasting traces." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 13, page 82)

Lenin called "the *International*, the International led by Marx, which had begun to 'rally the legions' of the proletariat, to unite "the world of labour", which is 'abandoning the world of those who enjoy without working'." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 18, page 27, English edition).

"The First International, founded by Marx, existed from 1864 to 1872. The defeat of the heroic workers of Paris - of the celebrated Paris Commune - marked the end of this International. It is unforgettable, it will remain for ever in the history of the workers' struggle for their emancipation. It laid the foundation of the edifice of the world socialist republic which it is now our good fortune to be building. (Lenin Collected Works, Volume 29, page 240, English edition)

"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism."

The Second International marked the a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of movement in a number of countries.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The epoch-making significance of the Third, Communist International lies in its having begun to give effect to Marx' cardinal slogan, the slogan which sums up the centuries-old development of socialism and the working-class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This prevision and this theory - the prevision and theory of a genius - are becoming a reality."

(Lenin, The Third International and its place in history, April 15, 1919, Volume 29, page 307, English edition)

And the implementation of the dictatorship of the world proletariat - this is the great slogan of our Comintern (SH) !

The tendency of the globalization of the contradiction between Capital and Labour began to become effective in its very first stage of development, especially after the crisis of the fifties. This underlines the early beginning of the international Labour movement and the objective necessity of the foundation of the First International.

The success of the First International was based in the historical situation of the international awakening of the proletariat, based in the really existing workers' movement. The opportunists praised its spontaneism which was limited in reformist demands – leaving the power of capital untouched. In the contrary, Marx developed the First International as an revolutionary instrument of basically overcome and eliminate the world capital.

The First International united the economic with the political class-struggle. Whereas, economic struggle is a school of "guerrilla war between capital and labor, is a school of communism."

The proletariat realized that capitalism can not be overthrown without the formation of an united front of the workers of all countries. Therefore, the vanguard of the working class must form its own revolutionary political world organization in the fight against the rule of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The constant material and moral support for the striking and locked-out workers in different countries, increased and promoted the spread of the influence of the First International throughout the international labour movement. But the real importance of the First International was that it propagated the final aim of world communism. Above all, the success of the First International was the fact that it guided the broad masses of workers in the political struggle for the conquest of workers' power. The First International was the first organisation in the history of the workers' movement that coordinated the united proletarian actions internationally. This was above all the merit of Karl Marx, who was at the head of the First International. For Engels, Marx was the only one "who was clear about what had to be done and what had to be founded. Marx was the man who heralded the slogan 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' in the year of 1848."

If the First International would had done nothing else than making the proletariat conscious about the fundamental principle

"the emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class itself",

as Marx put it in the "Statutes", this would already be great enough . But the First International did more: it roused the spirit of international solidarity, and developed an independent international foreign policy of the working class.

While Marx guided the First International, he wrote at the same time the famous "Capital" of which Engels said; "No book had been of such importance to the workers as this book" (Engels, Volume 16, page 235, German edition). Marx applied many knowledges to his practical work of the First International that he gained in his book "The Capital" ( partly literally). The "Capital" was the most significant theoretical work and the First International was the most important practical work of Karl Marx.

Both the "Capital" and the First International were created at the same time and formed a theoretical and practical unity of the most powerful, invincible weapon of the proletariat (not only) in the 19th century. As long as the capitalist world slavery exists, the inseparability of these two great works will be of world-historical importance.

All wrong concepts that have been represented in the First International, expressed the passivity and subjugation of the proletariat under the capital. Karl Marx pushed away all these anti-proletarian influences within the First International. He pointed to the theoretical role and importance of the economic struggle of the workers and simultaneously he subordinated the economical struggle under the political aims - namely the liberation of labour from capital and the revolutionary overthrow of the entire capitalist world system:

" It is not the logically impossible "equalization of classes", but the historically necessary, superseding "abolition of classes" (abolition des classes), this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the International Working Men's Association." (MEW, Volume 21, page 45, English edition).

There would not be a First International, if it would not be penetrated by Marxism, the revolutionary theory of the proletariat. No revolutionary movement - without revolutionary theory. No revolutionary movement without its revolutionary leadership, the revolutionary world party. These teachings of the First International are still important today. They will be also applied in regard of the Comintern (SH). There would not be a Comintern (SH), and no Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement, without the theoretical basis of the further development of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, thus without the development of revolutionary theory in the period of globalization in the late 20th and early 21st century.

Our first two Classics, Marx and Engels, were not only the founders of scientific communism, but also the practical leaders of the world communist movement, in which they verified their scientific ideas.

The organizational struggle of Marx and Engels for the First International was primarily a struggle for the proletarian party. The victory of Communism is impossible without communist organizations, particularly without its highest form, the proletarian International.

In the resolution on the political activities, Marx and Engels wrote:

Considering, that against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes." (Resolution of the London Conference, MEW, Volume 22, page 427, English edition)

"We seek the abolition of Classes. What is the means of achieving it? The political domination of the proletariat." (Marx-Engels, September 21, 1871, MEW, Volume 22, page 417, English edition)

Marx was the real organizer, leader, the soul of the International. He wrote her programmatic documents and a large number of calls, declarations, resolutions, reports and other documents, which represent the most important stages of the glorious history of the First International. Marx was in fact the head of the General Council, the executive organ of the First International and the head quarter of the international labor movement. Marx was the leader of the international proletariat. He developed the ideological and organizational principles of a centrally guided world party. He united the various sections of the proletarians of all countries under the international banner of Marxism, under the banner of proletarian internationalism. The creation of a world proletarian party that unites the proletarians of all countries, is a basic condition for the emancipation of the workers. The First International was the highest form of the political and ideological organisation of the united international proletariat. The First International was the highest organisational expression of the world- revolutionary character of the only revolutionary class in the world, whose mission is to lead the proletarian revolution to victory and to establish the dictatorship of the international proletariat. The First International was the organisational form in which the working class expressed its independent, international and political leadership of the whole world society.

Marx based himself on the unequally developed different workers' movement in different countries and merged them into a single, great army of workers of Europe and America under the unified leadership of a centralized world organization in order to direct them to a single common goal - towards communism.

Engels underlined the special role of the Communist League that it played for the foundation of the First International:

"The present-day international workers' movement is in substance a direct continuation of the German workers' movement of that time, which was the first international workers' movement of all time, and which brought forth many of those who took the leading role in the International Working Men's Association. And the theoretical principles that the Communist League had inscribed on its banner in the Communist Manifesto of 1847 constitute today the strongest international bond of the entire proletarian movement of both Europe and America. After the centre of gravity had shifted from Paris to London, a new feature grew conspicuous: from being German, the League gradually became *international*. Like the open Association, so also the secret League soon took on a more international character; at first in a restricted sense, practically through the varied nationalities of its members, theoretically through the realization that any revolution to be victorious must be a European one. One did not go any further as yet; but the foundations were there. "

Engels wrote on Oktober 8, 1885:



"The international movement of the European and American proletariat has become so much strengthened that not merely its first narrow form — the secret League — but even its second, infinitely wider form — the open International Working Men's Association — has become a fetter for it, and that the simple feeling of solidarity based on the understanding of the identity of class position suffices to create and to hold together one and the same great party of the proletariat among the workers of all countries and tongues. The doctrine which the League represented from 1847 to 1852, and which at that time could be treated by the wise philistines with a shrug of the shoulders as the hallucinations of utter madcaps, as the secret doctrine of a few scattered sectarians, has now innumerable adherents in all civilized countries of the world, among those condemned to the Siberian mines as much as among the gold diggers of California; and the founder of this doctrine, the most hated, most slandered man of his time, Karl Marx, was, when he died, the ever-sought-for and ever-willing counsellor of the proletariat of both the old and the new world. " (Frederick Engels: On The History of the Communist League 1885 Nov 12-26, 1885)

Before the First International so there was only the "League of Communists" which had clearly defined itself as an organization of proletarian internationalism.

Also, the founding of the German Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP) was geared to the principles of Marxism in close co-operation with the guidance of Marx and Engels. At its foundation, on the 9th of August in 1869, the SDAP became a Section of the First International. So the First International played the decisive role for the creation of this first Marxist Party of Germany, which was simultaneously the very first Marxist party in the world. And also all the other Sections were established by the initiative of the First International - without exception. In the period before the establishment of the First International there was no single Marxist party in the world. The First International was - so to say - the "mother" of all the first Marxist parties.

In many respects, these circumstances are similar to those of the founding of the Comintern (SH) and its Sections. Their essential difference, however, is that there were no Marxist parties before the foundation of the First International, while, at the founding of the Comintern (SH), the Marxist-Leninist parties were degenerate as a result of neo-revisionism. The consequences were equal - namely both these world parties were forced to initiate the founding of their own Sections by themselves.

In both cases, the Sections were created by the proletarian International. And in both cases the founding of the proletarian International was not the result from the merger of parties in individual countries. Thus, the creation of Sections of the First International and the Comintern (SH) differs from that of the Second and Third Internationals.

The existence of the proletarian International does not at all end with the creation and strengthening of proletarian parties in each country. It is not at all the destination of proletarian parties to fill the shoes of the proletarian International. This revisionist thesis was the deathblow of the Comintern.

A proletarian International is as indispensable and irreplaceable as its own Sections. The proletarian International is and remains at the heart of proletarian internationalism and international communism.

It is a matter of fact that there was - now and then - the significant initiative of German comrades concerning the founding of the proletarian International. The reason is easily to be explained. This is historically rooted in the immortal, great, internationalist spirit of both the founders and leaders of the First International - Carl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Marx and Engels created and defended the democratic centralism of the First International in the fight against the anarchist Bakunin, who wanted to transform the First International in a "free federation of autonomous sections". Today, the splitting activities of the ICMLPO are determined by these similar federalist concepts. The ICMLPO rejects the re-establishment of the Comintern, and therefore, carries the enemy's position of polycentrism instead of centralism. Just as Marx and Engels waged a victorious struggle against Bakunin, the Comintern (SH) will struggle against all branches of the neo-revisionists.

In its first stage of existence, the proletarian International is primarily confronted with the question: "Are you for or against the proletarian International?" In alignment with the motto "what is not allowed can not be", the question of the re-founding of the Comintern was opportunistically ignored by the adversaries of the Comintern for more than a half century.

In the course of its growing authority within the proletarian masses, the proletarian International, itself, will prove this question to become superfluous. However, in its advanced stage, the proletarian International will be confronted with another question: "How can the proletarian International be eliminated, complementary from outside AND inside?"

The opportunistic "theory", that the founding of the Communist International must allegedly presuppose "advanced" Communist (mass) parties, is historically disproved by the foundation of both the First International and the Comintern (SH). It is well-known that both have NOT emerged from the merger of Marxist parties. This proves that this "theory" is only a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie, to impede and prevent the re-founding of the Communist International for decades. Despite of all these bourgeois-revisionist "theorists", who try to deny or refute the indispensability of the Communist world party, the bourgeoisie could not prevent that the First International was re-established after its dissolution. The Second International emerged from the First International, the Comintern resulted from the Second International, and last not least, the Comintern (SH) arose from the Comintern. This historical development of the proletarian International was not, is not, and will never be stoppable.

It is noteworthy that Lenin defined the "Stuttgart Congress" (1907) of the Second International expressively as *"the twelfth congress of the proletarian International "*. We can therefore conclude that the names of all the previous Internationals can be basically summed up by the general term used by Lenin: *"proletarian International"*. The world proletariat grows historically and so does the proletarian International. The different names of the Internationals are thus only expression of the special stages of the historical development of the one and only *proletarian International*. And that means nothing else than that all the previous Internationals form an inseparable unified whole. So if we defend the foundation of the First and Second International, and also the foundation of the Comintern and the Comintern (SH), then this means consequently that we defend the "proletarian International" as a whole - thus in all its historical stages of development - without excluding the one or other historical stage of the proletarian International. In this way, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists classify the First International and its founding on the scientific basis of the historical and dialectical materialism.

Many different anti-Marxist tendencies and organizations ( openly or hiddenly) swear by the First International, and they all pretend to fight "for" its Marxist goals. The Comintern (SH) struggles against all these Anti-Marxist currents and organizations on the basis of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists are of the opinion that we can not defend the foundation of the First International [1864], if we would not simultaneously defend the foundation of the Second International [1889], the foundation of the Comintern [1919] and the foundation of the Comintern (SH ) [2000]. Those who ignore or deny the inseparable context of these decisive four years- 1864, 1889, 1919 and 2000 - will understand neither the dialectical nor the historical meaning of the First International.

Today, it is not at all self-evident that there is a Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) which celebrates the 150th anniversary of the First International. In the whole time, since the establishment of the First International, the world proletariat fought without the proletarian International for a period of nearly a 100 years ! If the proletarian International would have existed uninterruptedly for 150 years, then the world of today would not be the same. In retrospect, there is no more important lesson of the 150th anniversary of the First International than that of Lenin's presage: **"Essentially the Communist International did not fall - lives on till this day and will also live on in future!"**

The prospering of the Comintern (SH) confirms the truth of these words of Lenin, and they are our obligation and program at the same time.

What happened on the 100th anniversary in 1964 ? The revisionist criminals who dissolved the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin, 20 years ago, took the credit for the First International as its allegedly "legitimated heirs".

In fact, in their ceremonial documents the modern revisionists kept quiet about the glorious Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. They only mentioned the "Declarations of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 1957 and 1960" (in which the revisionist poison of the XX Congress of the CPSU was already incorporated), to "prove" their continuation of the ideas of the First International (see: speech of W. Ulbricht).

On their celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the First International these revisionist traitors (including the Maoists !) lost not a single word about the fact that the defense of the First International can be nothing else than the struggle for the re-establishment of the Communist International. Instead, in 1964, there was a power struggle between the two major revisionist parties - of the Soviet Union and China - who were both in agreement a) to prevent the re-establishment of the International, b) to split and liquidate the world communist movement and c) to extinguish the fire of the socialist world revolution.

In the fight against this betrayal of modern revisionism, new Marxist-Leninist parties were founded under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania. But the Marxist-Leninist world movement was still not able to re-establish the foundation of the Comintern. This happened with the turn of the century - by the founding of the Comintern (SH) - thus at a time, when the Marxist-Leninist world movement was almost completely liquidated after the collapse of the last socialist country - of Albania.

The First International was the first organization of the international proletariat which united the labor movement with scientific socialism; which combined the struggle for direct daily interests with the struggle for the communist ultimate goals. With the First International, the basic principles of the "Communist Manifesto" were implemented, namely a) to struggle in the current movement also for the future of the movement , and b) to struggle primarily for the overall interests of the entire world proletariat.

However, the First International did never confuse the achievement of the independence of the working class with its sectarian isolation from all other progressive movements outside the labor movement. One of the most important knowledges of Marx and Engels was the new form of class struggle that is fundamentally different from all previous forms of class struggle: "that the present-day oppressed class the proletariat, cannot achieve its emancipation without at the same time emancipating society as a whole from division into classes and, therefore, from class struggles. And Communism now no longer meant the concoction, by means of the imagination, of an ideal society as perfect as possible, but insight into the nature, the conditions and the consequent general aims of the struggle waged by the proletariat." (Frederick Engels: On The History of the Communist League 1885 Nov 12-26, 1885)

Marx and Engels, who fought for the support of any progressive, democratic movement all over the world, taught the proletariat and its pioneers in the First International, to take the position of a truly internationalist solidarity with the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The First International was in the forefront of the liberation of the oppressed peoples. Marx and Engels created the principle of proletarian internationalism - namely to connect the own struggle of proletarian emancipation with the struggle of emancipation of the oppressed peoples.

Lenin proved to be the best follower of the First International when he taught "that there is no other way of combating national hatred than by organising and uniting the oppressed class for a struggle against the oppressor class in each separate country, than by uniting such national working-class army to fight international capital." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 1, page 156, English edition)

Marx and Engels condemned the narrow-minded nationalism, and simultaneously they taught that the national question can only be solved by the internationalist struggle of the proletariat. They called on the workers in the oppressor countries, to support the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, because the economic power of the bourgeoisie is based - to a great extent - on the exploitation of the colonies: "Any people that oppresses another people forges its own chains." – (Marx, MEW, Volume 21, page 89, English edition).

Marx created the "Provisional Rules of the Working Men's international Association" in which he emphasized:

„That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries“.(MEW, Volume 20, page 14, English edition)

Unification of the proletarians of all countries for the overthrow of world capitalism, for the international conquest of workers' power, for the construction of a socialist world with the final aim of creating a classless society - this was already manifested in the founding documents of the First International - thus according to the "Communist Manifesto" in which the world-historical mission of the working class was defined for the first time.

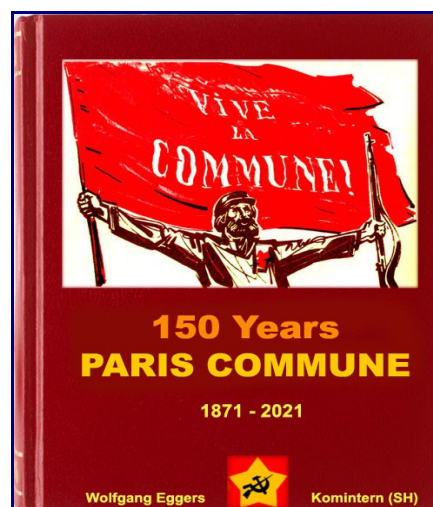
And in his last speech, on the Hague Congress, Carl Marx proclaimed:

"Let us bear in mind this fundamental principle of the International: solidarity! It is by establishing this life-giving principle on a reliable base among all the workers in all countries that we shall achieve the great aim which we pursue. The revolution must display solidarity, and we find a great example of this in the Paris Commune, which fell because there did not appear in all the centres, in Berlin, Madrid, etc., a great revolutionary movement corresponding to this supreme uprising of the Paris proletariat. For my part I will persist in my task and will constantly work to establish among the workers this solidarity which will bear fruit for the future. No, I am not withdrawing from the International, and the rest of my life will be devoted, like my efforts in the past, to the triumph of the social ideas which one day, be sure of it, will bring about the universal rule of the proletariat." (MEW, Volume 23, page 256, English edition).

Dear Karl Marx, be sure that the Comintern (SH) is sure of it !!!

Since the founding of the Comintern (SH) in 2000, we carry forward the flag of the inexorable triumph of world domination of the proletariat in all countries of the world. For this aim, Carl Marx and Frederick Engels fought all their life long, especially in the time of the glorious First International.

As the only organisation in the world, the Comintern (SH) preserves today the revolutionary heritage of the First International and fights for the realization of its goals. The triumph of the world domination of the proletariat is based on the correct implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism!



## **Paris Commune**

**illuminates the path of the world proletariat towards revolution.**

**13th of March, 2021**

## **The Second International**

The First and Second International were formed during the years of the emerging world proletariat in Europe and North America, and the First International ended with the victory of the European counter-revolution over the Paris Commune.

The world historical events of the Paris Commune were impetus of germ cells of internationalist attachments of the proletariat which emerged during increasing class struggles in all the capitalist countries. The Second International was the era in which the

basis was created for a wide spread of the movement among the masses in a number of advanced countries. With the help of the reformist leaders of the social democracy, the bourgeoisie succeeded in changing the Second International into a tool of the counter-revolution, a tool for the preparation and support of the imperialist First World War (social-chauvinist "defense of the fatherland", political truce with the domestic bourgeoisie, etc.). The period of the II. International is of important ideological significance - the transitional period from Marxism to Leninism. In life-times of Engels the II. International was guided by Marxism. The III. International was guided by Marxism-Leninism.

The period of the II. International is of important organisational significance - the transitional period from the International Working-Men's Association to the Communist International.

The period of the II. International is of important significance of the breadth of internationalization of the revolutionary proletarian movement - the transitional period between Paris Commune and October Revolution, the transitional period of the socialist workers' world movement to the communist movement of the world proletariat.

"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in breadth, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and has begun to implement the dictatorship of the proletariat." ( Lenin: "The Third International and its place in history", April 15, 1919)

Engels and Lenin have both got a place of honor because of their great merits concerning their work for the Marxist alignment of the II. International. Engels and Lenin were - one after another - the leaders of the international communist and workers' movement in this historical period of the II. International. In this period Lenin created the further development of Marxism = Marxism in the beginning period of imperialism and the proletarian revolution (= Leninism). In the struggle against revisionism, under the new conditions of imperialism such as social-chauvinism and social-patriotism, Marxism-Leninism became the ideology of the revolutionary international proletariat.

This historical fact is overlooked all too often unjustly. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists cannot speak about the First and the Third International without the historical meaning of the II. International.

The Second International was up to the year of 1914 dominated by the spirit of Marxism, though the II. International could not any longer be prevented from its increasing process of decay - caused by the dominant betrayal of the opportunists and revisionists. However, and after all, the "Basle-Resolution of 1912" still highlighted elements of the spirit of the revolution which would inevitably break out in consequence of the imperialist war. This law corresponded perfectly to the teaching of Marxism.

Our Stalinist-Hoxhaist world party must learn not only from the teachings and experiences of the I. and III. International but also from the revolutionary experiences of the Second International, and much more from its opportunist process of decay.

If we defend the Second International, we defend primarily the work of Engels and Lenin in

it, in particular their fight against the traitors of the Second International.

Engels was the one who implanted the revolutionary Marxist spirit of the Second International - from the beginning until his death in 1895. And - some years after - it was Lenin who defended and further developed this revolutionary Marxist spirit as one of the leaders of the Second International.

Unfortunately, these two Classics have not worked together personally, but their revolutionary work that they accomplished in the Second International is to be categorized as a great, common, immortal, communist work. Friedrich Engels played a crucial role in the preparation of all the Congresses from 1889 to 1893. 1889 Engels was involved in the draft and implementation of the Programme of the Second International. 1893 Engels took part at the Zurich Congress of the "Second International" - as honorary chairman .

Engels was not only the best and most famous guide of the Second International but also the undisputed ideological leader of the international socialist labour movement - after the death of Karl Marx.

Engels' leadership-role in the international labour movement intensified significantly with the founding of the Second International. His fight for the merger of the new international association of socialist and labour parties - on the basis of Marxism and the dissemination of scientific communism among the proletarians of all countries - is reflected in many of his writings and letters.

In the end of the 80s the proletarian parties and organizations strived increasingly for a strengthening of the international unity - to join their forces for the overthrow of capitalism. The conditions for the creation of a new international organization of the proletariat had matured. Engels wrote on 4 January, 1888, to the Romanian Social-Democrat Nadejde: "These progresses are so great that, at least for the European party, a common international policy has become possible and necessary."

In the early days of the Second International, Friedrich Engels struggled relentlessly for the defense of Marxism against opportunism. He spread further scientific communism in the international labour movement and strengthened the socialist parties that had joined since 1889 in the Second International. He gave important advice to the Second International for preparing its strategy and tactics. In the spirit of international solidarity, more practically, he also provided material support to the parties and the workers of different countries for their strikes and campaigns against the bourgeoisie.

## Founding Congress of the Second International in Paris

Engels recognized the danger early enough that the desire of the workers, to merge internationally, could be misused by opportunists, who aimed for their leadership-role at the top of the international labour movement. This foresight was motive to pause his scientific work, even his work on the third volume of the "Capital". And so he was actively involved in the preparation of the Paris Congress of 1889.

"Engels (who was then 68 years old) entered the fray like a young man," Lenin later wrote about that time (Lenin, Volume 12, page 367 ).

Engels was confronted with the most important task to secure the international unity of the proletariat on the basis of scientific communism, and he made every effort to ensure the victory of the Marxist forces and to thwart the machinations of the opportunists - the Possibilists in France and the leaders of the Social Democratic Federation in England.

The letters to Paul Lafargue, 21, 23 and 25 March 1889 and Wilhelm Liebknecht, 4, 5 and



17 April 1889 show, with which vigor Engels was guiding the preparation of the Paris Congress of 1889.

Engels himself provided an extensive organizational work and supported the French Marxists in the preparation of the Congress with numerous concrete advice and hints. He warned and urged Paul Lafargue to adopt the appeal for the convention of the Congress and to ensure that the foreign comrades sign it. He rewrote it, managed its translation into English and translated it into German by himself. Together with Eleanor Marx, he contributed to the publication and dissemination of the appeal. Engels' efforts were crowned with success. On 17 July 1889, he was able to write to his friend Friedrich Adolph Sorge:

"Our Congress hits home and is a brilliant success."

The Paris International Socialist Workers' Congress of 1889 was the founding congress of the Second International.

This Congress based itself - in all material respects, from the very start - on the ground of Marxism. The Congress oriented the international labour movement to the struggle against militarism and war, the formation and strengthening of political parties and trade unionist mass organizations in all countries. This Congress called the struggle for democratic rights, using all legal means of struggle and stressed the goal of the labour movement: the conquest of political power.

Engels described the Decision to demonstrate international solidarity on First of May 1890, and the Decision on the eight-hour day - as the "best thing that our Congress has done."

With this Decision the great world holiday and fighting-day of the international working class - was born. The decision on the May Day celebration, adopted on the founding Congress of the II. International, was - as Engels stressed repeatedly - of great importance for the mobilization of the masses and the strengthening of international proletarian solidarity. In the preface to the fourth German edition of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (1890) Engels stated with pride that the call: "Proletarians of all countries - unite!" which was spread all over the world by Marx and Engels in 1848, found approval of the workers all over the world. This was proven by the great demonstrations in the May of 1890. In his greeting addresses ("To the Austrian workers on 1 May 1893", "To the German workers on 1 May 1893", "In spite of all!" [greeting address to the French workers on May 1, 1893] .. and others) - written on occasion of the May-demonstrations - Engels called for the international proletariat to make the every-year May-Day a traditional parade of the growing proletarian world army. This parade shows the increasing resoluteness of strengthening the proletarian internationalism.

His extensive correspondence with the leaders of the international workers' movement was needed to generalize the experience of the revolutionary labour movement of various countries and to explain its consequences. The letters of Engels show us how much Engels struggled for the ideological and organizational strengthening of the parties, and how he appeared irreconcilable in opposite of all varieties of opportunism. On the other hand he helped the leaders to overcome dogmatic and sectarian errors.

Consistently and principled Engels defended the doctrine of the revolutionary party of the working class and the need for an independent proletarian class policy. The ideological unity of all parties and their discipline, Engels emphasized, are based on the high consciousness and internationalist activity of its members, are based on the participation of each party member in the development of an internationalist politics and tactics of the parties.

Engels repeatedly made all the socialist parties aware that it was necessary to creatively

apply the Marxist theory. Theoretical platforms

"are useless if they do not fit to the real demands of the people."

International Marxism is a "living theory of action, working with the working class on every possible stage of its development."

Marxism is not "a collection of dogmas which are memorized and recited like a mantra or a Catholic prayer."

The correct application of Marxist theory requires, as Engels pointed out repeatedly, to work out the tactics of the international proletarian parties on the basis of concrete historical situation in each country and thereby generalize the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses scientifically.

On 4 September 1892, he wrote to Karl Kautsky: "In our tactics - one thing is indispensable for all countries and for all times: to convince the workers to create their own independent party in opposition of all the bourgeois parties."

Leitmotif in all the letters of Engels is his passionate struggle for the international unity and solidarity of the working class. Engels assumed that it is necessary and possible to achieve the best accordance of the fundamental questions of class struggle within the international labour movement. He tirelessly worked for the cooperation of socialist parties and for their education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. He always pointed out that the national tasks of the labour movements must be inseparably connected to the general, over-all internationalist tasks.

Engels was relentlessly keen to consolidate the II. International and secure the international workers' unity on a Marxist basis. With this intention he took active part in the preparation of the international socialist Congresses. His letters to Paul Lafargue from June 12 and 28, 1891, to Laura Lafargue from July 20, and August 17, 1891, and to Friedrich Adolph Sorge from August 9 and 11, 1891, and other letters - give evidence of Engel's great attention which he gave to the preparations for the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Brussels (which took place from 16 to 22 August 1891).

## International Socialist Workers' Congress in Brussels

(16 to 22 August 1891)

In the preparation of the next Congress of the Second International in Brussels, in 1891, Engels was also significantly involved. Some letters reflect his support of Marxist parties in developing the right tactics to convene the Congress. He isolated the opportunists and secured the victory of the followers of Marxism (see the letters to Paul Lafargue from September 15 and 19, 1890, to Friedrich Adolph Sorge from September 27, 1890, to Leo Frankel from September 25, 1890, etc.).

In his writing "On the Brussels Convention and the situation in Europe", Engels' prominent role as leader of the international proletariat became apparent.

He opposed all the attempts of the opportunists, especially the Possibilists who undermined the unity of the international labour movement. To the Marxist leaders, he gave specific instructions to correct errors which were committed in the preparation. The efforts of Engels and other leading Marxist forces of the international workers' movement finally resulted in the fact that the Brussels Congress took place on the ground of Marxism - from the very beginning. The Brussels Congress, which called upon the workers of all countries to fight the caving for war and war-alliances, which demanded for protective labour legislation, and which took other important decisions, - all this was of great value for

the further development of the international workers' movement. Engels welcomed the results of the Congress. On 2 September, 1891, he told his friend Friedrich Adolph Sorge: "The Marxists have won all along the line - both according to principle and tactics ..."

## International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich

(16 - 12 August 1893)

Even in the preparation of the Zurich International Socialist Workers' Congress Engels seized the initiative when it mattered to face the renewed attempts of the opportunists to divide the international working unity. When he learned that the Congress of Trade Unions had decided (in Glasgow) to decline the invitation to the Socialist Congress in Zurich and - instead - to call its own, separatist labour congress on the question of the eight-hour day, then Engels developed a plan that enabled the frustration of the realization of this sneaky decision. He recommended to adopt resolutions of protest, which should not only come from the socialist parties, but also from the unions. This is - he wrote on 11 September, 1892 to August Bebel - "a magnificent opportunity ..., to make plain to the English and to show them that the class-conscious proletariat has no intention to subordinate under the line of people for whom the wage system is an eternal and unshakable world construction."

Engels' efforts and the efforts of the revolutionary forces of the international workers' movement were successful. The workers of Germany, France, Spain and other countries of the continent declined the invitation of the reformist leaders of Trade Unions. The Congress - which was plotted by the opportunists - did not take place.

A highlight of the Zurich Congress was Engels' last appearance on the trial. He gave a passionate speech in which he emphasized the need of common agreements to strengthen the unity and clout of the international proletariat. In his closing speech at the International Socialist Workers' Congress in Zurich, Engels said:

"We have to tolerate the debate - otherwise we would become a sect, however our common position must be respected."

His impressions of the Zurich Congress are reflected in letters to Laura Lafargue (21 August 1893), to Friedrich Adolph Sorge (7th October 1893) and in other letters.

Engels devoted considerable attention to the development and strengthening of international relations between the socialists of different countries. He considered the exchange of information between the various socialist parties about their activities, their mutual support in the press as important means to promote the merger of the international labour movement. Engels called for mutual exchange of experiences - as objectively and comprehensively as possible. He criticized several times the "Vorwärts", the central organ of the German Social Democracy, because of its inaccurate and superficial coverage of the labour movement in England and France. To Paul Lafargue, August Bebel and other leaders of the labour movement, he wrote extensively on the need for careful selection of the foreign correspondents for the socialist newspaper.

Also the personal contacts between the leaders of socialist parties contributed significantly to the strengthening of international cooperation. Engels himself was the initiator of a series of international meetings of Socialists. Engels repeatedly pointed out, how important it was, that representatives of the fraternal parties attend party-congresses and rallies in other countries.

In his letter to Laura Lafargue, 20 June, 1893, Engels said explicitly that relations between the socialist parties can only be based on the principle of full equal rights.

An "international organization can only exist between nations whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs are therefore already included in the concept of internationalism."

But he turned decidedly against the unfounded claims to hegemony in the international labour movement, raised by diverse parties at times. Not the subjective desires of their leaders determine the position of this or that party in the international labour movement, Engels said, but what counts is the objective role which the party plays in the liberation struggle of the working class. Engels did not deny, that individual parties can form the revolutionary vanguard of the international movement in one or another stage of the struggle, however he pointed out, that the overthrow of capitalism on an international scale can by no means be the matter of an individual party.

"... Neither French nor German, nor English," he concretised this idea in his letter to Paul Lafargue on June 27, 1893, "will enjoy the fame, having overthrown capitalism all by itself; ... The liberation of the proletariat can only be an international action ..."

Engels was aware that the labour movement had reached such a level that joint action of the different national formations of the working class were possible. However, he stressed that these steps would have to be discussed by all participants in advance and carried out only in voluntary cooperation.

"The absolute condition for any international action," he wrote to Paul Lafargue, "has to be that agreements are made in advance about the content and form. It seems to me inadmissible that a nationality takes the initiative - publicly all alone - and that it then calls the other to follow. "

Engels repeatedly alluded to the big mistake to separate the solution of problems of the labour movement in any country from the collective tasks of the entire international proletariat. He urged the Socialists to think always about the necessity, that each individual step is also important for the class brothers in other countries. Every party is required to take this into account.

Engels pointed out that the activity of the one party inevitably affects that of all the other parties - that ...

"... a success conquered by one country reacts powerfully on all the others."

Based on this, Engels recommended, socialist parties must coordinate their tactics with one other.

He condemned those Socialists who did not notice that the labour movement does not always develop according to their subjective notions, and found that, for example, in the United States of America the struggle of the working class differs in many ways from that of the European continent, and that not a few leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party of North America did not notice the different conditions of development - with the consequence that they detached from the masses of the struggling proletariat.

Engels attached great value to the further strengthening of the international proletarian relations, international congresses and conferences, but above all to the direct contacts and meetings of representatives of the parties. As particularly important he considered the establishment of permanent links between the two largest departments of the working class on the continent - the French Socialists and the German Social Democrats. This connection, he considered as a strong barrier against the aspirations of the chauvinist reactionary forces in the two countries, but simultaneously as a bulwark against the increasing opportunism. In the socialist parties, mainly in the German Social Democracy, the most influential party of the Second International, openly opportunist, reformist current appeared towards the end of the 19th Century in form of revisionism, which revised the

principles of Marxist revolutionary theory openly.

Engels and other revolutionary Marxists therefore set themselves the most important task, namely, increased propaganda of Marxism, its intensified defense against distortions and vulgarization, fighting against the ruling classes in Europe, who attempted to decompose and split the international workers' movement with the help of the opportunists.

Despite his advanced age, Engels contributed an enormous theoretical and political support to the international labour movement. The publication of the third volume of the "Capital" - in the end of 1894 - was primarily a powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the socialist parties.

Engels tirelessly called on the parties of the Second International to defend and to continue the revolutionary traditions and heritage of the First International.

He urged the Socialists of the II. International to study and to apply to the revolutionary experiences of the First International, while he expected that the Second International would enrich the experience of the I. International.

The Second International, however, did not justify the hopes that Engels had put into it.

In the first years of its existence it was really an internationalist genuine Marxist fighting organization when Engels was on its side with giving advice and levelling criticism.

However, after Engels' death - and in the course of the imperialist development of capitalism - , the reformists and revisionists, and the hidden opportunists, the centrists, increased their influence steadily.

In 1914 this opportunism led finally to the ignominious collapse of the II. International.

Nevertheless, Engels' activity in spreading Marxism and proletarian internationalism in the labour movement fructified the prosperity of the Second International in its early years.

The II. International was a contribution to the education of the truly revolutionary elements in the parties of many countries, who upheld the banner of Marxism and proletarian internationalism

- especially Lenin and the revolutionary wing of Russian social democracy.

And it was Lenin who called: "The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International!" (Lenin)

# The Comintern

We learn from the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin, how to organize the world proletariat for the victory of the world socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat. For us, the history of the Comintern is not limited in commemorating the historical event of the founding of the Comintern. This is only what our enemies want, namely a Comintern that ended up on the "political scrapheap". It is the today's alliance of the bourgeois-revisionist anti-Comintern who tries to spread the lie that the Comintern allegedly would be "out of date" and that it would have lost forever its significance through the revisionist act of "dissolution" in 1943. We do not regard the Comintern as a "closed chapter" of the past. but as the opening of a new chapter of its revival. Our efforts for the renaissance of the Comintern logically causes the renaissance of the forces of the counterrevolution including its "leftist" lackeys, which is characterised in that it tries to hinder us from following the path of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

The Comintern is alive and laughs at those revisionist traitors who tried in vain to liquidate it. For us, it is about the indispensable continuation of the proletarian International. We swear to fight for fulfilling the world historical mission of the Comintern. And we do this in spite of all resistance against us. We will reinforce the oath of comrade Stalin:

WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT WE SHALL NOT SPARE OUR LIVES TO STRENGTHEN AND EXTEND THE UNION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD -- THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL! (J. V. Stalin)

Lenin characterized the position of the III. International in the history one month after the founding of the Comintern:

"The I. International laid the foundation for the international proletarian struggle for socialism.

The Second International was the era that has prepared the ground for a further spread of the movement among the masses in a number of countries.

The III. International took over the fruits of the work of the Second International, scavenged opportunism, social-chauvinism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences and started to release the dictatorship of the proletariat. The historical significance of the III., The Communist International is, that it has begun to implement the great slogan of Marx into practice, the slogan that draws the balance from the Century of development of socialism and the labour movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept: the dictatorship of the proletariat. This ingenious foresight, this ingenious theory becomes reality "(Lenin, The Third International and its place in history", Moscow, April 15, 1919).

The world proletariat grows historically and so does its proletarian International, too. The different names of the proletarian International in the course of the history of the communist world movement are thus only expression of the special stages of the historical development of the one and only existing proletarian International. And this means nothing else than that all the previous Internationals form an inseparable unified whole. Neither the revisionist liquidation of the Comintern, nor its alleged "continuation" by the Trotskyite "Fourth International" did ever harm the further development of the world proletariat and its proletarian International. The proletarian International can neither be liquidated nor replaced by "leftist" or rightist imitations. The further development of the proletarian International is the iron law of the further development of the global class struggle of the proletariat. There is only one genuine proletarian International, and this is the Comintern (SH), the proletarian International of the 21st century.

So if we defend the founding of the Comintern, then this means consequently that we defend the "proletarian International" as a whole - thus in all its historical stages of development - without excluding the one or other historical stage of the proletarian International. In this way, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists classify the Comintern and its founding on the scientific basis of the historical and dialectical materialism. It was Karl Marx who defined the law of development of the proletarian International by means of the method of dialectical and historical materialism. And this scientific definition applies especially to the Comintern, too:

"Instead of dying out, the International did only pass from its first period of incubation to a higher one where its already original tendencies have in part become realities. In the course of its progressive development, it will yet have to undergo many a change, before the last chapter of its history can be written." (Karl Marx)

The historical mission of the proletarian International is organizing the emancipation of the world proletariat. Therefore, the proletarian International is as indissoluble as the world proletariat itself and will unavoidably further exist until world communism is created. This is the true meaning of Lenin's prophecy:

"The International has not perished and will never perish."

The existence of a Communist International is absolutely indispensable for the fulfillment of the revolutionary mission of the world proletariat - thus to destroy the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie and to remove world capitalism. Moreover the Communist International is needed for the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat and for leading the construction of world socialism. The Communist International will therefore be indispensable during the entire historical period of world socialism and its transition to world communism.

The Comintern (SH) is nothing else than the Comintern, modified under today's conditions of globalization.

The Comintern (SH) forms the highest stage of development of the proletarian International.

There is no proletarian International without the proletarian ideology.

Every further stage of development of the proletarian International corresponds with every further stage of development of the proletarian ideology. The First International and Second International were created under the banner of Marxism. The Comintern was founded on the basis of Leninism and further developed through Stalinism. The Comintern was the organization of the world proletariat in the period of socialism in "one" country. And the Comintern (SH) is based on the most advanced development of the proletarian ideology, thus Stalinism-Hoxhaism. The Comintern (SH) is the organization of the world proletariat in the period of the revolutionary transition from world capitalism to world socialism, and from world socialism to world communism.

The highest form of the proletarian organization is always built according to the highest stage of the development of the proletarian ideology.

The history of the proletarian international is the history of the struggle against its falsification and destruction, in particular by the subversive activities of the agents of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the proletarian international. This struggle for the purity of the proletarian ideology, this struggle against the infiltration by bourgeois ideology did not begin first with Dimitroff's betrayal at the 7th World Congress in 1935, but took place in all times, thus already since the founding of the Comintern in 1919.



## **The struggle against founding-opportunism**

The fight against founding-opportunism took place as early as the creation of the Bolshevik party. If we study thoroughly Lenin "What is to be done?" then we can also learn to understand Lenin's struggle against founding-opportunism in the Comintern.

The founding opportunism is the policy and ideology of the opportunists who try to hinder or to shipwreck the founding in a right-wing or "left-wing" way.

The rightist opportunism is characterised by preventing the creation of a proletarian party through postponing and delaying it by means of pseudo-"arguments" - i.e. why the necessary conditions for the founding would be allegedly "still not ripe".

And the "leftist" opportunism is characterised by prematurely (overhasty) decision, ie to a founding without creating the necessary conditions for it (e.g. founding "on a Paper", designing a "fully developed Comintern" on the drawing board, wishful thinking, pipe dreams, romantic rapture, petty-bourgeois revolutionism).

Basically, the Comintern was concerned with the same question: Building the Bolshevik World Party according to Lenin's party norms in the fight against the founding opportunists. The Comintern was created on the basis of experiences and teachings of the founding of the Bolshevik Party. The founding of the Comintern became necessary because the Second International was already hopelessly degenerated and not repairable. A degenerated proletarian international can not be "bolshevized," but only fought and crushed, thus only be replaced by a new genuine one. The fight against founding opportunism was thus unavoidable for protecting the Comintern from the penetration of the old rotten ideas of the Second International. Today we do nothing else. We fight against Dimitrovism in order to protect the Comintern (SH) from the penetration of the rottened revisionist ideas of the degenerated Comintern. The Comintern was not repairable and thus had to be replaced by a new, genuine bolshevist world party - by the Comintern (SH).

We declare war against every organization, every group, every movement (whether locally or globally organized), which struggles against the indispensable reconstruction of the Communist International. Communists are only those who fight for the Bolshevik world party.

"For or against" the leadership of a Bolshevik World Party – this is the demarcation-line between opportunism and Stalinism- Hoxhaism in the organizational question of the world socialist revolution.

If we want further develop the proletarian International under the banner of Stalinism-Hoxhaism then we must base ourselves on its historical experiences and teachings. The growing and prospering of the Comintern (SH) cannot withstand the storms of global class struggle if we do not implement correctly the lessons of the history of the proletarian International, beginning with the First International until the Comintern. If we do not correctly modify the renewal of the proletarian International according to today's conditions of globalisation, the world proletariat cannot be victorious in its struggle for its final emancipation.

We will sharpen our organisational weapon of Stalinism-Hoxhaism by basing ourselves all the better on the teachings of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin! We Stalinist-Hoxhaists cannot defend the Comintern without defending Stalinism-Hoxhaism. And vice versa, we cannot defend Stalinism-Hoxhaism without defending the Comintern. The Comintern (SH) is in essence nothing but the further developed Comintern, namely the Comintern on a higher stage of its development.

This will be a heavy blow against all liquidatory ideologists who spread the lie that Stalinism-Hoxhaism would allegedly be a "falsification", "deviation" or even an ideology of "withdrawal" from the teachings of the Comintern. Stalinism-Hoxhaism is not at all an ideology in opposite to the Comintern. In the contrary. Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the ideology for the renewal of the Comintern, scientifically modified under present conditions of globalization. Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the victorious ideology of organizing the world proletariat for the transition from world imperialism to world socialism - as the indispensable organisational step for entering the classless world, as the first period of world communism.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism in the question of organisation is the theory and tactics of organizing the world proletarian revolution, in general, and the theory and tactics of organising the world dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular.

Despite all the forces that still try to deny and disprove the indispensability of the proletarian world party, the world bourgeoisie could not prevent the Comintern from having been re-established after its dissolution - through the Comintern (SH).

Let us continue the glorious tradition of the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin !

\* \* \*

The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. (J. V. Stalin)

\* \* \*

„World communism of today must be marked through the revolutionary, militant spirit of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin, of the Comintern“ (Enver Hoxha)

\* \* \*

We swear to fulfill the program of the Comintern:

"To fulfil the historic requirement for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians, the gravedigger of the capitalist system, the Communist International is the only global power, whose program is the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and who is openly acting as organizer of the international proletarian revolution "(Program of the Comintern, 1928).

*We have decided to rebuild the Comintern, guided by the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, and we must do so in face of all difficulties. Not a single step backward !*

### **The October Revolution was a victory of the Bolsheviks over the betrayal of the Second International.**

The III. International was founded by significant support of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin after the betrayal of the Second International.

The III. International took over the fruits of the First and Second International and freed them from opportunistic refuse, in order to carry the dictatorship of the proletariat from Russia to the whole world - up to the colonial countries. The foundation of the III. International was the precursor to the international Soviet Republic.

While the Comintern was founded after the end of the First World War- thus with the beginning of the socialist revolutions -, it ceased to exist in the end of the Second World War. This happened just in a time when its necessity for the world revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat hit its peak. In the moment, when the Soviet Union was in the very act of becoming a world power, and when world imperialism reached its weakest point in history, when the victory of the socialist world revolution was thus in its grasp - just in this time, when the Comintern was about epoch making, it was liquidated by the prevailing forces of the right opportunists. The dissolution of the Comintern was a disservice of the revisionists for the survival of world imperialism. The treacherous pact with social democracy facilitated the subsequent later takeover of power by the modern revisionists. The restoration of capitalism was the second disservice of the revisionists in favor of world imperialism - the destruction of socialism.

The general-line of the Comintern (SH) is the synthesis of the revolutionary experiences, spirit and content of the general-line of the I., II. and III. International and the anti-revisionist line of the Cominform - and last not least of the revolutionary experiences, spirit and content of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement guided by comrade Enver Hoxha. The Comintern (SH) was founded in the struggle against several neo-revisionist camps, which liquidated the Marxist-Leninist world movement after the fall of the socialist Albania. There was no other way than to recreate the Comintern for the construction of a new communist world center.

This new communist world center had to fulfill the task of the preparation of the ideological, political and organisational revival of the communist world movement - the creation of the new Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement, namely in the tradition of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha. The Comintern can only develop through class struggle with the whole capitalist-revisionist world.

The Comintern (SH) is the anti-revisionist vanguard of world revolution in the present stage of globalized class struggle:

a) The Comintern (SH) defends the communist world movements in the time of both the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and the socialist Albania of Enver Hoxha. The defense of the Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist and Hoxhaist type of socialism can be nothing else, than the world-socialist completion in the conditions of the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World movement needs to base its struggle for world socialism on the lessons of the Communist World Movement of the former period of socialism in "one" country. But moreover, we must be conscious about the fact that the Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement is the leading movement of the current revolutionary world proletariat and not of the revolutionary world proletariat in the former time of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement is a movement of world socialism.

b) The Comintern (SH) considers the achievements, experiences and lessons of the communist movement from the whole first period of socialism in "one" country as an essential component for the preparation, implementation and protection of the socialist world revolution. However, all these former lessons, in itself, are not sufficient. We are in uncharted globalized waters, and the renewed Communist World Movement has to learn to swim like a fish in the water.

c) The Comintern (SH) uses the destroyed system of the Stalinist world camp as a model for the purpose of complete destruction of the capitalist world camp. Breaking through the sole reign of world capitalism is totally insufficient for us. We will not stop halfway. Our goal is not the restoration of two co-existing world camps. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement is the movement for the unrestricted world domination of socialism - thus a movement for the total removal of the existence of capitalism.

d) The Comintern (SH) crowns the October Revolution with the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

The general-line must constantly develop and determine new forms of the compounds of international cooperation of the world revolutionary forces. The general-line defines how the world-revolutionary forces are to be united to a strong "monolithic bloc". The general-line defines how the world-Bolshevist party has to lead the world-Bolshevist movement.

## **The definition of the international communist movement**

**We call the world communist movement, the oldest, the most experienced, most conscious, most radical, most dynamic, most powerful, purest, indestructible, and the only revolutionary *form* of the class movement of the world proletariat opposite to all forms of the counter-revolutionary movements of the exploiting classes, particularly opposite to the world bourgeoisie.**

**The communist world movement is the *revolutionary leading force* within the workers' world movement.**

**Only the communist world movement transforms the movement of the world proletariat into the inexhaustible, self-contained driving force which finishes the state of the world-capitalist exploitation and oppression *in a revolutionary way*; which brings about the state of world socialism; and which creates the communism.**

**The international communist party is the conscious exponent of the class movement of the world proletariat.**

## The four historical stages of development of the world communist movement

The Comintern (SH) divides the history of the communist movement in following four stages:

1. the Marxist world movement

a) the First International - founded and guided by Marx and Engels

b) the Second International (however only as long as it was Marxist - at first by the contributions of Engels and later by Lenin -, thus in a time when the Second International had not yet been sunken into the swamp of the opportunistic anti-socialism);

2. the Bolshevik world movement

a) under the leadership of Lenin (Comintern)

b) under the leadership of Stalin (Comintern and Cominform)

3. the Marxist-Leninist world movement of Enver Hoxha - (creation of cooperation among the Marxist-Leninist parties, however without re-establishment of the Comintern)

4. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement under the banner of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha [ under the leadership of the Comintern (SH) ].

All the other so called "left" movements - whether they call themselves "communist", or "Hoxhaist", "Stalinist", "Marxist-Leninist", Trotskyite, Maoist, Anarchist, Council Communist, or what so ever - they are definitely not part of the world communist movement.

They belong to a variety of anti-proletarian currents of agencies of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie within the world communist movement. In the one or another way, they try to adapt the world-communist movement to the capitalist world under the guise of "communism" or "socialism". The exploitive and oppressive classes use these currents for the infiltration into the communist world movement, for its paralyzation and control, for hindering its influence within the workers' world movement, for its re-integration into the capitalist society, for its assimilation and final dissolution.

The communist world movement overcomes its periods of crisis in a world-revolutionary manner - and only in a world-revolutionary manner. That means in demarcation line against the revisionists, opportunists and all the lackeys of world imperialism.

The Comintern's history teaches: If you do not permanently purify and clean the ranks of the Communist International, it is *impossible* to win in the world socialist revolution, let alone *maintain* its victory.

The road to the development and consolidation of the Communist movement and the Communist International, leads via its cleansing from all elements of opportunistic movements. These are "communist movements" in words and anti-communist movements in deeds.

The whole History of the Communist International and the Communist world movement reflects its struggle against all open and hidden world-forces of anti-communism.

Well known, the international class enemy tried and tries to beat the world communist movement and the Communist International at their "own game". In open battles the Communist International and the world communist movement can not be defeated.

The bourgeoisie is thus forced to *"win the fortress from inside"*.

The bourgeoisie tried to combat the Comintern not only from outside (such as by the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact"), but also from inside (to paralyze, to disorient, to divert it from the correct line, to decompose and to dissolve it).

The main danger and the main reason that led to the dissolution of the Communist International, was clearly the rightist opportunism - more precisely, the adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to the social democratism.

This paved the way for the later conquest of the power of the modern revisionists who were recruited from the Comintern to a considerable extent.

Revisionism arose when Marxism had already triumphed over the open enemies. Neo-revisionism arose when Marxism-Leninism triumphed over modern revisionism. The historical lessons of international communism in its struggle against opportunism is an invincible weapon of the revolutionary world proletariat. They are a cornerstone for the forging of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist Comintern and for a strong, imperishable Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement.

The history of international communism is particularly the history of the struggle against revisionism. It is the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois ideology that has entered in the guise of "Marxism-Leninism" the world stage of the class struggle. The liberation of the proletariat from the bourgeois ideology is forged primarily in the blazing fire of international class struggle against revisionism and all its different complementary camps and branches.

The struggle against revisionism was always done with the method of the classics of Marxism-Leninism:

- Unmasking, demarcation and separation from bourgeois influence in order to get rid of it;
- independent development and strengthening of the world-proletarian class consciousness through learning the lessons of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in the class struggle;
- The aim is to eliminate the inevitability of bourgeois influence in the world proletariat and within the international communist movement.

Today, the liberation of the world proletariat is impossible without complete destruction of neo-revisionist influences. The neo-revisionism is the pacemaker of bourgeois influence in today's world-revolutionary movement.

The neo-revisionism is "anti-revisionism" in words and revisionism in deeds.

In other words, the alleged "anti-revisionism" of the neo-revisionists is the newest ideological weapon of the world bourgeoisie for the purpose, to thwart, to weaken and to liquidate our struggle for the abolition of the inevitability of revisionism.

This is the major current lesson which we must learn from the history of the Communist International and the Communist world movement and their struggle against opportunism. Further uncovering the truth about the history of the Comintern and the debunking of the crimes of the bourgeois historians is an urgent task that can decide on victory or defeat of the world revolution. If this important task would have been solved halfway satisfactorily, we would have long since been a functioning Communist International.

This concerns primarily our poor and incorrect application of the world-Bolshevik principle of criticism and self-criticism, this is the law of the development of the Comintern, of the international communist movement and of all communists. The concealment of the Comintern has to be pulled down and the original documents will be translated into all languages and distributed. This mission is in the special interest of the general-line of the Comintern (SH).

## **Dissolution of the Comintern**

**Our summarized statement about the dissolution of the Comintern is as follows:  
At the height of its historical significance, the Comintern has been lacking of vigilance.**

**History has proved that the Comintern was not able to get rid of the growing influence of social democratism in its own ranks.**

**Obviously, the Comintern did not offensively enough defend the world-revolutionary line of Lenin and Stalin. The necessary purification from anti-proletarian elements within the Communist International and the Communist World Movement was prevented by the rightist opportunists under the disguise of alleged "anti-sectarianism".**

**The rightist turn of the Comintern and its turning away of Marxism-Leninism took place in the course of the Seventh World Congress.**

**In the moment, when the Comintern was put to test, the Comintern exhausted its weakened force, and capitulated under heaviest pressure of fascism and war. The best fighters of the Comintern lost their lives on the battlefields against ther imperialist war and in the dungeons of the fascists, or they were abased, degraded and removed by the rightist leadership of the Comintern.**

**The dissolution of the Comintern was a historically lasting defeat for the world proletariat and the world revolution, was a victory of the international forces of the Anti-Comintern, was a decisive factor in the historical growth of modern revisionism.**

The modern revisionists celebrated and still celebrate the capitulation of Dimitrov and the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern as THEIR anti-Stalinist "victory", as the beginning of the end of the glorious Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

And the Maoists applaud together with the modern revisionists. They regard the capitulation of Dimitrov and the Seventh World Congress also as their "victory":

*"Dimitrov gained immortal merits at the 7th World Congress for the anti-fascist struggle.*

*His definition of fascism was outstanding. Later on, when the world revolutionary development did not come as it was expected, and when capitalism has entered a period of relative stability, it would have been correct to dissolve the Comintern" - ("MLPD" - German Maoists).*

It's pure liquidationism !

Concerning our statement to the dissolution of the Comintern already 12 years have passed by, since we have published our general-line the first time. So we have revised our position self-critically and define it here more precisely, namely in the following 10 points:

## **10 reasons against the dissolution of the Comintern**

### **1.**

The existence of a Communist International is neither dependent on the ups and downs of capitalism, nor dependent on the ups and downs of inner party struggles. It is always and in any case absolutely indispensable for the fulfillment of the revolutionary mission of the world proletariat. Consequently, it is never allowed to cancel its existence, neither in times of capitalist crises, nor during fascism, nor in times of imperialist wars, etc, nor during inner crises.

Precisely in particularly most difficult and harsh conditions of the class struggle, in situations and periods in which the world proletariat and the peoples have the worst to suffer under the yoke of capitalism (such as under Nazism and World War II), precisely then is the Communist International indispensable, precisely then is such a dissolution close to a crime. Precisely in 1943, when tens of millions of masses bled to death, were murdered, starved and died of thirst, it is impossible to dissolve the Comintern and to

leave the world proletariat and the peoples to their fate. Especially in the most extreme conditions, the leadership of the Communist International is needed for the revolutionary liberation of the world proletariat and the peoples - namely to smash down and end the brutal, bloody rule of the world bourgeoisie.

Maintaining the Communist International (respectively its fastest reconstruction in case of its liquidation), is absolutely a historical necessity. All the tactical considerations are absolutely subordinated. The principled question of the existence of the Communist International is not to be mixed up with the tactical questions of the Communist International. Decisions whether the Comintern lives or dies, only for the purpose of a temporary advantage (or to avoid an intermediate disadvantage), and the sacrificing of principles in the interests for a moment - are downright opportunist decisions. Nobody can deny or annul this truth by the accusation of "dogmatism".

## 2.

The existence of the Communist International is not only limited in the absolute necessity of overthrowing the capitalist world domination, by means of the world socialist revolution. That necessity exists uninterruptedly during the whole period of the existence of world capitalism.

However, the Communist International is also needed for the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat and for leading the construction of world socialism. The Communist International will therefore be indispensable during the entire historical period of world socialism, namely to eliminate the danger of the restoration of world capitalism, and finally to lead the world proletariat toward world communism.

Without Communist International there is no overthrow and destruction of world capitalism.

Without Communist International there is no victorious construction of world socialism.

Without Communist International there is no transition to world communism.

Any "justification" for the premature dissolution of the Communist International can therefore be nothing more than a justification for the prolongation of the world domination of the bourgeoisie, for the delay of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, and finally for the postponement of World Communism.

## 3.

In the event that our Communist International will be forcibly liquidated or from the inside decomposed by the bourgeoisie, in the event that the Comintern falls victim to its own degeneration, in the event that it is turned into an instrument of the class enemy, then: it is our duty to ruthlessly slap it out of the hostile hands.

Only if this should not succeed - we must rebuild the Communist International in any case - and that, of course, restored on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

## 4.

If we would dissolve our own Communist International, for any reason whatsoever, this contradicts the basic idea of proletarian internationalism. We would cease to be Communists. The own liquidation of our communist organization is tantamount to capitulation to the class enemy. This means nothing else than the disarmament of the world proletariat and cession the field to the international counter-revolution.

No Communist International is worth anything, unless it can defend itself. But the Communist International does not learn to defend itself at once. This is an ever lasting process of learning from its own experiences.

The Comintern (SH) will never be dissolved by itself. The Communist International is a



dying breed in the period of world communism. It will die off not a sole day earlier.

## 5.

Countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat are particularly bound to proletarian internationalism. This means that they are obliged to protect the Communist International by all means. Maintaining the existence of the Comintern is also self-evident task of exclusively all the other Sections of the Comintern.

It is not only the right but also the duty of a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat to withhold its support for an already degenerated Communist International. Naturally, this applies to all other sections of the Comintern. This does not release neither the socialist country, nor all the other sections of the Comintern from the obligation to do everything in their power, to support the immediate reconstruction of the Communist International , respectively to take the initiative.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence an internationalist dictatorship and serves primarily the liberation of the whole world proletariat. Without survival of the Communist International and the world communist movement, the socialist world revolution is doomed to the defeat. Only the world revolution - or at least the victory of the socialist revolution in several countries - can guarantee the survival of socialism in "one" country. The existence of the Comintern and the support of the world proletariat is therefore also important for the maintenance of the existence of socialism in "one" country. Why then consent to the dissolution of the Comintern ?

The CPSU (b) of Lenin and Stalin has always triumphed over the liquidators and capitulationists. Neither before nor after the October Revolution, there was a smallest reason for the dissolution of the CPSU (B). Is this particularly valid for the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union or, generally, also valid for all Bolshevik parties? Of course, the fight against liquidationism and against capitulationism is obligatory for all Bolshevik parties. In our view, that what applies to the Bolshevik Party of a sole country, must apply even more to the world-Bolshevik party which bears responsibility for all countries, for the whole world proletariat. It follows:

As little as the CPSU (B) has dissolved itself, so little were the Comintern allowed to dissolve itself, and so little neither the CPSU (B) nor all the other sections should have given their consent to its dissolution.

## 6.

The Comintern (SH) defends all comrades who have rendered outstanding services to the maintenance or re-establishment of the Comintern. Some of them have even paid for their lives.

Simultaneously, we condemn all capitulationist, liquidationist and conciliatory elements who have initiated, organised or tolerated the dissolution of the Comintern. Secondly, we condemn all the opportunist, revisionist and neo-revisionist elements who argued openly or hiddenly against the reconstruction of the Comintern, with the intention to hamper or sabotage its revival.

Every adulation of the historical merits of the Comintern is suspicious, especially if its dissolution is tolerated or justified, or if it is combined with reasons of refusal against its necessary reconstruction.

## 7.

Our criticism is thus clear: we do not only criticize the dissolution of the Comintern as an act of capitulation. Primarily, we criticize its long-lasting negative effect for the comeback of the Comintern. The fact that the dissolution caused a half-century long delay of reconstruction, demonstrates impressively that this wrong historic decision had effected a fundamentally false course of organizing the Communist World Movement - namely the toleration of the renouncement of the Communist International. The dissolution of the

Comintern was a painful lesson in the history of the international communist movement. It must never be repeated.

## 8.

Only within a diseased Comintern, which was infected by the bacillus of the "left"-wing social democratism, could such moods of self-dissolution occur and be spread all over the world.

A healthy Communist International, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, wastes no precious time in thinking about its own dissolution.

A healthy Communist International holds on and sticks to the socialist world revolution with all its strength.

A healthy Communist International shall never lay down its arms in face of the onslaught of world counter-revolution and imperialist wars!

Therefore, our general-line demands all members of the Comintern (SH) to combat every liquidationist tendencies and to stifle at birth.

## 9.

The dissolution of the International implied the inevitable danger of weakening the idea of proletarian internationalism and the emergence of nationalist tendencies within the communist parties of the various countries ("*own national road to socialism*"; see: Titoism; Browderism etc.).

The dissolution of the Comintern favored the tendency for national separation and isolation, which necessarily contained two risks:

First, the danger of the growing influence of national isolation and, secondly, the risk of neglect of propagating together, preparing together and carrying out together the world socialist revolution.

These are universally tendencies of the dissolution and can be traced in the history of all Internationals.

The ECCI justified the dissolution of the Comintern with the dissolution of the First International by Marx and Engels. The equating of quite different historical conditions for the dissolution of the I. and III. International - is contradicting the correct method of the dialectical and historical materialism and leads unavoidably to false conclusions. The dissolution of the Comintern may not be justified by the dissolution of the First International. There is no justification for the genuine communist internationalists to dissolve their revolutionary world-party.

## 10.

The ECCI Presidium of the Comintern argued: "*The Communist International has become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working-class parties.*"

The Communist International, as the directing centre of the socialist world revolution, may never become a drag ... neither on the entire emancipation of the world proletariat, nor on the emancipation of the proletariat in the single countries.

The Sections are not such "matured" children who are eligible for the dissolution of the Communist International, after standing on their own feet.

And the Communist International is not such a "mother", who leaves her children in the lurch after she has started a family.

The task of the Comintern is not yet completed and fulfilled by the fact that it led Bolshevik parties to maturity. On the contrary. The Communist International takes never leave of its

Sections - under no circumstances. Sections and Comintern, they never leave each other in the lurch - never !

The unification of the Sections is the prerequisite for the most essential and central task of the Comintern: to lead all Bolshevnik parties collectively toward the victory of the world socialist revolution. Otherwise, the dictatorship of the world proletariat will not be established, and the inevitability of world imperialism cannot be abolished.

\* \* \*

Starting from all these principled considerations, we cast doubts, both on the justification of the ECCI for the dissolution of the Comintern (on 20 May 1943) and on the consent of the CPSU [b], (21 May 1943). The very first task of all communists all over the world is to prevent the dissolution of our communist world party. In case of the Comintern this task was not fulfilled. The decision of the dissolution of the Comintern was unanimously accepted. Can we be true defenders of the Comintern, can we be true members of the Comintern (SH) if we would accept a dissolution unresisting and unprotesting?

\* \* \*

The Comintern (SH) draws the following key organizational lessons from the fatal dissolution of the Comintern:

The general-line of the Comintern (SH) states that the old model of the organization of the Comintern - an umbrella organization of independent, national communist parties - is no longer appropriate. According to the present conditions of the globalization of the world proletariat it will be superseded by a new global model of a world party.

The Comintern (SH) considers itself as  
**the sole Stalinist-Hoxhaist party of the entire revolutionary proletariat**  
**- with its own Sections in each country.**

The tendency of the dissolution of the Comintern (SH) and the danger of the transformation from Sections to independent, national splinter groups is countervailed by the tendency of growing together by means of the strengthening of the principle of democratic centralism.

[ [LINK 1 : Resolution of the ECCI - Recommending the Dissolution of the Comintern](#) ]

[ [LINK 2: Statement of the Presidium of the ECCI on the Dissolution of the Comintern](#) ]

[ [LINK 3 : Stalin on the Dissolution of the Comintern](#) ]

**25. 7. - 20.8. 1935**

## **The betrayal by the VII World Congress of the Comintern**

**- in defense of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin -**

**25 July, 2015**

**The Comintern was an international bulwark against social democratic influence in the world communist movement.**

**Its dissolution prevented the Comintern from its transformation into an international bulwark against modern revisionism.**

**The dissolution of the Comintern paved the way to the establishment of the power of the modern revisionists.**

**The foundation of the Comintern (SH) was a courageous step, a milestone in the history of overcoming the aftermath of modern revisionism and for the honorable continuation of the glorious Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.**

The rightist leaders of the Comintern argued that the objective of the October Revolution was allegedly *"already reached"* - through the false pretense of the *"conclusive and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union."*

With this sleight, the modern revisionists certificated a "carte blanche" on their own behalf for the proclamation of the slogan of the *"peaceful road"* to socialism by *"peaceful coexistence"*. This was like a licence to keep the world proletariat away from the socialist world revolution. If the victory of socialism would be *"conclusive and irrevocable"*, then the socialist revolution would not be necessary any more - then the overthrow of the bourgeoisie would be superfluous and capitalism would peacefully give way to socialism, etc. These are of course well-known anti-Marxist "cabinet pieces" from the bag of tricks of the old opportunists. They have only been cleaned up by the leaders of the Comintern, and whitewashed with modern "Leninist-Stalinist" color. The cult of the personality of Lenin and Stalin was carefully interweaved with the "Soviet-cult" - with intent to deceive the Sections, the communist world movement and the whole world proletariat.

They also claimed that all communist parties would supposedly be "mature" enough to exert so much influence on the "vast masses", that socialism would be possible "without" the destruction of the capitalist system. This would be allegedly "possible", for example by obtaining majority relations in the parliaments, the trade unions, public institutions, etc.

Why is a Comintern still needed, if a world power like the Soviet Union would *"guarantee"* to all countries the *"peaceful road"* to socialism?

But how should a world power like the Soviet Union be able to survive, if only the international victory of the October Revolution, if only the dictatorship of the world proletariat can really guarantee socialism in "one" country? History showed that even a powerful socialist country cannot abrogate the laws of the socialist world revolution in the period of world imperialism:

«The Leninism is Marxism of an epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution" (Stalin) [underlined by the Comintern(SH)].

The denial of the proletarian revolution, and instead, making a deal with the bourgeoisie by means of establishing the government of the *"popular front"* - that was the worst betrayal in the history of the Comintern.

Of course, the rightists were conscious about their betrayal at the time of the dissolution of the Comintern. The victory of the socialist world revolution - these were the ideas of Lenin and Stalin - as long as they were the leaders of the Comintern. This was the correct line of the Comintern and ALL its previous decisions rested on it.

To regard the Soviet Union as the absolute "guarantor" for the future of communism, to regard the October Revolution not as the beginning, but as the "completion"/"termination" of the world revolution, to absolutize the international power of the October Revolution, to propagate one's "own way" to socialism, to propagate the "peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie - these were all the lies that were later further developed and continued by the modern revisionists. The Comintern was in the way of both the rightist leaders of the Comintern and the rightists in the CPSU (b). They wanted to get rid of the Comintern fraudulently, and so they celebrated its bureaucratic dissolution as a "great victory". Stalin, however, founded the Cominform - and that WITHOUT the old Comintern's leaders. This is prove enough that Stalin had struggled successfully against the "irrevocable" dissolution of the Comintern.

But what ought to be the most urgent tasks of the Comintern ?

a) It would have been the honorable task of the Comintern to link the struggle against fascism and war with the organizing of the overthrow of the rule of the world bourgeoisie. The Comintern emanated from the First World War to begin with the preparation of the socialist world revolution. But during World War II, the Comintern was dissolved - before having fulfilled its world revolutionary task.

b) The world proletariat would have needed a Communist International:

- which liberates itself from the influence of "left" social democratism;
- which unfolds and organizes the global fight against modern revisionism;
- which prevents the modern revisionists from seizing power;
- which struggles against restoration of capitalism;
- which smashes the capitalist-revisionist encirclement; etc....

c) The world proletariat would have needed a Communist International:

to crush the revisionist camp, and to crown the October Revolution with the world revolution.

The modern revisionists proved to be the biggest obstacle for the reconstruction of the Comintern. Khrushchev liquidated the Cominform in 1956, which Stalin had founded in September 1947.

With the socialist Albania as the new world center and the new Marxist-Leninist world movement with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the path of the world socialist revolution was continued - despite all obstacles.

This underscores the resilience of the truly Marxist-Leninist forces, and that the Marxist-Leninist world movement is always able to build up its own new world center by overcoming the spontaneism of the movement and without to sink into new swamps of opportunist movements, namely by sticking strictly to the teachings of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Without a revolutionary world center, without a global prime mover, is the world communist movement doomed to move forward in a snail's pace, doomed to vegetate and to die back. Wherever the world-proletarian movement will form its leading centers, the world proletariat will always and in principle unite around its Communist International. The Communist International organizes solidarity, supports every internationalist, proletarian center of world revolution, and carries the world-revolutionary banner throughout the world. The Communist International creates all the necessary conditions and gives enough momentum so that new centers of world revolution can emerge on all continents. In defiance of the opportunists, the focus on the support of the revolutionary center of international class struggle - that has been always the line of the Communist International.

This general-line was applied in the Paris Commune, in the October Revolution, in the Soviet Union and in Albania.

In future, revolutionary world centers will not be created in a single country or expanded from there. In future, the new revolutionary world centers will develop globally - thus from all continents. Globalized world centers can only be supported by a globalized world organisation - by the Communist International, and not by a single communist party of this or that country, as this was the case in the past.

The more the world-proletarian movement will approach the world revolution, the more important the role of the world proletarian revolutionary party will be.

Lenin created the III. International on the ground of the Soviet Union, which became the new revolutionary leading center of the world proletariat. The opportunists of the Second International combated the transition of the revolutionary world center from the West to Russia.

The weakest link of the world imperialist chain became the strongest link in the international communist movement. But history teaches that even the strongest link in the international communist movement is ultimately doomed to failure if it is isolated from all other chain-links. The strongest link of the world communist movement is the driving force, and the Communist International is the decisive centralist organization for the transition of the world communist movement into the dominating world movement.

Only with the victory of the socialist revolution, the communist movement will be transformed into the dominant movement of the world proletariat.

And only under the dictatorship of the world proletariat, the inevitability of the danger of the weakening or even degeneration of the Communist world movement will be eliminated.

Any weakening of the Comintern also meant a weakening of the Soviet Union and vice versa, any weakening of the Soviet Union meant the weakening of the Comintern. This is an universal principle of the relationship between the proletarian world organization and the world centers of class-struggle which was excellently mastered by Lenin and Stalin.

The strengthening of the Communist International means strengthening of the support of the revolutionary world center and vice versa. This dialectic of the socialist world revolution is part of the general-line of the Comintern (SH). And it is logically the general-line of the counter-revolution to undermine and paralyze the implementation of this essential principle of the international class struggle of the world proletariat. Therefore, one must never sacrifice the world-revolutionary center to the world revolution. Just as, conversely, one must never sacrifice the world revolution to the world-revolutionary center. It is the task of the Communist International to coordinate optimally the special forces of the revolutionary world center with the general forces of the global world revolutionary movement. To harmonize both these revolutionary poles of forces up to their fusing - this is the guarantee for the victory of the socialist world revolution in a global scale.

At the time of foundation of the Comintern (SH), there was neither a revolutionary world center under the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor a Comintern - supported by communist parties, and even not a single genuine Marxist-Leninist party. There were still only weak remainders of the former Hoxhaist Parties.

By the supremacy of world capitalism, the communist world movement entered completely into a new situation. In the course of the globalization of the conditions of the class warfare, there was the necessity of the creation of new globalized organizations of class struggle of the world proletariat.

We are thus entering the period of the prevailing globalization of communist organizations, the globalization of the world communist movement, a new phase of the global preparation of world socialist revolution. The times, in which the single communist parties of the countries had dominated in the communist world movement are gone forever. In the coming period of the socialist world revolution, in the period of the world socialism, the world proletariat needs a new type of global communist organisations and movements.

These global communist organisations will determine the future appearance of the communist world movement.

The Comintern based its whole existence solely on the world-revolutionary center which was formed by a single country, on the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin. Back then everything had to be organized all alone by the Bolsheviks: the October Revolution, its extension towards the German November Revolution ( to break there through the next weak link of the world imperialist chain), then the foundation of the Comintern, the socialist construction of the Soviet Union, its military defense, etc.. Under all these restricted circumstances, it was exceptionally difficult to organize the victory of the socialist world revolution. All the more, we hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism which was raised by the Soviet peoples. Their support for the Comintern and the socialist world revolution is an ever lasting historical merit and an honorable duty for the communist world movement, for the revolutionary world proletariat and all revolutionary peoples - namely to do everything for the glorious renaissance of the Soviet peoples.

The conception of the Comintern (SH) has, however, a determined globalized character. Everything will be organized and created on a global scale. The whole world proletariat is actively involved, inclusively all its allied forces. All tasks of the socialist revolution can be organized globally and be solved much more effective, efficient and sustainable by the world-proletarian world party.

The Comintern (SH) bases its power on the unification of all global forces of the world revolution. This enables the Comintern (SH), to become the leader of the ruling world proletariat.

But at first, the Comintern (SH) has to cope with the aftermath of the traitors of the modern revisionists and the upcoming of the neo-revisionists.

In spite of modern revisionism in power, the red banner of the world revolution was raised by the new Hoxhaist world center. And even after the defeat of socialist Albania, the Marxist-Leninists have not struck sail. The banner of the world revolution will always be raised by a new world center and carried toward victory.

The crucial key to the continuation of the path of the October Revolution was Enver Hoxha's historic speech at the Moscow Conference (1960). That was the birth of the new Marxist-Leninist world movement. Thus the break through of the revisionist chain began. The creator of this new anti-revisionist world chain was Enver Hoxha and the socialist Albania became its international center, its main chain-link.

The Maoists latched their Chinese revisionist chain-link into the anti-revisionist world chain. This way they tried in vain to disrupt the anti-revisionist world chain from inside. The capitalist-revisionist encirclement squashed the Albanian world center of anti-revisionism, shortly after this Maoist attack was successfully thwarted by Enver Hoxha.

The Comintern (SH) holds tight the anti-revisionist world chain of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The neo-revisionists will never succeed to snatch it from us.

As the new world center of anti-revisionism, the Comintern (SH) wins back one anti-revisionist link after the other and will smash the neo-revisionist chain to smithereens at its weakest link.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the socialist Albania, as the world center, formed the Marxist-Leninist world movement

- by educating the young and inexperienced new Marxist-Leninist parties in their liberation struggle from the revisionist world movement;
- by helping them to become independent Marxist-Leninist parties, ideologically, politically and organisationally;
- by bilateral and multi lateral consultations, discussions, exchange of experiences;
- by joint, coordinated actions; etc.

Enver Hoxha equipped the young Marxist-Leninist world movement with the old Bolshevik

spirit of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. This revival of the old world-revolutionary spirit of the Comintern - initiated by comrade Enver Hoxha - supported us in our decision for the re-founding of the Comintern. Everything that comrade Enver Hoxha did and thought, served the goal of improving the cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the leading center of the socialist world revolution - the socialist Albania. The historical model for this new international, anti-revisionist relationship among the Marxist-Leninist parties, in general, and the relationship between socialist Albania and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, in particular, this was the relationship between the Communist International and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet Union.

Only because Enver Hoxha believed that the organizational requirements for the re-establishment of the Comintern would be still not ripe enough, the neo-revisionists accuse us that we would "deviate" from the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and that we would have acted "contrary" to comrade Enver Hoxha, if we re-established the Comintern in spite of his statements. This is nonsense. Comrade Enver Hoxha had never argued against the correct principles of the Comintern and its revolutionary spirit. In the contrary. He was never an principled opponent of the re-establishment of the Comintern - in contrast to the modern revisionists. The neo-revisionists are thus forced, to defend the formal word-for-word fidelity of comrade Enver Hoxha against the revolutionary character and principled content of Hoxhaism in the question of the re-establishment of the Comintern. Not we Hoxhaists separate the revival of the revolutionary spirit of the Comintern from the consequent need of the organizational re-founding of the Comintern. This is only what the Neo-Revisionists want to do, because they are enemies of the re-establishment of the Comintern, enemies of the socialist world revolution. A revolutionary spirit is worth nothing if it is not transfered into practice, if it is not standing on independent, organizational feet. The revolutionary spirit of proletarian internationalism cannot be spread all over the world without a revolutionary proletarian world organisation. The old revolutionary spirit of the Comintern can therefore only be defended and revived by the re-establishment of the Comintern. There is no other way in the situation of today. This is the consequent continuation of the path of comrade Enver Hoxha, is the only correct Marxist-Leninist conclusion and therefore basis of the general-line of the Comintern (SH). Not we Stalinist-Hoxhaists distort the teachings of Enver Hoxha about the necessity of the continuation of the world-revolutionary ideas of the Comintern, but the neo-revisionists.

"Defending" the revolutionary spirit of the Comintern in words - however betraying it in deeds - that is the true attitude of the neo-revisionist traitors.

At the Seventh Congress, all the Stalinists, the elements of the Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites and the conciliators still gathered together in one and the same room. After the modern revisionists were in power and after they had split the world communist movement - (that is, since the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the 81 parties in Moscow, on November 16, 1960) -, a joint meeting of Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists was unimaginable, impossible and totally out of question.

The achievement of an ideological, political and organizational demarcation between the revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists was an international victory of Marxism-Leninism over the modern revisionists in power.

Today, the Neo-revisionists try their best to turn back the hands of time, to adapt the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist World Movement to the revisionists and to absorb them in the revisionist movement.

Those who reduce the international teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha on regionally limited importance, are preventing the emergence of a new international Stalinist-Hoxhaist center and its internationally coordinated transmission belts.

The Hoxhaism is the doctrine of the autonomy of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and



its independent proletarian class organizations, for the struggle against the revisionist world movement and its organizations.

From this emerged the period of capitalist-revisionist encirclement of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and the socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Today, we are concentrated on the targeted detonation of the revisionist / neo-revisionist encirclement of the independent Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement and its center, the Comintern (SH). The general-line commits the Comintern (SH) to accept only those Sections which consequently and exclusively follow the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, three main trends can be distinguished in the international labor movement:

First, the revolutionary labor movement, the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement of the proletariat and its allies, the peasants and other working people, which, year after year get millionfold involved into the revolutionary movement by the economic, political, ideological, cultural and social world crisis.

Second, the revisionist, reformist, social-imperialist and social-fascist movements of the labor aristocracy, which is the main social basis and agency of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement.

Third, the movement of the centrists who waver between the two centers of the movement back and forth. Their layers consist of the classic intelligencia, the petty bourgeoisie, especially of those radicalized elements which became proletarianized or which are threatened to become proletarianized. They embody the elements of split and disorganization of the workers' and communist movement. This "colorful" movement struggles ultimately only with radical "left" words for the proletariat.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement (1) directs its fight against streaming (2) and (3):

Firstly, against the right-wing opportunism.

Secondly, against the "left"-wing opportunism.

Thirdly, against centrism and conciliationism.

(the end of the paragraph "OVERVIEW")

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## 1.

### **Against the right opportunism within the communist world movement**

Marxism was the victory over reformism, over the Social Democracy.

The victory of the October Revolution was the victory of Marxism, over the reformist ideology.

Marxism always emerged stronger from the struggle against opportunism.

The Second International (1889 - co-founder = Friedrich Engels) degenerated in the course of its adaption to the right opportunism. Since 1951, there is the successor organization, which calls itself "Socialist International" - a unification of social democratic parties-, which has nothing to do with socialism. This organisation is through and through bourgeois and anti-socialist. From the beginning, this so called "Socialist" International is

an instrument of the world bourgeoisie within the Social Democratic world movement . Its necessary revolutionary destruction is a stated goal of the Comintern (SH).

The Comintern ceased to exist, because its leaders adapted themselves to the right opportunism. We are going to re-construct the Comintern on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The attack by the rightists against the Communist International did not begin with the Seventh World Congress, but the Seventh World Congress sealed the slipping into the opportunistic camp by means of an overwhelming majority.

The general-line of the Comintern (SH) focuses primarily on the danger of right opportunism, without underestimating the danger of the involved "left" opportunism and centrism. It is always not just a fight against a single, against the prevailing opportunism, but rather against the interaction of all opportunist currents against the world-Bolshevist line of the Communist International. This struggle is a dialectical struggle, in which the main opportunist streaming can either appear in a more open or hidden form. The opportunist current which will be most underestimated is the most dangerous opportunist current. It is an ever-growing battle area against all opportunist currents which struggle either united or independently against our world-revolutionary ideology, movements and organizations.

The special feature of the struggle against the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern in the so-called "Third Period" of the Comintern was that the right opportunists and the Trotskyists acted in common, thus in a united "Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites":

### **The "*Third Period*" of the Comintern and the repudiation of the "criticism" of the Bloc of the Rightists and Trotskyites**

**With the Seventh World Congress the rightist leaders of the Comintern took over the power. They attacked Leninism-Stalinism under the guise of their alleged fight against "sectarianism" namely for the purpose of the adaption and replacement by the bourgeois ideology of social democracy.**

Officially, the VII. World Congress was celebrated under the guise of Stalinism, but internally it was already infested with the right opportunism. The world proletariat, the victorious Soviet proletariat, the masses - they all were not informed about the earnestly endangered situation within the Comintern. This was carefully hidden from public view. The Russian proletariat enthusiastically welcomed the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern.

At first, a message of welcome greetings was read out by the delegates of the large factories of the Red capital of the world proletariat. As regards the fight against fascism, comrade Sokolow gave priority to the crucial role of the world revolution. Thus speaks a true revolutionary leader of the shock brigade of the world proletariat:

"Comrades, allow me to convey flaming, hot greetings of the proletarians of the red capital of the world proletariat to the head quarter of the world proletarian revolution, the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, and in shape all parties of the workers, the working class around the world. Under the leadership of our Bolshevik Party, led by the leader of

our Party, Comrade Stalin, we have achieved tremendous success on all fronts of socialist construction. (...) These victories we have won because we have the party of Lenin and Stalin. We know, comrades, that the revolution is going on in other countries. In Germany and Austria, there were revolutions. But all of them have been suppressed because the enemies of the working class, the reactionary social democratic leaders, have betrayed these revolutions. The proletarians are now fighting against fascism. In our country the enemies of the working class, the Trotskyites, the opportunists of all sorts led the fight against our party after the fall of capitalism, after the working class had come to power. These elements wanted to drag our country back to capitalism. But since Comrade Stalin stands at the head of our party, this greatest leader of the party and the working class, who has armed the whole Party, we smashed the Trotskyists and all opportunists, and therefore we have won the tremendous successes in our country. Comrades, everything we do is, serving one and only task: THE TASK TO STRENGTHEN THE CENTRE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

All working people of our great socialist motherland have in mind the words of Comrade Stalin, that we are the shock brigade of the world proletariat, (...) It is the pledge of our victory that we have a Communist International " (Minutes of the Seventh Congress, speeches of welcome, Comrade Sokolov, reprint Publisher "Neuer Weg" , Stuttgart, 1976, Vol I. page 17-18, translation from the German edition).

And Comrade Penkin shouted to the delegates:

"We call the proletarian youth around the world for the fierce battle for the world proletarian revolution and for the defense of the fatherland of the world's working people. We offer our compliments to our class brothers, to the victims of fascist terror, to the prisoners of capitalism. Long live the Communist International, the organizer of the international proletarian revolution "(ibid. page 29).

The Young Communist Nina Kamnewa described Stalin as the "iron-chief of the world revolution" in her welcome message and ended with the call: "Long live the proletarian revolution ! Long live the Communist International with Stalin at the head, for storming the citadels of capitalism" (ibid., page 23).

With these pioneering Soviet pledges to world revolution began the Seventh World Congress. But the leaders of the Seventh Congress had secret liquidationist plans. Everything should look as if the "sectarianism" was combated from the correct Marxist-Leninist point of view (though sectarianism admittedly existed, sectarianism was not at all the prevailing and most dangerous opportunist streaming. In the contrary, the most dangerous streaming was the right opportunism !). What was combated in truth ? This was not allegedly "sectarianism", but instead, Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism ! The predominant method of the leaders of the Seventh Congress was to cheat the world proletariat, was the method of "speaking with two tongues", was hypocrisy.

The vulgarization of the false "central" slogan of fighting "against sectarianism" served to discredit the correct line of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

That was the time of the usual method of the Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites to camouflage their counterrevolutionary, fascist mercenaries' services against the Soviet Union.

And this central method of the Seventh Congress was then exactly the same with which the modern revisionists, later on, had conquered their power :

Marxism-Leninism in words - capitalism in deeds;  
building socialism in words - restoration of capitalism in deeds;  
anti-fascism in words - social fascism in deeds;  
anti-imperialism in words - social imperialism in deeds;  
anti-revisionism in words - revisionism in deeds,  
etc., etc.

The lip service "for the defense" of the Stalinist line against sectarian excesses on the VI.

World Congress and the hidden rightist attack against the Stalinist line of the Comintern in deeds - thus before, during and after the Seventh World Congress - that had been the common thrust of the "Bloc of the Rightists and Trotskyites" and the conciliators within the Comintern.

The today's anti-Stalinist-Hoxhaist elements, they all use the thrust of this hostile line furthermore against the "Third Period" of the Comintern.

The impact of this criticism of the so-called "Third Period" is still very widespread throughout the world. Therefore, the general-line of the Comintern (SH) clearly states:

The great contributions and merits of comrade Stalin for the strengthening of the Comintern, the Stalinist line of the Comintern in the so called "Third Period" [especially the decisions of the VI. World Congress] is to defend unconditionally, and all the opportunist critics must be pilloried. This statement serves expressively the defense of comrade Stalin, and not mistakes which had been made in the course of the implementation of the Stalinist line of the Comintern, and which cannot and will not be swept under the carpet.

Concerning the "Third Period", the VI. World Congress stated in 1928:

"After the first world imperialist war, the international labour movement passed through a series of historical phases of development, expressing various phases of the general crisis of capitalist system.

The third period:

The intensification of all international antagonisms (antagonisms between the capitalist States and the U.S.S.R., the military occupation of Northern China--which is the beginning of the partition of China--the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the internal antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the Left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle [- *underlined by the Comintern (SH)*], and the wide development of colonial movements (China, India, and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead,--through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation,--to capitalist stabilisation becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism". (The International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International - decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern).

The Third Period was the period of the end of the relative capitalist stabilization and the increase of international class struggles, which the VI. Congress had correctly formulated: "On the one hand growth of capitalism in some countries, on the other hand decay of capitalism in other countries". The VI. World Congress of the Comintern prepared the world proletariat for its major counter-offensive in the course of the world economic crisis and in consequence of the expected offensive of capitalism. The rightists tried to underestimate, to deny, to undermine and to stop the revolutionary upsurge of the working class. They feared the coming of the world socialist revolution. Above all, they feared that the Comintern would gain more prestige and influence within the world proletariat by the revolutionary slogan "class against class". So they discredited the decisions of the Comintern on the "Third Period" as a sort of "irresponsible dogmatic fantasy of some sectarians". (Still to this day, the creation of Red Unions are scorned as "sectarianism", although Red Unions and the revolutionary break-through of the legal reformist barriers of the Yellow Unions, were expressively and principally promoted by Stalin and Enver Hoxha - of course, without refusing the further necessary work in the yellow unions; for the purpose to destroy the reformist influence of the reactionary leaders on the masses of members of the Yellow Unions).

The rightists were supported by the propaganda attacks of the world bourgeoisie against the Comintern and Stalin countered:

"Hirelings of the imperialists and authors of forged letters are spreading rumours in the West to the effect that the Comintern is an organisation of conspirators and terrorists, that Communists are touring the Western countries for the purpose of hatching plots against

the European rulers. Among other things, the Sofia explosion in Bulgaria is being linked with Communists. I must declare what every cultured person must know, if he is not an utter ignoramus, and if he has not been bribed — I must declare that Communists never had, do not have, and cannot have, anything in common with the theory and practice of individual terrorism; that Communists never had, do not have, and cannot have, anything in common with the theory of conspiracies against individual persons. The theory and practice of the Comintern consists in organising the mass revolutionary movement against capitalism. That is true. That is the task of the Communists. Only ignoramuses and idiots can confuse plots and individual terrorism with the Comintern's policy in the mass revolutionary movement." (Stalin, Works, Volume 7, page 254, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

Stalin warned explicitly against the danger of the rightists, especially that the conciliators defended the rightists in their struggle against the decisions of the VI. World Congress: "In opposing the expulsion of the Rights, Humbert-Droz and Serra refer to the resolution of the Sixth Congress which says that Right deviations must be overcome by means of an ideological struggle. That is perfectly true. But these comrades forget that the resolutions of the Sixth Congress by no means limit the struggle of the Communist Parties against the Right danger to measures of an ideological order. While speaking of methods of ideological struggle against deviations from the Leninist line, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, in its resolution on Bukharin's report, at the same time declared that: *"far from precluding, this presumes the utmost strengthening of iron inner-Party discipline, unqualified subordination of the minority to the majority, unqualified subordination of the lower bodies, as well as of other Party organisations (groups in parliament, groups in trade unions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party centres."*

It is extremely strange that Humbert-Droz and Serra forget this thesis of the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It is extremely strange that all conciliators, both those who consider themselves conciliators and those who repudiate the name, when pleading the Sixth Congress resolution systematically forget this important thesis of the Communist International.

(...)

At the present time, in the shape of the Rights we have real (not imaginary) violators of the fundamental principles of the Communist International [underlined by the Comintern (SH)]. Why, then, do they keep silent? Is it not because they want, under the guise of a verbal defence of Comintern decisions, to smuggle through a defence of the Rights and a revision of these decisions?

(...)

the Sixth Congress certainly did not suggest rehabilitating conciliators. On the contrary, it charged us with waging a systematic fight against conciliation. And precisely because this obligation has not been carried out by the conciliators, we have now, after the Sixth Congress, the decision of the E.C.C.I. Presidium of October 6, 1928, on the Rights and the conciliators."

[ Stalin, speech - delivered at a Meeting of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., December 19, 1928 Bolshevik, No. 23-24, 1928; J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 307-24,]

It is clear why the Rightists and the conciliators criticized the so-called "Third Period": It was the criticism at Stalin's Bolshevik line. And it was thanks to Stalin, that he struggled without leniency against the Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites . He has relentlessly unmasked them, and he provided for their final exclusion from the Comintern.

Stalin demanded:

" Firstly, to wage an unceasing struggle against Social-Democratism in all spheres -- in the economic and in the political sphere, including in the latter the exposure of bourgeois pacifism with the task of winning the majority of the working class for communism. " [we ask: Is this "sectarian" ? - remark of the Comintern(SH)]

"Secondly, to form a united front of the workers of the advanced countries and the labouring masses of the colonies in order to stave off the danger of war, or, if war breaks out, to convert imperialist war into civil war, smash fascism, overthrow capitalism, establish Soviet power, emancipate the colonies from slavery, and organise all-round defence of the first Soviet Republic in the world." (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, p. 179, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

After the VII. World Congress, the Comintern did not fulfill these Stalinist tasks. The Comintern turned neither into an instrument of world civil war, nor turned it into an instrument for the overthrow of world capitalism. The Comintern neither established Soviet power, nor fulfilled its task to destroy colonial slavery.

One ought to assume, that the Seventh World Congress would have implemented the Stalinist Comintern program which was decided by the VI. World Congress. But this was not the case. Since the Seventh World Congress, the Comintern acted as if there was no Comintern program at all.

The core of the "Third Period" was the Comintern program. All attacks on the "Third Period" are thus attacks on the program of the Comintern. The general line commits the Comintern (SH) to defend the Stalinist program of the Comintern against all enemies.

Stalin:

"The cardinal significance of the programme of the Comintern is that it scientifically formulates the basic tasks of the communist movement, indicates the principal means of accomplishing these tasks, and thus creates for the Comintern sections that clarity of aims and methods without which it is impossible to move forward with confidence. .

(...) (The Program) takes as its point of departure not some particular capitalism of some particular country or portion of the world, but the entire world system of capitalism, counterposing to it the world system of socialist economy..

(...) (The Program) puts forward the slogan of a federation of Soviet Republics which consists of advanced countries and colonies that have dropped, or are dropping, out of the imperialist system, and which is opposed in its struggle for world socialism to the world capitalist system.

(...) (The Program) stresses opposition to Social-Democracy as the main support of capitalism in the working class and as the chief enemy of communism." (July 13, 1928 - Stalin, Works, Volume 11, page 180 and 181, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

[ Later on, the Hoxhaism added modern revisionism as the main bourgeois agency within the labor movement and as the main opponent within the Communist World Movement.]

What has the whole world communist movement done until 2000, to meet this basic task of Stalin, namely implementing the Comintern program?

With exception of Albania, nobody has put the Comintern program at the center of the party's policy, let alone promoted and implemented. Without the initiative of the Comintern (SH), the program of the Comintern would have disappeared into obscurity. The propagation and correct implementation of the Comintern program of 1928 (of course modified according to the present conditions of globalization) is a key task of the general-line of the Comintern (SH).

The modern revisionists had neither interest in the world socialist revolution, nor in world socialism. So it was especially the modern revisionists, Trotskyists, etc., who made sure that the world program of the Comintern disappeared from the scene. One of the first betrayals of the modern revisionists was the revision of the teachings of the socialist world revolution which were central part of the Stalinist program of the Comintern.

With the creation of the myth of the Seventh Congress, the anti-Stalinists praised the name of Dimitrov, whereas the names of Lenin and Stalin were buried in oblivion. Later on, the anti-Stalinists treated the "Third Period" like a "blooper".

The criticism of the so-called "Third Period" is also directed against the correct slogan

*"class against class". Stalin said:*

*"Under capitalist conditions the Right deviation in communism signifies a tendency, an inclination that has not yet taken shape, it is true, and is perhaps not yet consciously realised, but nevertheless a tendency of a section of the Communists to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism in the direction of Social-Democracy. When certain groups of Communists deny the expediency of the slogan "Class against class" in election campaigns (France), or are opposed to the Communist Party nominating its own candidates (Britain), or are disinclined to make a sharp issue of the fight against "Left" Social-Democracy (Germany), etc., etc., it means that there are people in the Communist Parties who are striving to adapt communism to Social-Democratism." (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, page 199, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971)*

With the sham battle against the "Leftists", the rightists opened their campaign against the Comintern's line of Lenin and Stalin. Of course, in the first flight of enthusiasm, there were certain "left" overemphasized speculations concerning the actual dimension of revolutionary upswing of the masses that was expected. The history of the Marxist-Leninist struggle against "Leftism" teaches:

"Leftist" hyperbole creates favorable conditions for the strengthening and consolidation of the rightist deviation.

Some comrades dampened the enthusiasm and advised against too high expectations in the Third Period. If these new circumstances of the Third Period would not occur (the coming world revolutionary situation), then the rightists would not be able to exploit it for their hostile purpose: The rightists misused the correct Leninist-Stalinist line in the fight against sectarian deviations in order to overestimate the fight against sectarianism in words. However, in truth they fought against the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Comintern. Otherwise than with a systematically launched overestimation of the expected counterrevolutionary forces in the Third Period, the right-opportunists could not increase their influence and gain a foothold within the leadership of the Comintern. Underestimation of the counter-revolution and simultaneous overestimation of the revolution - that was the way with which the opportunists conquered the majority. Please note that the opportunists did not dare to openly attack the decisions of the VI. World Congress.

It is one of the important experiences in the two-front war: if we fight against the rightists, on the one hand, we may not neglect our fight against the "left" opportunists on the other hand - and vice versa.

Stalin:

*"Sometimes, while fighting against the Right deviation, they turn away from the "Left" deviation and relax the fight against it, on the assumption that it is not dangerous, or hardly dangerous. This is a grave and dangerous error. It is a concession to the "Left" deviation which is impermissible for a member of the Party. It is all the more impermissible for the reason that of late the "Lefts" have completely slid over to the position of the Rights, so that there is no longer any essential difference between them." ( January 26, 1934 - Stalin, Works, Volume 13, page 321 - 322, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971)*

The peculiarity of the two-front war in the third period was the struggle against the united front of the entire Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyites. Stalin smashed this bloc to pieces.

The criticism of the leaders of the Seventh Congress against the so-called "sectarianism" was actually a critique of Marxism-Leninism, a critique of the world socialist revolution and a capitulation to the bourgeoisie, a serious betrayal of the world proletariat, a renunciation of the proletarian world view, a declaration of war against Stalin. Stalin directed the main blow against Right opportunism, but the Seventh World Congress directed the main blow against the so-called "sectarianism" (in truth against Leninism-Stalinism).

"Stalinism = Sectarianism " ! "Sectarianism" - what a comfortable word ! It is sufficient that the doctrine of Stalinism is smeared with a little bit sectarian color - for the purpose to cover it with the bugbear of "sectarianism". And that's it ! "Sectarianism" - this bugbear was

the final stroke against Stalinism. This slogan heralded the historical hour of birth and cradle of modern revisionism. And the most interesting point about it is this: further theoretical verifications, explanatory statements or justifications were neither needed nor used. With the help of the comfortable accusations of "sectarianism", the way for the rise of modern revisionism was paved by Dimitrov. The modern revisionists crowned themselves with "Marxism-Leninism" while they beat bloody every revolutionary Marxist-Leninists with the whip of "sectarianism", who would dare to overthrow the modern revisionists from the throne. Finally, the modern revisionists turned from traitors of the theory of social-fascism to true social-fascists !

"Thus, they proved once again that the slogan of *'the creative development of Marxism and the struggle against dogmatism'* is the favourite slogan common to every variant of revisionism". (Enver Hoxha, »Euro-Communism is Anti-Communism«, page 43, German edition of the KPD/ML, 1980)

Stalin:

"Our task must be—while not in the least relaxing the fight against the "Left," Trotskyite danger—to lay the emphasis on the fight against the Right deviation and to take all measures to make the danger of this deviation as obvious to the Party as the Trotskyite danger." (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, page 206, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971)

The so-called "Third Period" of the Comintern was not a period of stagnation or decline. In the contrary, it must be characterized as the period of the highest exertion of all the international, world-proletarian class forces. This was the strongest period in the entire history of the Comintern, the period of the global intensification of the class struggle. However, the subsequent period of Dimitrov was a period of capitulation, disintegration and liquidation of the Comintern. A dissolution of the Comintern after the VI. Congress would have been unthinkable. But according to the Seventh World Congress this appeared to be inevitable.

The world communist movement was at the time of the VI. Congress in the stage of their biggest rise. And just at this stage, gradually signs of fatigue appeared accompanied by all sorts of waverings to the "Left" and to the "Right". The conciliationism grew, and all this caused the beginning deceleration of the development of the Comintern. The international communist movement lost momentum. It was the right deviation, which enlarged the teething problems of the Comintern and inhibited the upswing. And what did the elements of the Right deviation do, together with those who limited themselves by pure lip service against the Right deviation? They saved their hide by means of their counter-attack, by their struggle against the so called "sectarianism".

The revisionist Togliatti argued:

*"I am of the opinion that the definition of the communist policy as a policy of 'class against class' was essentially mistaken and conducive to dangerous sectarian isolation."*

(Togliatti, "Problemi del movimento operaio internazionale 1956 - 1961, Editori Riuniti, Rome 1962, p. 325).

This was not just the line of Dimitrov and Togliatti [ Ercoli]. Even those revisionists, as Ulbricht, they called for *"shifting away from sectarianism and a move towards work within the masses"*. ( Minutes of the Seventh Congress, Volume II, page 512, German edition). Dimitrov's attacks on the alleged "sectarianism" were also recorded by Mao Tsetung grateful. Mao accused the Comintern of "sectarianism" and "dogmatism".

The Yugoslav revisionists also maintained these accusation towards the Comintern as *"a chain of dogmatic and sectarian mistakes. The Comintern damaged the communist movement. The schematic and sectarian concepts, the communist parties were afflicted with, found their way also into the Program of the Communist International approved at its 6th Congress in 1928. Thus, it is clear why this document of importance for the*



*development of the world communist movement could not help the various communist parties to concretize their strategy and tactics, and in some cases it even proved harmful"* (An outline of the History of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, published by the CC of the LCY, Prishtina 1963, p. 156).

All these accusations of "sectarianism" against the Comintern came from various enemies, open reactionaries and bourgeois radicals, petty-bourgeois elements, right opportunists, revisionists and Trotskyites.

And today, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists support the upswing of the revolutionary movement of the working class in the course of the global crisis of world capitalism, we never capitulate before the world bourgeoisie, and we fight with all our might for the world socialist revolution on the basis of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. That is the reason why we are criticized as so-called "sectarians" by the neo-revisionists who follow the footsteps of the leaders of the 7th World Congress.

You can not be a true communist, if you do not defend the Sixth World Congress and simultaneously criticize the Seventh World Congress. These accusations of so called "sectarianism" stem from the ultra-revisionists, from social-fascists - thus from sworn enemies of communism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists, who defend the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin, must take up a courageous stance to the treacherous leaders of the Seventh Congress. If we would abandon our criticism towards these forerunners of modern revisionism who had occupied the leadership of the Comintern, then this would be a service for our class enemies.

## **The attack on the Leninist-Stalinist theory of social-fascism**

### **How do we Communists define social-fascism ?**

***"Socialism in words - fascism in deeds".***

**"Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. These are not antipodes but twins"**

(Stalin; Works, Volume 6, page 253, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

The upswing of the revolutionary class struggle of the world proletariat in the "Third Period" (see: world-capitalist crisis in 1929) was prevented by the bourgeoisie - both through the forces of the fascists and the forces of the social-democracy.

In the summer of 1929, the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) presented the following theses:

"In Germany we have a new experiment of the largest party in the Second International, the German Social-Democratic Party, being in power. As a result of their own experiences the German workers are abandoning their illusions concerning the Social-Democratic Party. The Social-Democratic Party has revealed itself as the party which, on coming into office, has strangled the workers strikes with the noose of compulsory arbitration, has helped the capitalists to declare lockouts and liquidate the gains of the working class (eight-hour day, social insurance, etc.). By the construction of cruisers and by the adoption of its new militaristic programme, breaking with all the remnants of pre-war traditions of socialism, social-democracy is preparing the next war. The leading cadres of social-democracy and of the reformist trade unions, fulfilling the orders of the bourgeoisie, are now, through the mouth of Wels, threatening the German working class with open fascist dictatorship. Social-democracy prohibits May Day demonstrations. It shoots down unarmed workers during May Day demonstrations. It is the social-democracy who suppresses the labour press (Rote Fahne) and mass labour organizations, prepares the

suppression of the CPG and organizes the crushing of the working class by fascist methods. This is the road of the coalition policy of the social-democracy leading to social-fascism. These are the results of the governing activities of the biggest party of the Second International."

At the time of Comintern, the theory of social-fascism was that the social democratic parties were in words for socialism, however in deed, they were the stepping-stone of the fascists.

Both these fronts of the bourgeoisie (social-democratism and fascism) had shared the same goal - namely anti-communism. Thus, these bourgeois twins were both counter-revolutionary enemies of the revolutionary proletariat.

It is well known that the social-democratic leaders used their own fascist methods to combat the communists.

Based on the theory of social-fascism, the Comintern tried to push back the bourgeois influence in the working class. This was the only way to overcome the split of the working class. And precisely because of this, the Comintern was accused by all its enemies, namely to be (by itself) *"responsable for the split of the working class and consequently for the seizure of fascism"*.

Dimitrov and the VII. World Congress did not resist this increasing pressure on the part of the social-democracy against the Comintern. They discarded the thesis of social-fascism and violated thus the decisions of the VI. World Congress. This was a heavy betrayal at the Comintern. Thus, the Marxist-Leninist, proletarian united front-strategy of the Comintern was abandoned. This was replaced by an opportunistic bloc with the Social-Democrats, thus by a bourgeois popular front-strategy.

Those comrades who defended instead the Marxist-Leninist principles of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, those comrades who defended the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist world revolution etc. - they were all removed as "sectarians" .

A block formation between social-democracy and communism that had caused the dissolution of the Comintern and weakening of the world proletariat on the one hand, and the strengthening of the Second International and the world bourgeoisie on the other hand - this was a criminal act which could only be celebrated by the revisionists.

What was the crime? The struggle of the Comintern for overcoming the prevailing social democratic influence in the world-proletarian movement was sabotaged. The strategic goal of the Comintern was undermined, namely striving of communism as the prevailing ideology of the world proletariat.

It was later, Enver Hoxha, who enhanced the Stalinist theory of social-fascism.

Hoxhaism means:

defense and advancement of the Stalinist theory of social fascism by its application to modern revisionism.

Nowhere in the world, the betrayal of social democracy was sharper combated than initially by the Bolsheviks in Russia and then in Germany by the Communist Party of Ernst Thalmann. Ernst Thalmann stood in the way of the revisionist leaders of the Comintern, because he applied consistently the Stalinist social fascism-thesis in the German KPD. More or less openly or secretly the rightist Comintern leaders Pieck and Ulbricht combated the Stalinist course of Ernst Thalmann as alleged "sectarianism". Basically, these traitors at the social fascism-thesis were partly responsible for the death of Ernst Thalmann. Nowhere in the world was the communist influence on the (social democratic) working masses stronger than in Germany. After all, the German working class could not forget and tolerate the killing of their leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht through the social democratic murderers. Precisely because of the increasing pressure of the Communists, the bourgeoisie had doubts in the continuation of the social democratic parliamentary form

of the Weimar Republic. The German bourgeoisie was forced to search a new form of dictatorship. The bourgeoisie resorted to the Nazis in order to get rid of the Communists. The bourgeoisie exactly suspected what would happen :

The theory of social-fascism was, indeed, the key to the demise of capitalism. This way, the barrier of the social democratism could be overcome by the communists. The theory of social-fascism was the key to the victory of the socialist revolution and paved the way for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not the bloc-formation with the Social Democratic leaders, but only the dictatorship of the proletariat would bring about the final victory over the twins of social-democratism and fascism. That is the principled position of the Comintern (SH).

Insofar, all the critics of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist theory of social-fascism play directly or indirectly into the hands of fascism. All these critics are on the other side of the barricade, they are enemies of the world proletariat and the socialist world revolution and must be fought resolutely and relentlessly.

Without successful defense of our theory of social-fascism there is no victory of the world socialist revolution.

The victory of the Right deviation in the Comintern meant the ideological collapse of the Comintern, and thus a tremendous strengthening of social-democratism. The strengthening of social-democratism and the turn to modern revisionism transformed the Comintern into a pillar of capitalism, and the world-revolutionary proletariat was deprived of its vanguard, of its General Staff. Over 57 years, the world proletariat had to renounce its Communist International. This lack of leadership had serious consequences for the entire development of the world communist movement, for the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, and also for socialist Albania of Enver Hoxha, the further development of the world socialist revolution, the development of world communism. If the world-revolutionary line of the Comintern would have been continued correctly up to this day, then the world of today would certainly be another one.

And die Maoists ?

*"A fatal error was the establishment of the 'theory of social-fascism' by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern had to overcome the sectarian politics." ("MLPD" - German Maoist party).*

This is actually an open attack on the 4th and 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. This is congruent with the bourgeois politics of the reconciliation of classes of the modern revisionist. The Maoists support completely their condemnation of the theory of social-fascism.

The Communist International, ended where it began to allow the subordination of the class of the world proletariat under the class of the world bourgeoisie. The general-line of the world revolution was retransformed through the moult-process of revisionism into a renewed general-line of the agency of the world bourgeoisie within the international communist and workers' movement. The capitulation of the leaders of the Comintern before Social-Democratism was particularly evident in the conciliatory change of course of the proletarian, anti-fascist united front tactics. This line was then reacted more openly later of Khrushchev. So this is a continuously ongoing line of the embourgeoisement of the revolutionary movement that, in the different stages of the class struggle, has only changed its shape, but not its essence. It is the line of the same enemy, the same class, namely, the bourgeois line of reconciliation of classes by means of social-democratism and modern revisionism in the communist movement - with the same result of their development towards social-fascism.

Later on, for example, the renegade Togliatti transformed the right-opportunist line of the Comintern into the "theory" of euro-"communism." The right-opportunist ideas of the euro

"communists" can be traced up to the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The hostile attitude of Tito towards the Comintern is also well known. Tito was one of the first who called Stalin's Comintern policy "dogmatic and sectarian." Tito accused the Soviet Union, that it would misuse the Comintern for its own purposes. Thus, he parroted the anti-Sovietism of the whole world bourgeoisie for a hand full of Dollars.

It is therefore that all the modern revisionists of the world agreed in their criticism of Stalin's Comintern policy - which they characterized as an "appendage of his great power politics". In condemning the alleged Stalinist "Gleichschaltung" (enforced conformity) of the world communist movement, all anti-Communists were in total agreement - including the Trotskyists. When the Trotskyists were defeated by Stalin, and when it was thus impossible for them to transform the Comintern into a Trotskyist organization, they founded their own Trotskyist Fourth International, where they could celebrate Trotsky as "true" leader. They acted as the big "defenders" of the Comintern of Lenin, which was allegedly "abused" by Stalin. They have never done anything else than to replace Marxism-Leninism by Trotskyism. The Trotskyism of the past differs from Trotskyism of today only in that it tries to replace the Stalinist-Hoxhaism by the neo-Trotskyism.

The Trotskyites are one of those elements who try to combat the Hoxhaist theory of social-fascism. They try to protect the mask of the ugly social-fascist head of the modern revisionists - namely of those who rehabilitated the Trotskyites after the murder at Stalin. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists need no new "4th", "5th" or "6th"... International. We only wanted to continue the correct line of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. **That was the reason why we had chosen the name "Comintern / ML". And then, in 2009, we changed our name and called us Comintern (SH), namely in order to distinguish ourselves from all the opportunistic currents - that hide themselves behind the name "Marxist-Leninists".**

Incidentally, the Titoists are not the only one's who were blaming the Comintern that it would allegedly "patronize" the Communist parties or even "impose its will" on them. The Titoites represented the anti-internationalist view that the Comintern would not be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the individual Communist parties (as if the communist parties were not sections of the world party). These opportunistic forces in the Communist parties insisted on their "independence", as long as the Stalinist line of the Comintern dominated. However, with the Seventh World Congress, when the rightists gained the upper hand, they tried to force all the Communist Parties with all might under the opportunistic line of the rightists. It is not at all astonishing that nearly all the communist parties who agreed with the dissolution of the Comintern became social-fascist parties later on.

If you want to defeat social-fascism you must eradicate its ideological bourgeois source - revisionism, disguised anti-communism.

## **The Seventh World Congress**

**- A gathering of delegates who were previously selected by the rightist leaders of the Comintern to overthrow the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Comintern.**

Here are some selected examples of contributions of speakers at the Seventh World Congress, which will show that the representatives of the various Sections openly parroted the slogan of the so called "struggle against sectarianism" which was beforehand launched

by the rightist leadership of the Comintern. We limit ourselves to the letters A and B (names of speakers), for reasons of space. This subjugation of the Sections under the rightist leaders of the Comintern runs through all speeches of the VII World Congress. (Source: full original protocols of the VII World Congress - Volume I and II).

With their hand covering their mouth, the 7th Congress veered away from the line of the 6th Congress. Hiddenly, the line of the 6th Congress was criticized, namely its allegedly "hostile line against the masses". This correct line was replaced by the demagogic "mass line" of the right populists, for the purpose to pave the way towards the bourgeois people's front policy.

Examples:

**ACKERMANN**, Anton (Germany): his so called "self-criticism" was like this:

"With false and exaggerated slogans we have made useless sacrifices".

(Protocols of the 7th World Congress - Volume I, Page 158).

After the dissolution of the Comintern, this traitor Ackermann wrote an anti-Stalinist article: "Is there a special German road to socialism?" In this article, a German policy was advocated - independent from the Soviet Union. This facilitated the cooperation of the revisionists with the social democrats. As a Berianist he was expelled in 1954 by Ulbricht. However, the SED rehabilitated him in 1956 - when the process of the de-Stalinization was finished .

**ALBINO** (Portugal): "At time of the VI World Congress the PCP was a sectarian group, completely torn off from the masses .." - "Many comrades still maintain a sectarian point of view." - "On the basis of the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms, we must apply the united front tactic." (Protocols, Volume I, page 292, 294)

**Bakdash Khalid** [Ramzi]; (Syria): "We must also fight against the 'cowards' of sectarianism. They are a problem for the realization of the Popular Front. They provoke a split in the united front..." (Protocol VII World Congress, August 19, 1935, 15th Day of Congress). Khalid Bakdash has become revisionist and committed to the bourgeois policy of party-pluralism in the whole Arab world - under the rule of the Baath Party.

**BODENMANN** (Switzerland): "The main weaknesses and deficiencies of the party are that it has not as yet been able to completely overcome the sectarianism." (Protocols, Volume I, page 212)

**BROWDER** (USA): Also Browder participated in the Seventh World Congress. Shortly after that, Browder liquidated the CPUSA and renounced membership of the Comintern under the pressure of U.S. imperialism. His liquidatory influence on the Comintern contributed essentially to its dissolution. This underlines the hostile activities of US-imperialism against the Comintern though the US-imperialists were not members of the so called "Anti-Comintern-Pact".

Thus, it is a matter of historical fact that exclusively all forces of the whole world imperialism agreed to combat the Comintern in words and deeds. They all contributed more or less actively to its dissolution. And this would have meant: not to limit the defense of the Comintern only against the members of the Anti-Comintern-Pact. It would have been the correct task of the Comintern to create a united world front against the whole world imperialist anti-Comintern-front. Browder was one of those elements who tried to foreclose such a united world front against the liquidation of the Comintern. Historical fact is that the world hegemony of US-imperialism took place without the indispensable existence and resistance of a functioning Communist International. This is one of the most important "merits" of Browder in the service of American imperialism - in the postwar period. [ We refer also to the previous liquidatory period of factionalism within the CPUSA and especially to the concerning [speeches of comrade Stalin](#) ].

The US-imperialists became the world center of anti-communism and they had not to count any more neither with the resistance of the Comintern as the world center of

communism nor with the resistance of many of its Sections. The Comintern (SH) holds the view that the dissolution of the Comintern facilitated the development of the world hegemony of the US-imperialists, in particular, and the regeneration and strengthening of world imperialism, in general.

[ remark: 1937 (only 7 years before the dissolution of the Comintern) - Hitler and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern-Pact with the following wording:

*"Recognizing that the goal of the Communist International, called Comintern, is decomposition and rape of existing States by all available means, In the belief that the toleration of interference by the Communist International in the internal affairs of the nations endangers not only their internal peace and social well life, but also threatens generally world peace, We desire to work together to fight against the communist decomposition.... " ]*

Here we must not ignore the Sections of the Comintern. Of course, the Anti-Comintern-Pact was an aggressive pact against the Comintern, in general, and against the Sections, in particular.

The special dissolution of the CPUSA was thus in compliance with the overall interests of both the imperialist camps.

The dissolution of the Comintern was not only in the interest of the countries of the Anti-Comintern-Pact but also in the interest of the entire imperialist world.

With the dissolution of the Comintern, Dimitrov had obviously played into the hands of the entire world of imperialism. And the VII World Congress was the open door.

Enver Hoxha wrote in "Euro-Communism is Anti-Communism":

"The first current which preceded the modern revisionism in power was Browderism. He was the first herald of that line of ideological and political capitulation which American imperialism was to strive to impose on the communist parties and the revolutionary movement. Upsets and splits occurred in some of the old communist parties of Latin America, and these had their source in the activity of opportunist elements who, weary of the revolutionary struggle, grasped at any means with which American imperialism provided them to quell the revolts of the peoples and the revolution, and to spread decay in the parties, which were working for the education and preparation of the peoples for revolution". (Enver Hoxha, German edition pages 24 and 31).

Hoxhaism means:

Fire on modern revisionism as the main support of capitalism within the working class and as the chief enemy of communism.

At the time of Comintern, Browderism praised socialism in words, however in deeds, Browderism paved the way for the world hegemony of US-imperialism.

Browderism means liquidation of the communist organisations from inside and fire support for the imperialists who tried to liquidate the communist organizations from outside.

Indirectly, Browderism and Anti-Comintern-Pact played in each other's hands. The Comintern adopted Browderism instead of unmasking its liquidatory character.

It was a fatal error of the Comintern that it did not purify its own ranks from this hostile ideology of the bourgeoisie.

**BUENO** (Cuba): "Meanwhile, the party trod the path to the final overcome the sectarian groups in the party. It has been able to overcome their weaknesses in the proper treatment of this important task [!]" (Protocols, Volume II, page 593)

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It is supported by documents, that the ECCI had forced massive changes in the composition of the leading cadres of individual Sections, before convening of the Seventh World Congress. The Stalinists were systematically replaced by right-wing elements.

Those leaders of the communist parties who still wanted to defend the previous 6th Congress, had been forced to resign under massive pressure. This process of replacement lasted over one year. Only those delegates were authorized, who supported unquestioning the rightist line of the ECCI. The composition of the Seventh Congress had been carefully planned and prepared in advance for the purpose to ensure an overwhelming majority of votes. Also the composition of the ECCI was changed by purely "administrative" actions. Namely those comrades were tampered who criticized the new line of the Comintern. The rightists shunned an open ideological struggle.

We have to take into consideration all the events which happened before/during/ after the 7th Congress. In this time the trials against the Bloc of the Rightists and Trotzkyites were initialized. And this had essential influence on the development of the Comintern and its leadership.

We must also assume that the counter-revolutionary elements in turn abused the cleansing campaigns for the purpose to foist their evil deeds on honest Communists.

## **Who keeps the myth of the revisionist Seventh World Congress alive ?**

The question of the reconstruction of the world communist party could not yet be solved by the Marxist-Leninist world movement under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Many questions remained unexplained. The withholding of information, the systematic disinformation, the falsification of documents - all of which was part of a systematic struggle of the bourgeoisie to prevent the re-foundation of the Comintern. The Stalinist-Hoxhaists set themselves the goal of solving the problems of the re-foundation of the Comintern.

Fascism was defeated. So, what is the Comintern still good for ? This was the most common argument of the revisionists with which they rejected the need for the re-establishment of the Comintern.

So, is it not a decisive difference ? Whether you regard the Comintern of Dimitrov as historically "finished" anti-Hitlerfascist mission, or as a task for the reconstruction the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin - for the purpose of the socialist world revolution. The most dangerous enemies of the Comintern are those who celebrate their victory over the alleged Stalinist "sectarian and dogmatic line" of the Comintern, as well as those who defend the Stalinist line of the Comintern only in words, but who deny it in deeds.

The revisionists tried to reduce the Comintern to a peaceful democratic tool in the fight against fascism. This myth diverts attention from the real mission of the Comintern, namely to organize the world-proletarian armed revolution for the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat. The Comintern is a tool which the world proletariat is using for the violent overthrow of the world bourgeoisie.

Therefore, Stalin's merit to the purification and strengthening of the Comintern is demonized today. Indeed, the entire bourgeois, reactionary, anti-Communist world, up to the revisionists, "left" opportunists and Trotskyists, they all fear the renaissance of the powerful Leninist-Stalinist spirit of the Comintern. The revisionists uphold the class-reconciliatory spirit of Dimitrov, whereas we Stalinist-Hoxhaist resurrect the spirit of the world revolutionaries, Lenin and Stalin, - "class against class".

It is the task of the Stalinist Hoxhaists to expose the lies of the revisionists on the history of the Comintern and to smash the myth of Dimitrov. The myth of Dimitrov was one of the biggest obstacles for the reconstruction of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. We will not stop halfway with our criticism. We will provide evidence for further revisionist crimes. However, we will not solve this task successfully, if we do not succeed to unmask those elements who misuse their so-called "anti-revisionist critique" at Dimitrov as a hidden critique at comrade Stalin.

**How should we judge on Dimitrov?**  
**Primarily, we have to destroy his myth which was created by the**  
**modern revisionists !**  
**Simultaneously, the modern revisionists praised Dimitrov while they**  
**demonized comrade Stalin.**

Our criticism of Dimitrov is not exhaustive. We make no claim to infallibility. Our level of information is still insufficient, so that we cannot exclude mistakes which would be caused by both the overestimation and underestimation. Of course, we are always willing to self-criticism. We are convinced that the future will provide clearer assessments about Dimitrov, than this is possible for us at this moment.

In no way we ought to condemn honest comrades, just because they believe that they must defend Dimitrov against the revisionists. We must be patient with such comrades. We must convince them in solidarity that Marxist-Leninists are not allowed, to free Dimitrov from blame. We must help them to get rid of the revisionist myth around Dimitrov. If we kick these comrades in the teeth, then they would run the risk to fall into the arms of the neo-revisionists. We must avoid any sectarian attitude of criticism, namely to put these comrades on the same level with neo-revisionist leaders. And we should never forget that we, ourselves, have needed many years of investigations before we were able, to unmask the revisionist development of Dimitrov.

We do not want to reduce this question to the personality of Dimitrov. To a greater degree we focus our question upon the ideologically completed rightist change on the Seventh World Congress, which was not represented alone by Dimitrov. However, he was doubtless the key figure.

We thus follow the opinion of Comrade Stalin, who said:

"Those comrades who in discussing the problem of the Right deviation concentrate on the question of the individuals representing the Right deviation are also wrong. Show us who are the Rights and the conciliators, they say, name them, so that we can deal with them accordingly. That is not the correct way of presenting the question. Individuals, of course, play some part. Nevertheless, the question is not one of individuals, but of the conditions, of the situation, giving rise to the Right danger in the Party. Individuals can be kept out, but that does not mean that we have thereby cut the roots of the Right danger in our Party. Hence, the question of individuals does not settle the matter, although it is undoubtedly of interest. (Stalin, Volume 11, page 198, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

It is our duty to bring up Dimitrov's serious right-wing errors which had occurred in the Comintern and later on in Bulgaria [ Formation of a Balkan Federation against the USSR ] and in the Communist World Movement.

The revisionist historical falsifications about Dimitrov must be unmasked, repudiated to the strongest extent and fiercely combated by us.

It is impossible to anchor the Comintern (SH) on a solid ideological basis of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, if we would sail under the rightist flag of Dimitrov, if we would return the serious errors of Dimitrov under the rug. This is not Bolshevist. This is not in accord with the loyalty to true proletarian internationalism. If we really want to stay true to the mission of the fraternal union of the proletarians of all countries, then we have to search for the truth, we have self-critically to uncover the errors without fear. We must answer the question why the Comintern was dissolved, and why the world communist movement had not been led by a communist world party between the year 1943 and the year 2000. The



determined and relentless struggle for the Communist International of the world proletariat is an inalienable part of the teachings and struggles of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. As communists, we can analyze the Communist Internationals critically. Only one thing is absolutely inadmissible: A Communist may never put in question the indispensability of the permanent struggle for the Communist International.

It is a crime against the world proletariat, if one tries to whitewash the betrayal against the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin, ie if one tries to paint over the betrayal with new "Marxist-Leninist" color, for the only purpose of deceiving the world proletariat for the second time. This vulgarization is also inadmissible related to our demarcation line opposite to the VII World Congress of the Comintern. Our criticism of the VII World Congress must not be abused for the purpose, to justify all those crimes which the opportunists had committed against the Comintern in former times. Undoubtedly the VII World Congress was a fundamental turning point, which introduced a rightist line, which turned the Comintern program of 1928 upside down, which knocked the whole Leninist-Stalinist strategy and tactics on the head, which trampled the decisions of the previous World Congresses under foot, and which targetted the liquidation of the Comintern.

Dimitrov hid his revisionist line behind the Bolshevik line, especially in the initial phase. It is well known that he had completed successfully the school of Bolshevism in the USSR. However, history shows that there are good and bad pupils. He was useful as long as he was forced to strictly implement the Stalinist line. He became a danger for the Comintern to the same degree as he deviated more and more from the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Comintern. His deviations from Bolshevism and reconciliationism with Menshevism became all the more obvious in his last stage of life - thus increasingly after the dissolution of the Comintern.

The definition of the ideology of Dimitrov is the adaptation and transformation of the Bolshevik Comintern of Lenin and Stalin into its social democratic degeneration.

Once he was criticized by the Soviet Union, he practiced formally "self-criticism", with the consequence that he - shortly after that - headed repeatedly to the muddy waters of modern revisionism. Dimitrov took always advantage of the fact that his famous personality was still tolerated to a certain degree in the USSR, because there were already a certain amount of revisionist influence within the leadership of the CPSU (B) by which his inviolability was relatively ensured.

The diaries of Dimitrov are hyped as so-called "*key documents of the world communist movement after 1933*". We Stalinist Hoxhaists consider the publication of the diaries as anti-Stalinist propaganda - launched by the revisionists on behalf of the bourgeoisie. In the diaries, all the entries, between January 1935 and August 1936, are missing, thus the Seventh Comintern Congress and his election as General Secretary of the Comintern. Some pages were cut out. Who knows what else might have been tampered in the diaries? The diaries for the period 1944 - 1949 remained unpublished, probably because Dimitrov deviated from communism all the more in that time. Thus, such a publication could unnecessarily damage the myth of this "*proletarian world leader of the Comintern*". It was certainly not a coincidence that the Comintern (SH) was founded at the same time as the "diaries" Dimitrov were put into circulation. With the establishment of the Comintern (SH), we have begun to publicly denounce Dimitrov's betrayal at the Stalinist line of the Comintern. Therefore, it was high time for the revisionists to publish the diaries, for the purpose to protect Dimitrov against Stalinism more than ever.

One of the greatest crimes of the revisionists is the so-called "*de-Stalinization of the history of the Comintern*". On what rests this falsification of the history of the Comintern ? It rests on Dimitrov himself who began with the preparation of the de-Stalinization of the Comintern already on the 7th Congress.

After Dimitrov's death, the revisionists deleted from his letters everything that had to do with Stalin. They covered all traces to Stalin, respectively they set the public world on a

wrong track.

The revisionist historical falsifications about Dimitrov are essential part of the general historical falsifications of the Comintern. The cult of personality around Dimitrov served the modern revisionists for the purpose of dismantling the great achievements of Comrade Stalin within the Comintern. All traces of Stalinism should be obliterated from the history of the Comintern. The revisionists talked badly of the positive influence of Stalin on the Comintern, and they perfidiously twisted his principled Leninist line into a so called "dogmatic and sectarian deviation", into a "hostile" line within the Comintern.

### **"Either a Comintern without Stalin - or not any Comintern !"**

That was the criminal slogan of the liquidators of the Comintern. That was the counter-revolutionary general line of the entire world bourgeoisie and its lackeys in the world-camp of the working class - both inside and outside of the Comintern. Since certain documents of the Comintern are kept under lock, we can only seek the truth in such documents which have been already published. Therefore, our assessment on the Seventh Congress, in particular, and on Dimitrov, in general, must be still regarded with reservation and modified.

According to the researches of Dobrin Mitchev, of the Institute of History of the Communist Party of Bulgaria:

"On 10 March (1934 – Ed.) ... Georgi Dimitrov wrote to Stalin. In his letter he explained that during the year he had spent in prison he had thought a great deal about the problems of the world workers' movement. He had been concerned above all, he specified, with questions about the strategy and tactics, the methods, the action and the functioning of the Communist International.

"The discussion took place a little later, in the presence of Manuilsky and others.

In the course of the interview, Georgi Dimitrov explained, developed his ideas, which were *contrary* [ ! ] to those of Stalin. The discussion was ardent, difficult, impassioned".

(Dobrin Mitchev, in: Jean Méroy: 'Dimitrov: Un révolutionnaire de notre temps (Dimitrov: A Revolutionary of Our Time); Paris; 1972; p. 184-85).

While analyzing the documents, we admit that Dimitrov has not only made mistakes. He certainly has made some positive contribution to the Comintern, because he was finally responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the Stalinist Comintern. However, his merits are of course not the same as those which the revisionists ascribe to him. Rather, it is those initial merits, which the revisionists try to conceal because they were obviously associated with the name of Stalin. There is not just a Dimitrov since the VII World Congress. It is our task to critically analyze and assess the complete work of Dimitrov, thus all his activities before the Seventh Congress, for example his contribution within the Red International of the Labour Unions.

It is significant that most of the bourgeois historians initially condemned Dimitrov as a "loyal vassals" of Stalin, thus in the time when Dimitrov became general secretary of the Comintern. However, we may not draw off our attention that Dimitrov always dabbled in a reconciliatory attitude towards deviationists. Nevertheless, to a certain degree and in the initial phase, Dimitrov seemed to have tolerably implemented the line of comrade Stalin. That changed at latest with the fundamental ideological turn of the VII World Congress. Since then, Dimitrov was conspicuously celebrated by the bourgeois historians. Last not least, this is also due to the fact that Dimitrov, in his diaries, had suggestively dissociated himself from the condemnation of the criminal bloc of the Trotskyites and Rightists within the Comintern. Obviously, he had reason enough to fear these trials.

It is no coincidence that Stalin settled a score with the crimes of the Trotskyist and rightist conspirators who had also occupied senior positions in the Comintern. These criminals

wanted to drive a wedge between the Comintern and the Soviet Union. They wanted to overthrow the bulwark of world revolution and bring about the restoration of capitalism. For the USSR, the danger of the restoration of capitalism already existed from the very beginning. And from the beginning, there was also the danger that the Comintern could be transformed into an instrument of the international class enemy.

## **From the question of Stalin to the question of Dimitrov**

When the revisionists launched the so called "Stalin-question", and this was answered unequivocally by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, it was time to defend comrade Stalin as 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. Enver Hoxha was the first ever who openly defended Stalin - namely on the historical Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1960. In no uncertain terms, the defense of Stalin was the unflinching answer of the Marxist-Leninists to the attack of the modern revisionists ! From now on, the "Stalin-question" became the ultimate line of demarcation between modern revisionism and Marxism-Leninism. In defense of Stalin, the new Marxist-Leninist world movement developed under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Enver Hoxha showed that Stalin had always a proper Bolshevik attitude in all the crucial questions - inclusively in the question of the Comintern. Learning from the Leninist-Stalinist Comintern, that means, to bear the palm ! In the so called "Stalin-question" we have won a brilliant victory in the fight against the modern revisionists, and this we owe above all to Comrade Enver Hoxha. This includes in particular the victory over Maoism in the so called "Stalin-question".

Enver Hoxha - the 5th Classics of Marxism-Leninism - was the most reliable defender of the Comintern's policy of Stalin. Just as Stalin was the most reliable defender of the Comintern's policy of Lenin - the 3rd Classic of Marxism-Leninism. And again, Lenin was the most reliable defender of the First International of Marx and Engels and the most consistent critics of social-chauvinist betrayal of the leaders of the Second International.

**Modern revisionism** is: Anti-Stalinism under disguise of Marxism-Leninism.

**Neo-Revisionism** is: Anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism under disguise of Stalinism and reconciliation with Hoxhaism.

Related to the history of the Comintern, neo-revisionism cannot be defeated without a profound Stalinist-Hoxhaist critique at Dimitrov.

The Dimitrov-question has not been posed by the modern revisionists. We Marxist-Leninists raised this question, namely after we had declared Enver Hoxha as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. The critical analysis about Dimitrov is a result of our struggle against neo-revisionism - based on Stalinism-Hoxhaism. The Dimitrov-question arose in continuation of the anti-revisionist struggle of Comrade Enver Hoxha, that dates back to the times of the Comintern. From the unmasking of Togliatti (alias "Ercoli"), it is not far to the critique at Dimitrov. Togliatti was, as Dimitrov, a leader of the Comintern, like most others who became foregone leaders of various forms of modern revisionism. They all fought against the Stalinist Comintern-policy which we Stalinist-Hoxhaists vehemently defend.

Not about Dimitrov 's report to the Seventh World Congress brought us to the criticism of him, but non-conformity between his anti-fascist entitlement and social-fascist reality of modern revisionism at power. If we consider the shocking results of our analysis of the historical retro-perspective of modern revisionism, we came to the conclusion that the modern revisionists sowed the seeds of the destruction of Stalinism long before the XX Congress of the CPSU. And indeed, by thoroughly studying of the report of Dimitrov on the VII World Congress - we found what we were looking for !

## **Replacement of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by the "Popular Front"**

How did comrade Stalin define the task of the United Front ?

It is the task of the Comintern and its Sections...

**"... to form a united front of the workers of the advanced countries and the labouring masses of the colonies in order to stave off the danger of war, or, if war breaks out, to convert imperialist war into civil war, smash fascism, overthrow capitalism, establish Soviet power, emancipate the colonies from slavery, and organize all-round defence of the first Soviet Republic in the world."**

What are the roots of the united front idea ?

**"Lenin put the united front tactics into operation precisely for the purpose of helping the vast masses of the working class in the capitalist countries, who are infected with the prejudices of the Social-Democratic policy of compromise, to learn from their own experience that the Communists' policy is correct, and to pass to the side of communism."** (Stalin, Works, Volume 10, page 300, German edition, KPD/ML 1971)

In contrast: Dimitrov blamed those comrades as so called "Ultra-Leftists" who strictly adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus to a *"workers' government, which has overthrown the bourgeoisie by an armed uprising"* (Quote from Dimitrov's report [chapter: *"About the government of the united front"*], protocols of the VII World Congress).

A bourgeois democrat may see it like this, but never the Marxist-Leninists. Any form of Marxist-Leninist workers' government is based on the principles of armed dictatorship of the proletariat. And the dictatorship of the proletariat can not be built otherwise than by the violent socialist revolution, by the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, by the fall of fascism, by the destruction of imperialism and its whole world order. Only revisionists deny this truth and denigrate it as "ultra-leftist".

The "Popular Front" transforms the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat into the *"tail-end"* of the bourgeoisie ( "harmless minority" of "tamed communists"). The "Popular Front" is thus a manoeuvre to revive the bourgeoisie with the aid of the working people, and its purpose is to make the revisionist leaders who "withdraw" from Marxism-Leninism and from the socialist revolution harmless *appendages* of a bourgeois government, to shield this government from the people. Feeding the people with promises - that is the "cunning mechanism" of every coalition government. However, history taught, that feeding the people with promises has everywhere ended in failure.

Lenin defined the *"coalition government"* like this:

"Revolution enlightens all classes with a rapidity and thoroughness unknown in normal, peaceful times. The capitalists, better organised and more experienced than anybody else in matters of class struggle and politics, learnt their lesson quicker than the others.

Realising that the government's position was hopeless, they resorted to a method which for many decades, ever since 1848, has been practised by the capitalists of other countries in order to fool, divide and weaken the workers. This method is known as a "coalition" government, i.e., a joint cabinet formed of members of the bourgeoisie and turncoats from socialism" (Lenin, *"Lessons of the Revolution"*, collected works, Volume 25, page 237, German edition).

"That is why it always happens, under all sorts of "coalition" Cabinets that include "socialists", that these socialists, even when individuals among them are perfectly honest, in reality turn out to be either a useless ornament of or a screen for the bourgeois

government, a sort of lightning conductor to divert the people's indignation from the government, a tool for the government to deceive the people." (Lenin, *"One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution"*, collected works, Volume 25, page 381, German edition).

In *"The Popular Front for the struggle against fascism and war"*, Dimitrov defined the historical mission of the proletariat as the *"vanguard of the unfinished democratic revolution"* and not any more as the vanguard of the socialist revolution:

*"It (the Popular Front - Ed) creates the most favorable conditions for the fulfillment of the historical role of the proletariat to stand at the forefront of the struggle of their own people against the handful of financiers, the big capitalists - as the vanguard of the unfinished democratic revolution and all movements of progress and culture."* (Dimitrov, selected works, Volume 3, page 38, German edition).

»*Creating a world popular front against war and fascism*" (Dimitrov, *ibid*, page 41), and *"its program of defending the interests of working people, the defense of democracy and peace against fascism and the fascist warmongers"* (*ibid.*, page 40)

In: *"The Popular Front for the struggle against fascism and war"* from November 1936, Dimitrov said: *"If (...) the existing government for any reason, (...) would pedalling back, (...) then the working class, by strenghtening the structure of the Popular Front , strives for the replacement of government by such a government which implements the program of the Popular Front vigorously (...)"* (Dimitrov, Volume 3, pages 50-51, German edition ). Dimitrov didn't even mention the term *"class struggle"*, let alone *"socialism"* , the *"armed socialist revolution"* or *"dictatorship of the proletariat"*.

Every Marxist knows:

No Popular Front government can be peacefully transformed into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Every Marxist knows:

Only the guns in the hands of the workers can guarantee the proletarian character of the Popular Front.

Every Marxist knows:

the government of the Popular Front can only function upon the ruins of the bourgeois state. There is no proletarian state without the violent revolutionary overthrow and complete destruction of the bourgeois state.

Replacing a bourgeois government by a proletarian government without victory of class struggle over the bourgeoisie - is anti-Marxist, is social democratic. Historically, the concept of the VII World Congress failed, namely to peacefully transform the Popular Front government into a dictatorship of the proletariat.

And Lenin teaches:

»Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must first win a majority in elections carried out *under the yoke of the bourgeoisie*, under the *yoke of wage-slavery*, and must then win power. This is the height of stupidity or hypocrisy; it is substituting elections, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution." (Lenin, »Greetings to Italian, French and German communists«, Volume 30, page 58, English edition).

Abandonment of the violent overthrow of world imperialism, substituting the dictatorship of the world proletariat, substituting the socialist world revolution by a government of the Popular Front under the yoke of the old world-bourgeoisie, under the yoke of globalized wage-slavery - this is the height of stupidity and hypocrisy related to the present crisis of

world capitalism.

Certainly, we need a world-front against war and fascism, just today is this world-front urgently needed, but this can only be a world-front of communism, a world-front of the socialist revolution. Without this world-communist front, without the world revolution, ANY OTHER world-front will never be able to abolish the inevitability of war and fascism. This problem can only be solved by the world-revolutionary overthrow of capitalism - because capitalism is the source of war and fascism. History teaches us that capitalism cannot be removed by a Popular Front in a way as it was propagated by Dimitrov.

Dimitrov has rejected the most important cornerstone of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism - the armed proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this in spite of the founding documents of the Comintern, in spite of all decisions of all previous world congresses which base on the unshiftable and indispensable necessity of the armed socialist, proletarian revolution on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In contrast, the Seventh World Congress discarded the necessity of the victory of the October revolution on a world scale, and on top of it, condemned the dictatorship of the proletariat as "sectarian". This is nothing else but revisionist betrayal at the socialist world revolution - betrayal at the world proletariat - betrayal at Marxism-Leninism !

Why is that "sectarian" when we Communists combine the fight for the united front against fascism with the aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat ?

What is so "sectarian" if we want to eliminate the most brutal form of class rule of the bourgeoisie with the socialist revolution ? And we emphasize here: the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie as whole class and not limited to the policy of rolling back the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie !

The politics of the Popular Front, namely to impose merely restrictions on the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie - that's just a trick to implement, unnoticed, the adaption towards ("left"-wing) social democratism. This trick is still used by the revisionists of today. The Comintern should have never allowed to be misused as an instrument of subordination of the world proletariat under the world bourgeoisie. However, this was the aim of the opportunist policy of "anti-fascism" in a unity front with the bourgeoisie. And this kind of class-reconciliatory "anti-fascism" paved the way towards modern revisionism.

Dimitrov has disregarded the simple truism , namely that it is essential to distinguish between the bourgeois-democratic concept of anti-fascism and the proletarian-socialist concept of anti-fascism. More than that: Dimitrov obliterated the principled difference between bourgeois-democratic and proletarian-socialist concept of anti-fascism with the aim to adapt the revolutionary concept to the reformist concept - comparable with the treacherous concept of the Second International which Lenin completely unmasked.

If you want to change the world then there is only the one way with two contrary directions: The reformist direction leads always and inevitable back to world capitalism. The revolutionary direction leads forwards to world socialism.

You cannot simultaneously run into two contrary directions. Therefore, you have to decide in which direction you want to go.

The theory of running simultaneously into two contrary directions is idealistic, is anti-Marxist. The "*popular front*" of Dimitrov is based on such an idealistic theory of achieving harmony of classes within an antagonistic class society. Dimitrov strived for balancing the antagonism of class society "*under the control of the popular front*". The majority of the masses would "force" the antagonist classes to finally "annihilate each other". This would be then the opportunist "*mass-line*" for the "*peaceful socialist way*" towards the classless society by the motto: "*constant dripping [of the masses] wears away the stone [antagonism of classes]*". History proved the contrary. Even the transfer of the concept of the "*popular front*" on a world scale would not and could not change its bourgeois class character.

In contrast, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists are opponents of such so-called "third ways" thus

somewhere between the reformist and revolutionary way. Marxism-Leninism teaches that every alleged "third way" ends up unavoidably and without exception in reformism, and again, reformism ends up unavoidably in capitalism.

### **What is the difference between the bourgeois and proletarian concept of anti-fascism?**

The bourgeois-democratic "anti-fascism" is at best the elimination of fascism "on time" because it is based on the unity with the capitalist class. Repeatedly, capitalism, gives birth to fascism according to the immanent capitalist law of the brutal capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

In this form of "anti-fascism" the class of the proletariat is in the position of subordination under the class of the bourgeoisie. The social democratic and revisionist forces (which consist mainly of the upper shifts of the proletariat, the labour aristocracy, intellectuals and other petty-bourgeois elements) enter into alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie against the most reactionary and fascist elements of the monopoly-bourgeoisie. For short: This kind of so called "anti-fascism" is necessary for the regeneration of the collapsing capitalism - caused/accelerated by the law of maximization of profit. By means of this so called "anti-fascism" the world bourgeoisie takes the carrot-and-stick approach of class-reconciliation for the purpose to buck the unavoidable transition from world capitalism to world socialism.

The aim of the proletarian anti-fascism is the revolutionary destruction of capitalism and thus eliminating the cause of fascism. The proletarian anti-fascism bases on the inevitable demise of world capitalism and the inevitable victory of the world communist revolution. The proletarian anti-fascism is the way towards elimination of the inevitability of fascism through the socialist world revolution, the global overthrow of the whole class of the world bourgeoisie, through the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat upon the ruins of the imperialist world system, through the establishment of the world socialist system.

There is no interstage between both these kinds of anti-fascism. You can only decide either in favor or against the bourgeois or proletarian anti-fascism. Any centrist position, in between, is in the service of the bourgeoisie and therefore harmful for the proletariat. The result of the opportunistic united front policy, ie this "deal" with the liberal bourgeoisie, ends up as follows:

- common shaking off the yoke of fascism at the price that the bourgeoisie retains the power;

- demagogic phrase: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie supposedly "share" their power temporarily;

- empty promises: holding out the perspective of an allegedly "peaceful road to socialism".

Every Marxist knows:

Anyone who tries to propagate the bourgeois anti-fascism behind the mask of alleged "socialist" anti-fascism, is not a Marxist, but a traitor to Marxism, is a revisionist.

The exploiters and oppressors will never renounce or share their power. Voluntarily, they will never subordinate themselves under the exploited and oppressed classes. Therefore, the proletarian anti-fascist concept can be nothing else than the destruction of fascism and social-fascism through the hegemonial power of the revolutionary world proletariat.

## **Dimitrov and his criticism on the so called "sectarian, stereotype revolutionary phraseology"**

From this perspective, we must understand Dimitrov's anti-Marxist criticism of the alleged "sectarianism". In this particular context, Dimitrov uses quite aware the term of the so-called *"avoidance of revolutionary phraseology"* :

*"We have intentionally thrown out the stereotype phrases of the revolutionary perspectives both from the reports and decisions of the Congress"* (Speech of Dimitrov in its final Session on 20 August 1935; protocols of the VII World Congress, page 977, translation from German edition).

This clear sentence speaks volumes and characterizes the provoking and insulting manner in which Dimitrov cowardly denounced the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Well, in the truest sense of the word, Dimitrov had really "thrown" the Classics of Marxism-Leninism "over board" - and the phraseology of this apostate sounds like the triumph over the end of the Leninist-Stalinist Comintern.

The "Stalinism", liberated from the shell of the "revolutionary phrase", is nothing more than the naked, unconcealed revisionism of Dimitrov.

With the enforcement of the new course, the biggest obstacle had been "overcome" - the Stalinist course of the VI World Congress ! The accusation of "sectarianism" and "revolutionary phraseology" was applied against no other than comrade Stalin.

We can not prove the truth of the one words of Dimitrov by means of other words of Dimitrov. We must measure his words by his deeds, and not according to his words.

In truth, he was not at all *"the leader of the world proletariat"* , but most of the time which Dimitrov had spent as the general secretary, was preparing, implementing and terminating the dissolution of the Comintern. Indeed, Dimitrov became the liquidator and receiver in insolvency of the Comintern.

According to the new course of the VII Congress, the supposedly "sectarian" Comintern line of the RILU was abandoned without any ado or fuss - and the RILU summarily disbanded. The RILU did not fit into the new concept of the "united front" of Dimitrov.

The RILU was the own child of the Comintern. RILU was not founded by sectarians. RILU was created under the guidance of Lenin. Historical fact is: Under the leadership of Lenin, the RILU was built. Under Stalin's leadership the RILU gained strength by its Bolshevization. And under the leadership of Dimitrov the RILU was liquidated and dissolved. Even in the case if the critique of Dimitrov would be correct, Marxist-Leninists would never eliminate their sectarian faults by means of the dissolution of their communist organisations ! However Dimitroff did it.

How can the decisions of the VI World Congress be called *"stereotypical revolutionary phrases"* whereas the RILU has implemented the Stalinist united front policy in the factories substantially correct and successful? The fact is: The influence of RILU within the workers' world movement increased in times of the Stalinist VI Congress. In contrast, the influence decreased particularly after the VII Congress under the leadership of Dimitrov. May everybody prove whether even a single Stalinist task [ essential decisions, made BEFORE the VII Congress] had been fulfilled AFTER the VII World Congress - at least rudimentary. Since there is nothing to prove, comrades, because the course change of the Seventh World Congress was already the death sentence on the Comintern. The VII Congress heralded the beginning of the end of the Comintern.

That what Dimitrov tried to sell as a "continuation" of the traditional line of the Comintern, "only modified by new conditions", was in truth the sellout of the Comintern for the thin pottage of the class-reconciliation of the Popular Front. The opportunist leaders of Comintern put the traditional Leninist-Stalinist course, the revolutionary spirit of the Comintern, to sleep which was tantamount to the ruination and downfall of the Comintern. With the abolition of the Comintern, the revisionists hoped to close this chapter for all times. They wanted to leave the past behind them, namely as soon as possible. They tried



to put the Kybosh on the Comintern. The leaders of the Comintern let the activities lapse successively or put them on hold - until the Comintern vanished into thin air. The Comintern had done its historical part and should not be needed any further. The Comintern was doomed to remain superfluous forever.

Back to the RILU:

Enver Hoxha supported the policy of the new Marxist-Leninist parties who base themselves expressively on the Stalinist decisions of the Sixth World Congress - namely the strengthening of the revolutionary forces of the trade unions within and without the Yellow Unions. Insofar, Enver Hoxha was therefore not for the dissolution of the RILU, and this means that he was not supporting the liquidationist line of Dimitrov in the question of the unions. Enver Hoxha has supported the Marxist-Leninist parties in their Stalinist course of their union activities. He drew a clear demarcation-line against the reformist and social-fascist trade unions. Simultaneously he gave the advice to avoid sectarian deviations in the revolutionary struggle against the Yellow Unions. Stalin had given the same advice. Quite the contrary - Dimitrov. He has sought the blessing of the "anti-sectarianism" at the Seventh World Congress, and thus in 1937, he needed no longer bother with the political justification of the dissolution of the RILU. Concerning the revision of old Comintern decisions - there was no more need for consideration of decisions from below. And, after the VII World Congress, there was not a single decision from below. The remainders of Marxism-Leninism which the VII World Congress had spared, were later on completely removed by Dimitrov. The question of the unions was not an isolated case. This question is mentioned here on behalf of all other questions of the international class struggle.

Let us never forget what Lenin had stated in *"The terms of admission into the Communist International"* (this is, of course, totally in contrast to Dimitrov's dissolution of the RILU = openly anti-Leninist !! ):

"10. It is the duty of any party belonging to the Communist International to wage a determined struggle against the Amsterdam 'International' of yellow trade unions. Its indefatigable propaganda should show the organised workers the need to break with the Yellow Amsterdam International. It must give every support to the emerging international federation of the Red trade unions which are associated with the Communist International" (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 31, page 209 - 210, English version - Second World Congress of the Comintern - underlined by the Comintern (SH)).

Dimitrov used a correct definition of sectarianism supposedly in defense of the Stalinist Comintern line. But in reality, his maneuver served the further strengthening of the right opportunism, against which the main front of the battle had to be waged:

*"In particular, sectarianism reflects the overestimation of the revolution of the masses, the overestimation of the speed of turning away from the positions of reformism, in attempts to skip difficult stages and complex tasks of the movement"* (Dimitrov, Protocols of the VII World Congress, German edition, reprinted by the publisher "Neuer Weg", Stuttgart, 1976, Vol I, page 374).

Let us fight fire with fire ! Let us transform this definition of Dimitrov into our Stalinist-Hoxhaist criticism on the VII World Congress:

In particular, the right opportunism manifests in the underestimation of the revolutionization of the masses, in the underestimation of the speed of their turning away from the positions of reformism, in the attempts, to delay the revolutionary tasks of the anti-fascist movement - clinging tightly to (or rather surrender to) difficult stages and complex tasks of the movement.

## **Two contrary positions of the unity front policy**

We distinguish two fundamentally different ideological positions of the united front policy:

### **1. Marxist-Leninist position:**

- united front of the working class in the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie - with the aim of communism;
- delineation from the so called "united front" of the opportunist leaders and isolation of their harmful effect on the masses; fight against "left" and right deviations, against all kinds of opportunism, against social democracy, revisionism and neo-revisionism; every kind of concession to some variant of opportunism in the united front policy is absolutely not allowed;
- dissociating the peasantry from the influence of fascism, and generally, isolating the petty bourgeoisie from the influence of the capitalist class; with the maximal aim: to transform the most progressive elements into a reserve of the proletarian revolution; with the minimal aim: at least neutralization of the wavering shifts of the society;
- providing an ever broader mass movement for the revolutionary overthrow;
- creation of a common anti-fascist front with the peoples who are subjugated by imperialism;
- advancing the united front of the working class as a lever for the world proletarian revolution;
- transforming the policy of the anti-fascist united front into the establishment and defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat - for the construction of socialism.
- elimination of the inevitability of fascism and war;
- alliance with anyone in favor of the working class, the socialist revolution and communism;
- rejection of any alliance that could hurt the working class and that could restrict its revolutionary influence;
- **imperative leadership of the unity front by the communists, by Comintern and her affiliated Sections in every country**

### **2. the opportunist position:**

#### **a) the right-opportunist variant:**

- abolition of fascism by a peaceful policy of the united front; ( united front as a peaceful instrument instead of an instrument of class war );
- **liquidation of illegal party structures in favor of opportunistic legalism;**
- **dissolution of the Comintern;**
- the Marxist-Leninist line is fought as "dogmatic" and "sectarian", and isolated from the masses (blamed to be allegedly "in the service" of the fascists).
- embracing and strangulating the "sectarian" communist movement by means of its assimilation in the spontaneous movement;
- subordination to the spontaneous movement = subordination to the bourgeoisie;
- "The movement is everything, the goal nothing !" (Bernstein);
- "Popular Front" is not needed for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but serves as a "substitution" of the revolution (the bourgeoisie saves her bacon by means of the "Popular Front" );
- widening of the united front by means of the alliances with the "left"-wing of the

bourgeoisie;

- basic concessions to the bourgeoisie;
- waiver of the class struggle - instead, reconciliation between oppressing and oppressed classes;
- after the fall of fascism truce with the bourgeoisie;
- bourgeois democracy (parliamentarism), combined with the "option" of peaceful transition into (bourgeois) "socialism";
- rejection of a genuine soviet republic of workers, peasants and soldiers;
- abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and abandonment of the socialist world revolution ;
- renunciation of communist organizations and actions (communist ideas may be "allowed" for the past and future, however in the capitalist present - which will be maintained - communist activities will not be tolerated);
- change through rapprochement up to merger with revisionist and social-democratic (anti-communist) organizations and actions;
- slight temporary concessions to the working class (carrots and sticks);
- elimination of fascism "on time" - with simultaneously maintaining the capitalist system;

**b) the "left"-opportunist variant:**

- fundamental rejection of the Marxist-Leninist united front tactics ( sectarianism - exceptionally used in the true Marxist-Leninist sense of the word);
- waiver of the creation and strengthening of the proletarian mass base;
- rejection of implementing the united front policy within reactionary and counter-revolutionary mass organisations;;
- premature shouldering arms and "making" revolution single-handedly without carrying along the masses.
- contempt of the revolutionary alliance with the poor peasants;
- waiver of reserves from the middle class;
- solely proletarian leadership is equated with the waiver of alliances of the united front;
- fundamental rejection of compromise, no willingness to tactical concessions if it is beneficial for the revolution;
- skipping of revolutionary stages;
- the Marxist-Leninist position of the united front policy is combated as a "right-opportunism";

Lenin:

"The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this do not understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern Socialism in general." (Lenin: "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder")

**c) the centrist variant :**

- centrists = lackeys of the opportunists in the united front policy (concessions to the opportunists);
- making waverings, factionism, disunity etc. within the united front policy as a matter of principle (Justification of the opportunist position in the united front - under the guise of a

"Marxist-Leninist" phraseology);

- reconciliation between the Marxist-Leninist and the opportunist position of the united front policy ( or: playing off against each other);
- fusion of Marxist-Leninist and opportunist organizations

**Democratic and socialist struggle against war and fascism are to be linked together dialectically - the democratic struggle is subordinated under the socialist struggle.**

One must not confuse or mix up the various historical conditions of a democratic and a socialist struggle against fascism and war. We assume that - independently of these two different objectives - the sovereign leadership of the working class is always indispensable.

The main difference between the opportunist and the revolutionary anti-fascist unity front is this:

The opportunist tactics content itself with the role of the proletariat as the main driving force. The revolutionary tactics means more than that. The revolutionary tactics requires the leadership of the proletariat for the transformation of the anti-fascist struggle into the socialist revolution. Fascism will be replaced by socialism. Fascism will be replaced by proletarian democracy and not by bourgeois democratism. Fascism will be replaced by the proletarian Soviet system and not by bourgeois parliamentarism. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (independently from its different forms) will be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Anti-fascism is not the restoration of parliamentarism, but destruction of capitalism - inclusively the destruction of the whole political bourgeois superstructure.

A bourgeois revolution (as against Tsarism), if not led by the working class, can basically be not much more than a reformation, as Lenin emphasized. And aim of the bourgeois "anti-fascism" is not about the elimination, but not much more than the reformation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The solution to the question of classes remains thereby unaffected.

The main point is the leadership of the anti-fascist struggle through the revolutionary proletariat. This means at first that the proletariat - as a sovereign class - leads its own independant anti-fascist class-struggle. And secondly, it means that the proletariat is the leader of the anti-fascist forces of all the other classes - namely the representative of the anti-fascist interests of the whole society, of the whole mankind.

It's about the question of alliance with whom and not with whom.

In the *democratic* anti-fascist struggle, the allies of the proletariat can not be exactly the same as in the *socialist* anti-fascist struggle. If circumstances permit, the revolutionary proletariat leads directly and without further ado the socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie, mainly with the poor peasants and the rural proletariat.

However, if the circumstances do not allow this directly, then you have to care for additional allies to achieve the goal in a roundabout way. But once all the hurdles are taken and all obstacles are out of the way, then nothing prevents us from getting to take the socialist revolution in attack. And that means nothing else than that *some* of our former allies mutate into our *opponents*. Then we must expose and fight them in the eyes of the masses.

Once our allies are willing and able to follow the working class on the road to socialist revolution, then the day "X" begins with the armed uprising - and thus without any delay - and without putting down the weapons afterwards. Outside of armed revolutionary class struggle, or where the Marxist-Leninist doctrine went missing, the victory over fascism and war will be only a naive short dream; and socialism will remain not more than a

revolutionary phrase.

The Seventh World Congress was of the mistaken view that - with the victory of socialism in the USSR - fascism would cease to be *inevitable*. In contrast, Marxism-Leninism teaches that the inevitability of fascism will only cease if socialism is victorious *on a world scale*.

The Seventh World Congress spread the dangerous thesis that the world revolution became *superfluous* and *expendable*: first, by the so called "omnipotence" of the united front against fascism and war, and secondly by the so-called "irrevocable" victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. Let's begin with our criticism on the so-called "omnipotence" of the anti-fascist united front.

## **The revisionist character of the UNITED FRONT POLICY OF DIMITROV**

It is said that the thesis of Marxism-Leninism that imperialism inevitably brings forth fascism, would be "outdated".

It is said this thesis would be refuted by the theses of Dimitrov, namely that the mobilization of a powerful anti-fascist united front of the vast masses could shield from fascist terror, and that his theses would mean the end of the inevitability of fascism by means of the "*pressure from below*". This is wrong.

Stalin teaches:

"Owing to pressure from below, the pressure of the masses, the bourgeoisie may sometimes concede certain partial reforms while remaining on the basis of the existing social-economic system. Acting in this way, it calculates that these concessions are necessary in order to preserve its class rule. This is the essence of reform. Revolution, however, means the transference of power from one class to another. That is why it is impossible to describe any reform as revolution. That is why we cannot count on the change of social systems taking place as an imperceptible transition from one system to another by means of reforms, by the ruling class making concessions." (Stalin, Works, Volume 14, page 22, German edition, KPD/ML 1971)

The anti-fascist united front policy of Dimitrov confines itself to the goal of forming a bourgeois popular front (with the Social Democrats, for example) to fight for the elimination of fascism. This bourgeois popular front had specifically NOT the goal to revolutionarily destroy the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system of exploitation. The bourgeois popular front refuses categorically to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on the ruins of the fascist state. The classic target of the violent armed socialist revolution of the proletariat had been expressively abandoned and replaced by the "peaceful" united front tactic of Dimitrov. In essence, Dimitrov limited himself to the bourgeois democracy as the goal of his anti-fascist struggle. This is proved by historical facts, though hidden behind revolutionary phrases.

The anti-fascist concept of Dimitrov thus differed fundamentally from the revolutionary concept of the Bolsheviks against the brutal reactionary counter-revolution of Tsarism. The bourgeois revolution against Tsarism did not end halfway with the democratic February Revolution. It was continued until the victory of the Socialist Great October Revolution under the leadership of the Russian proletariat. The October Revolution swept away the bourgeois "democracy" and realized the proletarian democracy through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So you can not equate the objectives of the October Revolution and the objectives of the "Popular Front" of Dimitrov without pulling the wool over the eyes of the anti-fascist masses. The one matter was the violent revolutionary road to socialism - that was the aim

of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin! The other was the so called "peaceful" way to socialism - that was the "Comintern" under the leadership of Dimitrov.

One can only go one way, either the way of Lenin and Stalin OR the way of Dimitrov. Both ways are diametrically opposed and incompatible. For us Stalinist-Hoxhaists there is - unlike the revisionists - no "peaceful" transition to socialism.

That is why the "peaceful" way towards socialism is not basis of the revolutionary, proletarian united front against fascism. And it can also be no unity with the Second International for the "peaceful" way to socialism. The unprincipled "happy medium" - together with the bourgeoisie - will be strictly rejected by the Comintern (SH). We draw a line of unbridgeable demarcation to all political organizations which defend the revisionist unity front policy of Dimitrov.

With support from the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin all people's democracies have had the real possibility of the socialist revolution and the establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was facilitated through the victory of the Red Army over Hitler-fascism - through the weakened position of the national bourgeoisie of the Eastern countries, in particular, and through the weakened position of world imperialism, in general.

Only Albania, which was guided by genuine Stalinism, created the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, all the other people's democracies, which were guided by the spirit of revisionist united front of the Comintern, who united themselves with the parties of the bourgeois social democracy, who turned away from comrade Stalin, who followed Krushchev, etc. - they all have NOT built up socialism, but social-fascism. In these revisionist countries, the workers and peasants were exploited and oppressed by the new bourgeoisie and her social-fascist state.

Only a people's revolution, which struggled for the violent destruction of the brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, paved the way of the transition to the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But that would be no longer the anti-fascist Popular Front movement of Dimitrov which is based on the collaboration with the bourgeoisie. That is in the contrary, a revolutionary movement for the overthrow of capitalism, a movement that is not only socialist in words but also in deeds.

And at this crucial point we ask the question: what does it mean to split the united front of the working class against fascism and war ?

Dimitrov charged communists with the crime of "leftist" disrupters. Moreover, he waged his struggle primarily against the so called "sectarians" and not primarily against the rightist leaders of the social democracy. Communists were eliminated who refused to follow his reconciliatory course towards social democracism.

The Seventh World Congress treated those Communists as breakers and enemies who continued to fight for the socialist revolution - in opposition to the revisionist Popular Front policy of Dimitrov.

We ask:

Can the definition of Lenin of the united front of the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat be equated with the united front of the working class for a democratic-bourgeois revolution?

Can the first one be subordinated under the second one?

Can the united front of the working class for the temporary, time-limited elimination of war and fascism be equated with the united front of the working class for the elimination of the inevitability of war and fascism?

We think that one can not equate.

Therefore, the united front of the working class in the struggle for the elimination of the inevitability of fascism and war can never be a *"divisive, subversive activity"*. On the contrary:

The aim of the Communists is: transforming the liberation front of the people against

fascism and war seamlessly (ie without an intermediate stage - as Lenin said) into a higher quality for the elimination of the inevitability of fascism and war, namely into a united front which makes priority of the socialist revolution, the destruction of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was Dimitrov who refused this. And it was Enver Hoxha who mastered it.

For what purpose did Dimitrov use the Popular Front ?

He needed the Popular Front because he hoped to weaken the revolutionary forces through exceeding concessions towards social democratism. He hoped to convince the workers that the reformist unity front policy would be better than the "sectarian" (revolutionary) tactics. In contrast of Dimitrov, we, on our part, need the unity front policy for the purpose to convince the workers to the contrary. We defend the revolutionary unity front tactics of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism which Dimitrov betrayed. Unity is important for us, but more important is the defense of Marxism-Leninism against opportunism. We want unity of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against fascism and not collaboration with the leaders of social democratism in a Popular Front.

Dimitrov ceased to be a communist after he had willingly sacrificed our communist struggle for the abolition of the inevitability of fascism and war. He sacrificed it in favor of " an elimination on time" , in favor of strengthening the influence of opportunism and weakening the influence of Stalinism. This truth can not be covered up with revolutionary phrases.

If Dimitrov invokes the following quotation of Lenin, he did not do it in the spirit of the socialist revolution (as Lenin did it, of course). He misused it for the purpose to justify his revisionist Popular Front policy by means of Leninism. Sacrificing the final interests to the momentary interests, splitting both these tasks, subordinating the final aims under the transitional objectives - all these methods are the well known "united front" policy of the modern revisionists: *"Fusion in words - Fission in deeds!"*

What is the quotation of Lenin which Dimitrov had misused ?

*"The workers do need unity [ namely for the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat ! - remark of the Comintern (SH) ]. And the important thing to remember is that nobody but themselves will 'give' them unity, that nobody can help them achieve unity [ and no Popular Front which rejects the violent revolutionary struggle for socialism - remark of the Comintern (SH) ]. Unity cannot be 'promised' - that would be vain boasting, self-deception; unity cannot be 'created' out of 'agreements' between intellectualist groups. [... and also not out of 'agreements' between labour aristocracy and intellectualist groups - remark of the Comintern (SH) ]. To think so is a profoundly sad, naive, and ignorant delusion. Unity [ for the struggle of the socialist revolution - remark of the Comintern (SH) ] must be won, and only the workers, the class-conscious workers themselves can win it - by stubborn and persistent effort [namely not together with the bourgeoisie but for her revolutionary overthrow - remark of the Comintern (SH) ].*

Nothing is easier than to write the word 'unity' in yard-long letters, to promise it [ with the unity front policy of Dimitrov - remark of the Comintern (SH) ] and to 'proclaim' oneself an advocate of unity [ as this is usually for all opportunists and revisionists - remark of the Comintern (SH) ]. In reality, however, unity can be furthered only by the efforts and organisation of the advanced workers, of all the class-conscious workers [who, of course fight for the matter of communism - remark of the Comintern (SH) ].

That is not easy [ especially, if there are rightist elements who sacrifice revolutionary unity to reconciliation with the bourgeoisie - remark of the Comintern (SH) ]. That requires effort, perseverance, the solidarity of all class-conscious workers [ ... and not solidarity with the bourgeoisie - remark of the Comintern (SH) ]. But without that effort there is no use talking about working-class unity. [ Lenin, Volume 20, page 319, English version; - remarks by the Comintern(SH) ].

Dimitrov: "The entire course of events since the Seventh Congress of the Comintern

irrefutably confirms the vital necessity of the fastest implementation of its historical slogans about the unity of the working class and the popular front ..." (quoted from: Dimitrov, Volume 3, page 56, "The Popular Front for the struggle against fascism and war," German edition).

In a directive of the ECCI (on May 9, 1941) to the Yugoslav Communists it was stated : "The communist world revolution must be presented as a series of measures to obtain true democracy .... 30% of all leaders of the communist movement must occur as frontline fighters for democracy ... and to cultivate good relations .... to religious circles" (Hoppe, "Darium of the world revolution", page 261, 1967, Oberpfaffenhofen IImgau Publisher). What would Lenin probably answer ?

"The fact is that ' bourgeois labour parties', as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties - or groups, trends, etc.

[ *including the anti-fascist struggle - remark of the Comintern (SH)* ] , it is all the same - there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement [ *or of the struggle against fascism - remark of the Comintern (SH)* ] " (Lenin, collected works, Volume 23, page 118, English edition).

"In every crisis the bourgeoisie will always aid the opportunists, will always try to suppress the revolutionary section of the proletariat, stopping short of nothing and employing the most awful and savage *military* measures. The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution, who in peaceful times carry on their bourgeois work in secret, concealing themselves within the workers' parties, while in times of crisis they *immediately* prove to be open allies of the *entire* united bourgeoisie, from the conservative to the most radical and democratic part of the latter, from the free-thinkers, to the religious and clerical sections" (Lenin, collected works, Volume 21, page 110, English edition).

"Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist *opportunism*." (Lenin, collected works, Volume 18, page 584, English edition).

Everybody knows the bitter historical results of the so called "Popular Front" of Dimitrov. The bourgeoisie needed the revisionist concept of the Popular Front for the purpose to prevent the proletariat from overthrowing the bourgeoisie and to acquire political power by means if its revolutionary anti-fascist united front. Without the revisionists, the bourgeoisie would not be in a position to exercise significant influence over the working masses. And so the anti-fascist united front of the revolutionary proletarians were cheated by the revisionists. Dimitrov concealed this truth at the Seventh World Congress, and for that reason we criticize the VII World Congress. We communists will never forget that the workers came from the rain (= fascism) to worse (= social fascism). This was a double crime against the working class! This crime against the proletariat and the peoples can not be undone. But we would bear the name of Stalinist Hoxhaists wrongly if we do not do anything to prevent such a double crime in the future with a vengeance.

Hitler's fascism was not the last fascism, in particular, and fascism will be restored unavoidably, in general, if the proletariat would furthermore follow the revisionist "anti-fascist" united front tactics of Dimitrov.

To eliminate Nazism, one would have to eliminate the German imperialism. Stalin brought the Hitler-Fascists to their knees with socialist weapons and thus created excellent conditions for the destruction of the German imperialism. However, the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie was impossible without the socialist revolution of the German proletariat. But the revisionists as Ulbricht, Pieck and Co have thwarted the historic opportunity of the revolutionary establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The merger of the German social-democrats and modern revisionists caused unavoidably the social-fascist and social-imperialist development of the German Democratic Republic and its subjugation under the Soviet imperialist super power. This taught us Hoxhaism which



was irrefutably proved by history.

The social-fascism of the modern revisionists was not the last social fascism, and will not be the last social-fascism, if the world proletariat would follow furthermore the class-reconciliatory line of Dimitrov. In order to prevent social-fascism, the revolutionary proletariat had to overthrow the revisionist Cliques in their countries by means of the socialist revolution - namely under the leadership of a truly Bolshevik Party.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat is now on the agenda of the anti-fascist united front of the world proletariat. The fatal experience of the fusion of social democracy and modern revisionists in the past has shown that there can be no unity or fusion with the neo-revisionists at present and in future. Those who want to form a world-front of anti-fascism together with the revisionists and neo-revisionists (let alone the "united front" with social-fascist states!), will never be able to abolish world capitalism and its replacement by world socialism. That is the Stalinist-Hoxhaist lesson of the betrayal of Dimitrov.

Not by means of Dimitrov, but by means of the teachings of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism, can fascism / social-fascism be abolished irretrievably on a global scale.

Therefore, the general-line of the Comintern (SH) says expressively:

The revolutionary world proletariat has to destroy world imperialism to eliminate the inevitability of world fascism. The revolutionary world proletariat has to eliminate world's social imperialism to eliminate the inevitability of world's social fascism. The essence is that fascism cannot be abolished without the victory over social-fascism.

This is the path of the Comintern (SH) which will finally guarantee the victory over fascism. The Dimitroff'sche way, however, leads into the capitulation, leads to the maintenance of the domination of the world bourgeoisie. On the way of Dimitrov the fall of world imperialism will not be shortened but delayed - with the familiar consequences of the further repetition of war and fascism.

Hitler's fascism was *defeated*, but *not destroyed*. The German imperialism, which nurtured fascism, stayed maintained as a basis of international capital, as a basis for the restoration of fascism.

Today, the bourgeoisie is engaged in the restoration of fascism against the insurgent exploited classes - partly with nationalist occurrence, which is, more or less, hidden behind many masks. Last not least world-fascism is hidden behind the global mask of the so-called "anti-terrorism" and so-called "anti-imperialism". The restoration of fascism and the globalization of war and fascism by the world bourgeoisie must be combated by a new global front of anti-fascism - as a powerful lever for the socialist, proletarian world revolution.

Hitler fascism is still alive because of German imperialism has survived. The imperialist world order developed new covert and overt forms of fascism. Fascism got "harmless"-sounding etiquettes for the purpose of deceiving the masses. The neo-fascism serves the bourgeoisie to restore fascism.

Just as capitalism evolves into world capitalism, fascism also evolves into world fascism. Accordingly, the anti-fascism evolves into anti-world-fascism.

Just as fascism emanated from nationalist roots, world fascism emanates from roots of the bourgeois world order.

Just as the nationalist roots must be uprooted by the countries under the leadership of the proletariat, the cosmopolitan roots must be uprooted by means of the common struggle of the peoples under the leadership of the world proletariat.

Crucial for the anti-fascist struggle in the present conditions of globalization that is the trend of globalized fascism. This trend developed towards a dominant trend. The social-fascist elements of the Social Democratism and revisionism, and also that of the eco-fascism, they all together pave the way towards world fascism with the intention to save the capitalist world order from ruin - against the uprising of the world proletariat and the

toiling masses. Fascism is the outmost emergency brake to stop the socialist world revolution. You can not fight against today's globalized fascism with exactly the same methods as in the time of Hitler's fascism . That would be a disaster with a yet larger scale. Anti-fascists and anti-imperialists ! Turn away from the path of the VII World Congress ! No fooling pacts with the bourgeoisie ! Forward with the socialist world revolution !

The elimination of the inevitability of social fascism begins with the destruction of the influence of revisionism in one's own country and this struggle is finally completed on a world scale through the victory of the socialist world revolution. The era of revisionism in power ends as an epoch of social fascism in power.

Fascism differs from social fascism only in its open and hidden form - in essence they are the same. It goes without saying that the Comintern (SH) - conditioned by globalized character of fascism - will have a far greater importance than the Comintern in the fight against Nazism. Suffice it to say that, today, we have additionally to cope with social-fascist states which was not yet the case at the time of the Comintern . The elimination of the inevitability of world fascism thus requires an anti-fascist struggle of a more complex global type, of a powerful lever of world socialist revolution. To eliminate the inevitability of the social-fascist ideology , ie particular its spread throughout the world, means last not least to destroy the inevitability of the ideology of neo-revisionism on a world scale. So if one does not want to learn from the mistakes of the VII World Congress, then one will inevitably go the bourgeois way, the capitalist road, will perish, so as the Comintern of Dimitrov perished.

The nature of the decisions of the Seventh Congress that was the limitation to a temporary elimination of fascism and thus undermining the removal of its inevitability. Thus, the decisions of the Seventh Congress served the maintenance of the power of the bourgeoisie, in general, and as a pioneer of the later social fascism in power, in particular. At the Seventh World Congress the revisionists were yet too weak to act against socialism openly. The revisionists were forced to hide behind Stalinism because Stalinism was much too strong as to be beaten on an open battle-field. And what did the Albanian communists do? They simply turned the tables. Everything in the policies of the VII World Congress served to hide the rightist turn behind the veil of socialism. But the Albanians literally took this cloak as correct line - and thus against the intentions of the revisionists namely to turn the Comintern hiddenly to the right. This can be easily concluded from the following interesting quotations of comrade Enver Hoxha:

"Fascism had eliminated not only the national independence of the occupied countries, but also all democratic freedoms, and had even buried bourgeois democracy itself. Therefore, the war against fascism had to be not only a war for national liberation but also a war for the defense and development of democracy. As regards the communist parties, the achievement of these two objectives had to be linked with the struggle for socialism."

[Enver Hoxha: "Euro-communism is Anti-communism", page 56, KPD/ML, 1980, German edition - underlined by the Comintern (SH)].

Enver Hoxha called for the "tasks of the war for independence and democracy with the struggle for socialism". (Enver Hoxha: "Euro-communism is Anti-communism", page 56, KPD/ML, 1980, German edition).

Enver Hoxha criticized those who, "had not properly understood and did not apply the directives of the 7th Congress of the Communist International" ( ibid. page 57)

Today, the Comintern (SH) can criticize even clearer the false-faced decisions of the Seventh Congress. Indeed, the critical attitude of Comrade Enver Hoxha against the VII World Congress were ultimately proved by his Marxist-Leninist actions. Namely he interpreted the guidelines of the Seventh World Congress in the sense of Stalinism and implement them accordingly into an anti-revisionist practice. That is why we defend Enver Hoxha.

Only in Albania, the victory in the anti-fascist war of liberation turned into a victory of the

dictatorship of the proletariat by the people's revolution and its transition to the socialist revolution for the construction of socialism in Albania. But after the death of Enver Hoxha, the the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the social-fascist dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie under the leadership of Ramiz Ali clique did unfortunately not lead to the desired result of the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. The struggle for this revolutionary aim will go on, and is supported by the Comintern (SH). The Albanian proletariat was defeated because the PLA of Comrade Enver Hoxha had been smashed by the social-fascist counterrevolution. The revisionists in power hiding behind the name of Enver Hoxha with the intention to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat from behind and to build up social fascism for the restoration of capitalism. The fragmented communist movement in Albania is still undermined by the remainders of social-fascist elements. Therefore it is the task of the Albanian Hoxhaists to free themselves from neo-revisionism and centrism. The task of the Albanian communists of today is the creation of their Albanian Section of the Comintern (SH), which stands on the solid ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. Other than by a self-critical renunciation from Dimitrov, the Albanian communists can not march forward and reconstruct socialism on the proud way of Enver Hoxha!

That is what it means, to learn from the false decisions of the Seventh Congress, that is what it means to march forward on the honorable path of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin,

that is what it means, to gain a global victory over the ideology of neo-revisionism, that is what it means, to be a true Stalinist-Hoxhaist who holds high the treasure of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against world fascism.

At the Comintern of Dimitrov is "only that" criticized what would not harm its deviation from the line of Stalinism. This is not at all a Marxist criticism if it tries to distract from unmasking the right-opportunist line of the Comintern. It is rather a criticism which does not defend the spirit of the Leninist-Stalinist Comintern, but only its "Leninist-Stalinist" empty shell without which revisionism can not molt itself into neo-revisionism. It's about the need to unmask the neo-revisionist line in addressing the issue of the right deviation of Dimitrov and of the VII World Congress - and nothing else. The neo-revisionists criticize only that what leaves them an open backdoor in order not to jeopardize the process of molting of the right-opportunist line of the Comintern. Anything that promotes this neo-revisionist molting process, prolongs logically the survival of revisionism, in particular, and moreover the dying process of capitalism, in general.

Breathing pauses which prolong the dying process of capitalism rather than to shorten - are through and through reactionary. Vice versa: Breathing pauses which are unavoidable within the complicated process of the destruction of capitalism - are revolutionary. Driving the world revolution to death - without using necessary breathing pauses - is sectarian. The revisionists appreciate revolutionary breathing pauses in words, however in deeds, they take reactionary breathing pauses. The one line is in the service of the bourgeois counter-revolution, the other is of advantage for the revolutionary proletariat. So it is with the breathing pause that is wrested from fascism. Never breathing spaces for the counter-revolution - that is the revolutionary line of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism. However, by his right-opportunist line, Dimitrov supplied the bourgeoisie with a breathing pause in favor of her regeneration. To cover up the class antagonism of these two lines, to consider both lines as a "joint" anti-fascist line, or as a line "above" all classes - that was the treacherous line of Dimitrov and his VII World Congress. The neo-revisionists defend this false line under the guise of their alleged "anti-revisionism". Herein lies the specific danger of neo-revisionism and the need to combat it. Neo-revisionism leads to neo-social-fascism if we fight not consistently enough against the neo-revisionists. It is now the neo-revisionists who justify - or openly support - every social-fascist act, only for preventing the victory of the socialist world revolution.

For the revisionist policy of the XX. Congress of the CPSU, the VII World Congress was in particular a kind of signpost towards social-fascism, namely in so far, as the VII World Congress declared the elimination of a specific, a concrete, a given fascism, thus the Hitler fascism, falsely as a general "elimination of the inevitability of fascism". Without establishment or maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no elimination of the inevitability, neither of fascism nor of social-fascism. Only the Soviet Union and Albania have won a truly socialist victory, because they waged their struggle against fascism on the solid ground of Marxism-Leninism. However, the Comintern had won no *socialist* victory over fascism, precisely because it was dissolved beforehand. With its dissolution, the Comintern helped the bourgeoisie to gain a breathing space, and has thus contributed to more favorable conditions for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. However, neither the world bourgeoisie nor her opportunistic lackeys can endlessly prolong capitalism through breathing pauses because the exploitive and oppressive classes are inevitably forced to make finally room for the revolutionary world proletariat. The inevitability of world socialism is an objective law of social development of mankind. The road to proletarian socialism was wide open - Stalin's Red Army smashed Nazi-Fascism. It would have been indispensable that the Comintern increase tenfold its efforts for the active support of the socialist triumph of Stalinism all over the world - for the socialist world revolution. In that situation, all the needed revolutionary weapons were available for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. There were soldiers, workers and peasants who could create a Soviet Republic upon the ruins of fascism - but there were no genuine leading Bolshevik parties. Instead, that the workers launch the final blow against the totally weakened, war-weary and economically bled bourgeoisie, thus instead of taking up revolutionary arms for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers were subjected to the Popular Front alliance with the bourgeoisie. The Comintern was already dissolved and its Sections were paralyzed by the revisionist leaders. And without the Comintern, without its Bolshevik Sections, it was impossible for the working class to seize power and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead, the revisionists of the bourgeoisie helped back on their feet, who liquidated the revolutionary workers' organizations, respectively, merged them with the social democratic organizations to bring them better under control. After the war, the conditions for the socialist world revolution had never been better, but by the growing influence of the revisionists, the workers were prevented from establishing their dictatorship of the proletariat on the ruins of fascism. In the society of classes, class struggle is raging - "Who - Whom?" Finally, this class struggle will be decided through the world proletariat - by means of the revolution and not by means of reformism. Fascism is the most brutal form of class rule of the bourgeoisie - to the point of holocaust. Fascism is never reformable. Therefore, there is no "reformistic victory" over fascism. Fascism must be smashed - namely through not other than revolutionary violence of the oppressed and exploited people.

### **Kautskyism sneaked through the back door of the VII World Congress**

Betraying the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to barter them away, to combat it as "sectarianism" etc - Dimitrov was not the first renegade who had treaded this way. Before him, Kautsky ( Otto Bauer and all the other renegades ...) had already treaded this way. It is all too obvious that the old Kautskyism sneaked through the back door of the VII World Congress.

The "theory" of Kautsky was only dressed in a Stalinist shell.

In essence, the Popular Front government of the type of Dimitrov is not much different to the old reformist "People's State"-idea of social democratism. It is noteworthy that Dimitrov, without any self-criticism, abandoned his criticism of the interim government after the VII

World Congress (whereas he had yet defended this criticism at the Seventh World Congress). Anyway, to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of a "peaceful" way, corresponded exactly with the same opportunistic line of Kautskyism:

Kautsky:

"Between the period of the democratic state - governed purely by the bourgeoisie and then purely governed by the proletariat - lies a period of transformation of the one into the other. This equates to a political transition period in which the government is normally a coalition government" (Karl Kautsky, "The Proletarian Revolution and its program, "Stuttgart, 1922, page 106, German edition).

However, Marxism-Leninism teaches that the proletarian state can only be built on the ruins of the bourgeois state. In this respect, all the Classics of Marxism-Leninism have principally rejected such kinds of coalition government of the "peaceful" transition from capitalism to socialism:

"The class that has conquered political power, does so with the knowledge that it takes it over single-handedly" (Stalin, Problems of Leninism).

We Marxist-Leninists reject any "deals" made from the bourgeoisie and not barter away the socialist revolution for a coalition with the bourgeoisie !

There are comrades who compare Dimitrov's tactics against fascism with Lenin's tactics of the NEP, namely for the purpose, to give Dimitrov's tactics a "Leninist" touch.

This comparison is uneven and misleading. The NEP was a successful step to create a socialist Russia. Dimitrov shook hands with the forerunners of fascism, and thus facilitated the survival of capitalism. Lenin, in contrast, shook hands only with those capitalists who supported the construction of socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was never shared with the bourgeoisie - namely at no point in time within the whole period of the NEP. But Dimitrov supported a Popular Front government which was shared with the bourgeoisie.

In 1947 Dimitrov began to collaborate with Tito, this first Revisionist in power. Dimitrov signed a "friendship treaty" between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The goal was a federation between the two countries. Romania was invited by Dimitrov in 1948. These Anti-Soviet plans were, of course, not coordinated with Moscow. Therefore, Stalin passed criticism on Dimitrov. This criticism can be read in the "Pravda" (10th February 1948).

In the history of class society there are definitely examples where a new ruling class was temporarily defeated by the old ruling class, and where the emerging classes finally defeated the old classes not until a second or third attempt. There are also some examples where old classes shared their exploitive power with new classes. In the past, all the new classes have nearly completely adopted the old exploitive superstructure of the former society. The old exploiting classes were only substituted by the new exploiting classes. However, the proletariat is no exploitive class and strives for the elimination of exploitive classes. Well, everybody knows that the exploitive bourgeoisie had never and will never share willingly the power of its exploitive state with exploited classes and least of all with the proletariat. In a bourgeois state there is no place for the government of the revolutionary proletariat and in a proletarian state there is no place for the reactionary bourgeoisie. Thus, there is no "hybrid-model" of a state which would unite interests of antagonistic classes. Therefore the proletariat must destroy the exploitive bourgeois state. Without the destruction of the bourgeois state, and without the construction of the socialist (non-exploitive) state, the world proletariat cannot implement its ideas of the stateless society, thus world communism.

The triumphal procession of socialism in "one" country towards world socialism was delayed and interrupted by the modern revisionists - in a period of the restoration of capitalism. Undoubtedly, the modern revisionists could have been defeated if the world proletariat would have been guided by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-

Leninism. The socialist Albania is a brilliant proof for the power of Hoxhaism over modern revisionism. The history of Albania shows: revisionism gains upper hand if Hoxhaism is betrayed. The lessons are clear: There is no dictatorship of the proletariat which the bourgeoisie leaves untouched. There is neither a peaceful way towards nor during socialism. The class struggle against the bourgeoisie is a struggle of life and death within the whole era between capitalism and communism. The proletariat must not give an opportunity for the regeneration of the bourgeoisie, neither after the destruction of fascism, nor after the defeat of socialism, nor ever.

Our goal is not socialism "on time". The world proletariat does not want a sort of socialism, which ends earlier or later in capitalism. The world proletariat only wants a socialism which leads it actually straight to communism. And this is only such a socialism, which is constructed and defended on the solid ground of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The world proletariat does neither want to sink in opportunistic marsh nor end in the revisionist swamp. The world proletariat will dry it out for evermore. But the revolutionary world proletariat will not ask the neo-revisionists for their "*helping*" hand ! Instead, we must destroy neo-revisionism - completely destroy it and not only beat it ! That means we must give it no respite for the revival of the power of revisionism.

If we let free space for the strengthening of neo-revisionism by our reconciliation then we will never be able to overcome the inevitability of revisionism.

So if we want to destroy revisionism then we must mainly destroy neo-revisionism, namely both the specific, concrete forms of neo-revisionism (ie: Neo-Titoism, Neo-Krushchevism, Neo-Maoism etc. ), which emanated specifically from the historical branch of modern revisionism (ie: Titoism, Krushchevism, Maoism etc. ) and the neo-revisionism (generalized) as part of the whole system of the ideology of the bourgeoisie, which has molted (= desquamated; as a dialectical process of the negation of the negation) in the course of the whole preceding history of revisionism.

Revisionism is the adaption of the bourgeois ideology to the Marxist ideology.

Neo-Revisionism is the adaption of the bourgeois ideology to Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

There is, therefore, no further development of Stalinism-Hoxhaism without sharpest demarcation from neo-revisionism.

The molting of revisionism is precisely its survival concept. In particular, the molting of revisionism is always needed for its further adaption to the advanced development of Marxism ( up to Hoxhaism). Without advancement of Marxism the communist movement cannot further develop. And without revisionist advancement of adaption to further developed Marxism (Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism), the bourgeoisie is unable to defeat the communist movement for the purpose of maintaining her capitalist rule.

And in the case of Dimitrov, he misused Stalinism as a cloak for revisionism. Thus, the ideology of Dimitrov is part of all the other revisionist ideas which developed their stage of adaption to Leninism further towards the stage of adaption to Stalinism.

Can we define our Stalinist-Hoxhaist demarcation line against the revisionist deviation of Dimitrov and the VII World Congress more clearly ?

It is without saying that the Stalinist-Hoxhaist criticism on Dimitrov and the VII World Congress is the most powerful criticism at the revisionist Change of the Comintern. At least, it will be very difficult for our opponents if they want to refute our criticism.

At a time when Stalin was very active at the Sixth Congress, he advised as early as 1928 in his essay "*On the Right danger in the CPSU (B)*" against people "who are striving to adapt communism to Social-Democratism ...

... A victory of the Right deviation in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries would mean the ideological rout of the Communist Parties and an enormous strengthening of Social-Democratism. And what does an enormous strengthening of Social-Democratism mean? It means the strengthening and consolidation of capitalism, for Social-Democracy

is the main support of capitalism in the working class" (Stalin Works, Volume 11, page 199, German edition).

And, far-seeing, Stalin established a connection with the right danger in the Soviet Union: " ... the Right deviation in communism signifies a tendency ... to depart from the general line of our Party in the direction of bourgeois ideology" (Stalin Works, Volume 11, page 200, German edition).

"... a victory of the Right deviation in our Party would mean a development of the conditions necessary *for the restoration* of capitalism in our country" (Stalin Works, Volume 11, page 201, German edition).

These words of Stalin can be transferred exactly to the right deviation of the general-line of the Comintern.

Dimitrov expected a process of polarization within social democracy - caused under the pressure of fascism. Accordingly, he divided the social democracy in a "progressive" and reactionary part, even in a reactionary and "progressive" part of the leadership of the Social Democrats, with the goal to be able to unite initially with the "left" wing of the Social Democracy [remark of the Comintern (SH): later on, the modern revisionists created the term of the "right-opportunist" Social Democratism which ought to be "combated" by merging with all the "progressive" rest of the Social Democrats.]

The fact is that there has never been a sole left leader of the Social Democrats since the betrayal of the Second International. So, the adaption to the "left" wing of social democracy, this was clearly the starting position towards complete class reconciliation - a classical centrist position for the strengthening of the rightist and centrist leaders of the VII World Congress. The big problem was it, how to succeed in the balance between the adaption of communism to social democracy, on the one hand, and feigning "the continuation of the Leninist-Stalinist tradition" of the Comintern, on the other hand. And there was nobody who mastered this balancing better than Dimitrov. He successfully paved the way for reconciliation between communism and social democracy with all the disastrous consequences of which Stalin had warned in 1928.

Only in an inner revolutionary process, a truly left wing of the Social Democrats could succeed in splitting and dividing the Party of the Social Democrats. And only in this case the genuine revolutionary workers would have left their Social Democrat Party in protest and would go over to the Communist Party. But the VII World Congress did not want this case to be understood as the actual united front of communist and social democratic workers. In fact, the defectors were no Social Democrats but Communists !

The united front tactic is a tactic that allows us communists, to extend our influence to wider shifts of the people. But in no way we must confuse tactics and ideology. An ideological united front between antagonistic classes, between the bourgeois and the proletarian ideology, can never and will never exist. Such a "united front" would always and inevitably result in the subordination of the proletarian ideology under the bourgeois ideology.

The ideology of the working class is not divisible, just as the working class is not divisible. This means that we must never put down our proletarian weapons of ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the Social Democracy, revisionism, opportunism etc., if we form our tactical united front against fascism and war.

Without previous ideological disarmament of the bourgeoisie and her lackeys, there is no military victory over fascism and war. On the contrary, particularly in the situation of the United Front, we have to increase our struggle against the anti-people character of the reactionary bourgeois ideology - including our fight against social fascism. This fight must never be weakened - in no sole moment - because our class-enemies will turn every of our weak points to their favor. Only if the Social Democratic workers have totally understood the critical standpoint of communism about the reactionary character of social democracy (in word and deed), can we speak of a united front in the communist sense.

There can be no question, if the Social Democratic workers and the communist workers would jointly unite under the bourgeois ideology, then they would fall into the arms of the revisionists. And, indeed, this was the historical case after the merger of the Social Democrat and the Communist party.

It is totally true what Stalin had said:

"By developing an uncompromising struggle against Social-Democracy, which is capital's agency in the working class, and by reducing to dust all and sundry deviations from Leninism, which bring grist to the mill of Social-Democracy, the Communist Parties have shown that they are on the right road. They must definitely fortify themselves on this road; for only if they do that can they count on winning over the majority of the working class and successfully prepare the proletariat for the coming class battles. Only if they do that can we count on a further increase in the influence and prestige of the Communist International." (Stalin, Works, "Political Report of the CC to the Sixteenth Congress of the CPSU (B), Volume 12, page 222 - 223, German edition; KPD/ML 1971).

There is no doubt. Those who had betrayed this correct directive of Stalin had been, last not least, Dimitrov and the VII World Congress.

The party of the Bolsheviks fought under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin throughout their history tirelessly against social democracy, as Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour tirelessly fought against modern revisionism throughout its history. This is exactly the same historical battle field, on which Marx and Engels began their struggle against anarchism within the First International and on which the Comintern (SH) finally struggles against today's neo-revisionism. The development of the course of opportunism was always foreseen and combated betimes. And so Stalin did not put the emphasis on the fight against "sectarianism" - as Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress - but he called the Social Democratism mainstay of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement:

"The draft [of the Comintern-Program - remark of the Comintern (SH) ] stresses opposition to Social-Democracy as the main support of capitalism in the working class and as the chief enemy of communism, and holds that all other trends in the working class (anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, guild socialism, etc.) are in essence varieties of Social-Democratism." (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, page 181, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971)

Especially after the victory of the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the Social Democrats were forced to take an openly hostile anti-Marxist-Leninist stance. Social Democratism was ousted from deceiving the proletariat by means of their former position of the classical "Marxism". This has immensely facilitated the necessary rejection of the revolutionary world proletariat from the bourgeois influence of social democratism.

As the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania triumphed over revisionism, the modern revisionists were forced to leave their treacherous "Marxist-Leninist" position, modern revisionism took over increasingly the former position of social democracy, which in its turn represents the open reactionary imperialist point of view. This, in turn, facilitated immensely the rejection of modern revisionism on the part of the revolutionary proletariat. Today, the neo-revisionists fill in the blank, which the modern revisionists had left behind.

After the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania a new world situation arose. Particularly the social democracy and modern revisionism had finally fulfilled their historical mission, namely, to destroy socialism in power. Now that the world bourgeoisie dominates over the whole world, she is again in the privileged position to "flirt" with communism, particularly as regards the question of world revolution and the Communist International. It remains to be seen when the bourgeoisie begins to build up new agencies within the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement.

The neo-revisionists feverishly trying to put foot on a world scale, and to bring about a hypocritical international "Marxist-Leninist" united front. That is a danger which we should



not underestimate - although the various groups of neo-revisionism have unbridgable disagreements among themselves. Today they are not only dangerous currents in their own countries, but they increasingly form international agencies within the fragmented revolutionary world camp.

We will not come forth with our old trenches. Our fortifications had been slighted by the bourgeoisie. So we need to dig new ideological trenches - namely trenches that run in a globally uniform battle-line. This is the only way we can attack the international enemy and defend ourselves - from all sides, on each point of the earth, and at any time. This includes our ideological trench of the international struggle against the betrayal of Dimitrov and the VII World Congress.

If we succeed in carrying off a victory in the Dimitroff question, then it will be all the harder for the neo-revisionists, to get us booted out as so called "sectarians". With their silence, the neo-revisionists have already broken with the Comintern and its Bolshevik spirit for a long time. From now on, the neo-revisionists have to leave officially the banner of the Comintern because we will force them, to openly distance themselves from the world-revolutionary general-line of the Comintern (SH). Today, nobody can call oneself a "supporter" of Stalin and Enver Hoxha, if following the neo-revisionists simultaneously. Without a quite clearly delineation from neo-revisionism one can not support the Comintern (SH) because it is the only genuine carrier of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, the globalized bulwark of the socialist world revolution.

With entering into the bourgeois-democratic popular front government, the Communists were obliged to abandon the socialist revolution ( which was combined with the implied engagement to bring capitalism back on track ). The bourgeois anti-fascist united front was thus a front, to get rid of both the right-extremist terrorism and the "left-wing extremist terrorism" (the armed workers' power!). This results in the current tactics of the bourgeoisie, to "prevent extremism" for the "defense" of the bourgeois democracy. And as a result the ban on communist organizations which fight for the socialist revolution and the armed workers' power, rather than to stand peacefully with both feet on the ground of the "democratic order" (of capitalism). The bourgeois anti-fascist united front is nothing more than a truce, a truce between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on time, ultimately banning the arming of the proletariat. That was the real reason why the VII World Congress disciplined all the Sections to honor this ceasefire between both the classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Those comrades who broke ranks and did not agree with this truce, were branded as "sectarians" or even as "traitors".

If this Armistice would really help the proletariat to regenerate his revolutionary forces in a given moment of class struggle again to emerge stronger and to be better prepared for the victory of the world revolution, then we could agree with this tactical line. But we would never sacrifice our principled line in favor of the tactical line. Nobody forces the world proletariat to capitulate. All the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism have shared this view. The Seventh World Congress was a world congress (- if you do not retro-perspectively look at it under the magnifying glass of the disastrous presence and if you would brush the serious historical crimes of the modern revisionists under the carpet -) which could be purified from its rightist deviation by means of radical measures and relentless efforts of the Stalinists. Certainly this would have not only been possible, but also necessary in regard of the darkness of the present world situation. The Communist International must never again become a springboard for the revisionists, who turn their back to Communism as renegades.

Not once was the Comintern mentioned by Stalin later on - neither on the XVIII nor on the XIX Congress of the CPSU [B]). One thing is certain: Stalin had never praised the VII World Congress as an alleged "milestone or victory of Marxism-Leninism" - as the modern revisionists have done it extensively !

In Moscow, the right-wing ECCI lived off the fat of the land. The ECCI speculated for the power and the victory of the Soviet Union. In the preparation of the great spectacle of the VII World Congress, especially those leaders were working feverishly on the deviation of the Comintern, who later betrayed their parties and the proletariat in their own country. That all these leaders had been agreed about the change of course already before the VII World Congress, became apparent by the noise about "unity" during the Congress. Already in the approach, we can reveal the typical appearance of all the later revisionist party congresses where any Marxist-Leninist criticism from below was furiously and mercilessly suppressed and where the revisionist successes were celebrated as merits of "Marxism-Leninism".

Lenin on the Second Congress of the Comintern (June 1920):

"It is the duty of parties wishing to belong to the Communist International to recognise the need for a complete and absolute break with reformism and 'Centrist' policy .... such a state of affairs would lead to the Third International strongly resembling the defunct Second International" (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 31, page 209, English edition).

"The purging of the workers' parties, the revolutionary parties of the proletariat all over the world, of bourgeois influences, of the opportunists in their ranks, is very far from complete. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is bourgeois socialism, not proletarian socialism. It has been shown in practice that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power [ especially not after the destruction of fascism - remark of the Comintern SH ]. We must leave this Congress firmly resolved to carry on this struggle to the very end, in all parties. That is our main task".

Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 31, page 231, English edition).

Firstly, the agencies of the world bourgeoisie within the workers' world movement pave the way for world fascism. Secondly, after that they pave the way for an anti-fascist alliance with the world proletariat to "overcome" world fascism, thirdly they pave the way for maintaining the power of the bourgeoisie. This is substantially predictable, after there was the experience of a Seventh Congress of the Comintern. And even if the bourgeois agencies within the communist and labor movement should be shipwrecked, if world fascism is replaced by world socialism, then they will try later on to undermine the world power of the proletariat. Then the world bourgeoisie would smash world socialism by means of social-fascism and regain her world power. As we have already stated: The bourgeoisie - and let her be the most democratic and most republican bourgeoisie - she will never be grateful to the proletariat for the liberation from fascism. The bourgeoisie will never be grateful if the proletariat would abandon the socialist revolution in favor of peace of classes, because she is always anxious to defend the dominance of her class power. She would leave nothing to the proletariat - unless its chains of wage-slavery. But to raise the hopes of the proletariat in this direction, and to promise the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, that would be a betrayal at the working class, and only revisionists would be able and bent on this. Therefore, the revisionists and neo-revisionists pursue and fight us Stalinist Hoxhaists.

The spearhead of fascism is directed against the revolutionary proletariat, the gravedigger of the dying, rotting and parasitic capitalism. Therefore, the capitalists must (if they want to survive) wage their struggle mainly against the aspiring revolutionary proletariat by means of fascism, although conscious about the bitter experience that socialism is the worst enemy of fascism. Then, the socialist country, the Soviet Union, gave the anti-fascist struggle of the working class and the occupied countries the necessary military assistance and support to liberate from fascism by the people's revolution. But this important task could not any more be coordinated with the Comintern because there was no more Comintern! The world proletariat and the peoples of the world under the leadership of the

Comintern would have to fight together with the socialist country at the top for the realization of the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, and the victory of the anti-fascist popular revolutions in the oppressed countries.

From the historic struggle against a certain fascism in a country against Hitler's fascism, develops a global fight against fascism. It is waged for the global elimination of the inevitability of fascism, for the world revolution, for the overthrow of world imperialism.

Today this is the only correct way of Bolshevik globalization of anti-fascism, the way of Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, the general-line of the Comintern (SH).

However, this was not the general-line of the Comintern after the VII World Congress. To fight for democracy, is an honorable and legitimate task of any anti-fascists. But the sacrifice of socialism in the struggle for democracy, for this we practice rightly criticizing the Seventh World Congress. The proletariat has paid a high price for the lessons of this fraud, namely with the suppression through social-fascism. A democratic struggle which is not subordinated to the socialist struggle and which does not serve to come closer to the world socialist revolution, is only a benefit for the bourgeoisie and harmful for the proletariat.

On the way of the VII World Congress socialism could not be realized. If we have learned that, then we have already learned a lot.

So it was thus not the so-called "heroes of the Seventh Congress" with their pandering to the social democracy, but Stalin and the ARMED (!) Red Army, which ended the imperialist war as winners, and also smashed fascism victoriously. Stalin contrasted his armed unity-front-tactics with the revisionist unity-front-tactics of the Comintern of Dimitrov. Dimitrov capitulated, and Stalin triumphed.

Every honest antifascist fighter must ask oneself, what on earth would become of the decisions of the Seventh Congress WITHOUT the victory of Stalin's Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War? This is by no means a speculative or purely theoretical question. On the contrary. This question can only be answered concretely, if we return to the historical starting point, namely as the VII World Congress of the Comintern proclaimed the fateful "*final* victory of the Soviet Union."

Today we are not alone confronted with single fascist/social-fascist states. Primarily, we have to destroy fascism in a globalizing world - and this time expressively without the invincible Soviet Union of Stalin. The destruction of fascism in conditions of the existence of a socialist country cannot be equated with the destruction of fascism in conditions without the existence of a socialist country. The revolutionary weapons of the Red Army had won over both fascism and the betrayal of the Comintern of Dimitrov. But in the hands of the modern revisionists these weapons became powerless, and they were misused to protect both the restoration of capitalism and the myth of Dimitrov.

So, how is the problem of the destruction of the world fascism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat to be solved today ? The general line of the Comintern (SH) answers this question clearly and distinctly:

The fascist violence of the world bourgeoisie will be smashed by nothing but through the revolutionary violence of the world proletariat and the peoples.

To this end, the revolutionary world proletariat raises globally its own huge and invincible anti-fascist Red World Army. And, in the end, these are the only "arguments" which will "convince" all the revisionists and neo-revisionists: The Stalinist-Hoxhaist weapons of criticism at Dimitrov and the Seventh Congress of the Comintern transform themselves into critical weapons of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world army against all the forces which try to stop the world proletariat on its road to the victory of the socialist world revolution.

We ask: The entire VII World Congress of the Comintern had expressively committed itself to the necessity of the united front against fascism an war. Why then did the Comintern dissolve itself ? beforehand ? Everybody knows that, in 1943 (- up to 1945 !!), fascism and

war still raged and raged. We have no other term for this contradiction - than *capitulation* to fascism and *betrayal* at the anti-fascist united front of the world proletariat and of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

We have already mentioned above, that the Comintern can not give up its principled world-revolutionary general-line in favor of the ups and downs of instantaneous situations. In the tactical decisions of the Seventh Congress all the correct assessment of the current and future tasks of the revolutionary proletariat must absolutely remain tied to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, in general, and to the implementation of the decisions of the VI World Congress (program 1928) in particular. Instead, the opportunistic leaders of the Comintern had sacrificed the principles and the decisions of the Sixth World Congress in favor of the spur of tactical moments. And moreover, if we want to weaken the enemy camp with our United Front, to neutralize wavering elements, to win the Social Democratic workers for our united front etc., then we never do allow our own disorganization. We should never invite the leaders of social democracy, revisionism or neo-revisionism to destabilize the communist camp, and never renounce voluntarily our communist autonomy and leadership in a united front. When one accuses us of the claim to leadership of the Communists in the united front, we answer: the united front against fascism - of course under the leadership of communists - what else ?! What else, as exclusively with communism, we create our mass base, but never with the demagogy of the bourgeois politicians and their revisionist lackeys ! Only for the case where we are too weak, where we are not yet sufficiently rooted in the masses, where we have not formed and educated the vanguard of the proletariat etc., we will fight for the unity of class struggle as minority among the masses. From the very bottom we must fight for the conquest of the leadership of the united front, because the communist leadership in the anti-fascist united front does not come from nowhere. We will never stop in our polemic against all bourgeois forces and currents, especially when they dress up as a "Marxist-Leninist" or even as "Stalinist-Hoxhaists".

But this was not the situation in times of the Comintern. Thanks to Stalin, the Comintern already commanded millions of times and worldwide mass influence. In such a excellent and formidable situation, the dissolution of the Comintern and its mass organizations demonstrates the full extent of the betrayal at the millions of masses who were fighting for the world socialist revolution and who were left out in the lurch - without Comintern. It is especially harmful if the rightist leaders of the Comintern resorted to demagoguery of "mass struggle" with intent to liquidate it.

We must never allow that the rightist leaders are whistling the revolutionary masses back to capitalism - and the rightist leaders of the Comintern have done this crime under our Stalinist banner of communism, under all the banners. In words to lead the masses on the "revolutionary road" by means of the "united front" - and instead of that, to practically form an alliance with the bourgeoisie, to adapt to the bourgeoisie - this is the revisionist line on the issue of mass struggle and the united front. That is definitely the death of every revolutionary mass movement.

Except in the Soviet Union and Albania, there was the merger of Communist party with the Social Democratic Party. With this counter-revolutionary "united front tactics", the modern revisionists prevented the working class from seizing power and from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. On an international scale, this revisionist fusion blocked the common road towards the socialist world revolution which can only be victorious under the leadership of genuine Bolshevik parties.

Therefore, the Comintern (SH) comes to the conclusion that this fusion was by no means a coincidence. We must define this act as an immanent part of a long-term tactics. The modern revisionists organized the complete liquidation of the entire world Communist movement long before the XX Congress of the CPSU. In truth, the world bourgeoisie

began with the dissolution of the Comintern. The historical process of liquidation of the world communist movement took place in three steps:

- 1) Dissolution of the Comintern = liquidation of the world party;
- 2) Merger of the Communist parties and the Social Democratic parties = liquidation of the Sections of the Comintern;
- 3) Where this merger could not be implemented on a straight and immediate path, the transformation of the Communist Party into a revisionist party took place in sub-steps of decomposition (particularly in the motherland of communism, thus in the Soviet Union, and in Albania which was not a member of the Comintern and where no social democratic party did exist previously but an unfaltering, genuine Stalinist party).

Thus, a transformation of the revolutionary anti-fascist liberation struggle into the victorious socialist revolution could only be guaranteed in a sole country, in Albania. The young socialist world camp of Comrade Stalin was transformed into a world camp of modern revisionists and thus destroyed. This was a major defeat for the socialist world revolution and the transition to world socialism.

Enver Hoxha listed some parties of Western Europe, which - after heroic anti-fascist struggle - switched sides into the camp of the bourgeoisie:

"The communist parties of Western Europe did not prove capable of utilizing the favourable situation created by the Second World War and the victory over fascism. (...) in the course of the opposition and fight against fascism, in certain conditions, the possibilities would be created for the formation of united front governments which would be entirely different from the social-democratic governments. They were to serve the transition from the stage of the fight against fascism to the stage of the fight for democracy and socialism. In France and Italy, however, the war against fascism did not lead to the formation of governments of the type which the Comintern wanted. After the war, governments of the bourgeois type came to power there. The participation of the communists in them did not alter their character" (Enver Hoxha, »Euro-Communism is Anti-Communism«, page 57, KPD/ML, 1980, German edition).

The former representatives of the Comintern, from France and Italy, were also the leaders of the Communist parties in France and Italy. Previously, many meetings and discussions took place between them and Dimitrov. They sat together for many years in the ECCI where the tactical approach and the implementation of decisions were discussed and prepared. The Euro-communism did not come out of left field. That was the result of methodical implementation of the Seventh Congress in Western Europe by the renegades of the Comintern.

On the so-called "Brussels Congress" of the "Communist Party of Germany" (which, in reality, took place in Moscow [ !!! and thus was not at all a valid Congress of the German Party ] immediately after the VII World Congress and which was discussed with Dimitrov personally and with other representatives of the Comintern) the course for the "peaceful path to socialism" was already prepared by the modern revisionists Ulbricht and Pieck. All these preparations took place also with other Sections of the Comintern immediately after the VII World Congress. And all these subsequent revisionist leaders that were involved as representatives of the Comintern in the drafting of the guidelines of the Seventh Congress, were not in the least interested in defending the world revolutionary heritage of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. None of them was in the least interested in violent overthrowing the bourgeoisie by means of the socialist revolution. Most of the leaders of the revisionist parties were former representatives of the Comintern and thus did not come out of left field. These are the irrefutable historical facts.

The Eastern European parties (former leaders of the Comintern, like Gomulka, in Poland, etc.) - in the neighborhood of the Soviet Union - could not take off their revisionist cloak as fast as those of Western Europe. They were forced to hide their revisionist betrayal for a

longer time. But all of these former rightist leaders of the Comintern did not differ in their revisionist nature. They had all been involved in the implementation of the decisions of the Seventh Congress. And thus, the revisionist governments had gained a foothold in all the countries of the people's democracy (except Albania).

Only one year before the VII World Congress, in an interview with HG Wells, Stalin declared the indispensability of revolutionary violent overthrow of fascism. The bourgeoisie as a class must be smashed - including social democracy - which tried to maintain the old society by means of reconciliation of classes through the back door of fascism. The social democratism was thus the stepping-stone of fascism:

Stalin:

"Fascism is a reactionary force which is trying to preserve the old system by means of violence. What will you do with the fascists? Argue with them? Try to convince them? But this will have no effect upon them at all. Communists do not in the least idealise the methods of violence. But they, the Communists, do not want to be taken by surprise, they cannot count on the old world voluntarily departing from the stage, they see that the old system is violently defending itself, and that is why the Communists say to the working class : Answer violence with violence; do all you can to prevent the old dying order from crushing you, do not permit it to put manacles on your hands, on the hands with which you will overthrow the old system. As you see, the Communists regard the substitution of one social system for another, not simply as a spontaneous and peaceful process, but as a complicated, long and violent process. Communists cannot ignore facts.

A popular insurrection, a clash of classes was not, could not be avoided. Why? Because the classes which must abandon the stage of history are the last to become convinced that their role is ended. It is impossible to convince them of this. They think that the fissures in the decaying edifice of the old order can be repaired and saved. That is why dying classes take to arms and resort to every means to save their existence as a ruling class. " (Stalin Works, Volume 14, German edition, KPD/ML 1971, page 17; - July 23, 1934).

In today's fight against world fascism, the Comintern (SH) can not ignore Dimitrov's renunciation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of the indispensability of the socialist world revolution. Dimitrov walked in the footsteps of Kautsky, who even then still rejected the revolutionary uprising against the capitalist dictatorship, while this dictatorship had already assumed a fascist shape.

The people's democracies failed to completely smash the old capitalist system, because they have never built up the necessary dictatorship of the proletariat in contrast to Albania. In essence, the modern revisionists have removed only the debris of the retreating Nazi occupiers through democratic reforms. They had to dress this pure reformist process in a "socialist" covering, to ensure their political power and reconstruction aid from the Soviet Union. The revisionists of the people's democracies were nothing more than parasites of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and then they have transformed themselves into vassals of the Soviet revisionists. It was all alone the Soviet Union that expelled the fascist occupiers from their country with military force. The thus liberated states received all possible help to take their path to socialism. But the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin could not export the October Revolution, and of course also not the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. We repeat: This was parasitism against the Soviet peoples - veiled in "socialist" phrases. This parasitism, subsequently passing into rottenness, was nothing else than social fascism. Later on, the revisionists did not hesitate to accept dollars rather than rubles for the maintenance of their rule. If we do not denounce the VII World Congress, we go in circles and nothing changes. In the epoch of world socialism, we do not want to let the same parasites grow as it happened after the VII World Congress.. How can we draw lessons from the Comintern, if the revisionist crimes remain unaffected? Are we then still the same leaders of world communism, if we lead the world proletariat back into the same dead end ? Certainly not ! We will never allow that comrades speak with a

forked tongue. Hypocritical praises on the Comintern (SH) within our own ranks, this is like stabbing us in the back. Thank goodness - these hypocritical times during the period of the dissolution of the Comintern will never return !

On 26 1 1934, approximately 1 year before the VII World Congress, Stalin delivered the following estimation of the aggravation of the political situation in the capitalist countries (in his report to the XVII. Congress):

"The masses of the people have not yet reached the stage when they are ready to storm capitalism; but the idea of storming it is maturing in the minds of the masses — of that there can hardly be any doubt. This is eloquently testified to by such facts as, say, the Spanish revolution which overthrew the fascist regime, and the expansion of the Soviet districts in China, which the united counter-revolution of the Chinese and foreign bourgeoisie is unable to stop.

This, indeed, explains why the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are so zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors, why they are driving the Communist Parties underground and resorting to openly terrorist methods of maintaining their dictatorship.

Chauvinism and preparation of war as the main elements of foreign policy; repression of the working class and terrorism in the sphere of home policy as a necessary means for strengthening the rear of future war fronts — that is what is now particularly engaging the minds of contemporary imperialist politicians.

It is not surprising that fascism has now become the most fashionable commodity among war-mongering bourgeois politicians. I am referring not only to fascism in general, but, primarily, to fascism of the German type, which is wrongly called national-socialism—wrongly because the most searching examination will fail to reveal even an atom of socialism in it.

In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and a result of the betrayals of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a sign of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, a sign that the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terrorist methods of rule—as a sign that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, and, as a consequence, is compelled to resort to a policy of war. Such is the situation." [ Stalin, Works, Volume 13, pages 261 - 262, German edition, KPD/ML 1971 - underlined by the Comintern (SH) ].

We can not fight against fascism, if we would unite with the anti-communist Social Democrats and the revisionists. The anti-fascism of social-democracy was, is, and will remain a means of defending the existence of the shaken capitalist system from the proletarian revolution.

And those who unite with the social fascists - (and it is the neo-revisionists who do this !) - they work their way up to enemies of the world proletariat, traitors to the socialist world revolution, to the 5th Column of anti-communism.

Stalin emphasized the indispensable role of social democracy for the bourgeoisie, in the context of the preparation for fascism and imperialist war:

"And the most important thing in all this is that Social-Democracy is the main channel of imperialist pacifism within the working class -- consequently, it is capitalism's main support among the working class in preparing for new wars and intervention.

But for the preparation of new wars pacifism alone is not enough, even if it is supported by so serious a force as Social-Democracy. For this, certain means of suppressing the

masses in the imperialist centres are also needed. It is impossible to wage war for imperialism unless the rear of imperialism is strengthened. It is impossible to strengthen the rear of imperialism without suppressing the workers. And that is what fascism is for.

Hence the growing acuteness of the inherent contradictions in the capitalist countries, the contradictions between labour and capital.

On the one hand, preaching of pacifism through the mouths of the Social-Democrats in order more effectively to prepare for new wars; on the other hand, suppression of the working class in the rear, of the Communist Parties in the rear, by the use of fascist methods, in order then to conduct war and intervention more effectively -- such are the ways of preparing for new wars.

Hence the tasks of the Communist Parties:

Firstly, to wage an unceasing struggle against Social-Democratism in all spheres -- in the economic and in the political sphere, including in the latter the exposure of bourgeois pacifism with the task of winning the majority of the working class for communism. [ and not for the bourgeois democracy ! - remark of the Comintern (SH) ].

Secondly, to form a united front of the workers [ and not of with the bourgeoisie ! - remark of the Comintern (SH) ] of the advanced countries and the labouring masses of the colonies in order to stave off the danger of war, or, if war breaks out, to convert imperialist war into civil war, smash fascism, overthrow capitalism [ by means of the violent socialist revolution ! - remark of the Comintern (SH) ], establish Soviet power [ and not a bourgeois People's Front government - instead: indispensability of the armement of the dictatorship of the proletariat ! - remark of the Comintern (SH) ], emancipate the colonies from slavery, and organise all-round defence of the first Soviet Republic in the world." [ Results of the July Plenum of the C.C., C.P.S.U.(B.); Stalin Works, Volume 11, pages 178 - 179, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971; underlined by the Comintern (SH) ].

And VI. Congress ( in the program of the comintern in 1928) underlined not only the necessity of the open struggle against social democracy on all fields, but also stressed expressly the struggle against the dangerous, masked forms of the "left"-wing of the social democracy:

"In its systematic conduct of this counter-revolutionary policy, social democracy operates on two flanks. The right wing of social democracy, avowedly counter-revolutionary, is essential for negotiating and maintaining direct contact with the bourgeoisie; the left wing is essential for the subtle deception of the workers. While playing with pacifist and at times even with revolutionary phrases, "left" social democracy in practice acts against the workers, particularly in acute and critical situations (the British I.L.P. and the "left" leaders of the General Council during the general strike in 1926; Otto Bauer and Co., at the time of the Vienna uprising), and is therefore, the most dangerous faction in the social democratic parties. While serving the interests of the bourgeoisie in the working class and being wholly in favour of class co-operation and coalition with the bourgeoisie, social democracy, at certain periods, is compelled to play the part of an opposition party and even to pretend that it is defending the class interests of the proletariat in its industrial struggle. It tries thereby to win the confidence of a section of the working class and to be in a position more shamefully to betray the lasting interests of the working class, particularly in the midst of decisive class battles.

The principal function of social democracy at the present time is to disrupt the essential militant unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism. In splitting and disrupting the united front of the proletarian struggle against capital, social democracy serves as the mainstay of imperialism in the working class. International social democracy of all shades; the Second International and its trade union branch, the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions, have thus become the last reserve of bourgeois society and its most reliable pillar



of support."

(Program of the Comintern, chapter II. The General Crisis of Capitalism and the First Phase of World Revolution. - 2. THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL- DEMOCRACY).

The report of Dimitrov to the Seventh World Congress completely kept quiet about the indispensability of the struggle against the "left" wing of social democracy, referred to the Stalinist line. Thus Dimitrov followed in the footsteps of Bukharin who had previously ignored the criticism of Stalin in the question of reconciliation with "left"-wing of social democratism. Did this most dangerous enemy of the proletariat end in smoke ?

Was the "left"-wing of the social democratism a "figment of sectarianism" ? Must the "left" wing of social democracy (this dangerous enemy of the proletariat as Stalin stressed) suddenly be defended from fascism because it had allegedly turned itself into an "ally" of the proletarian united front ? Was the "left" wing of the social democratism only dangerous before the fascist seizure of power and not any more dangerous after the seizure of fascism? Nothing of all this. The simple truth was that Dimitrov himself had completely adopted the position of the "left"-wing social democratism ! Thus, Dimitrov saw the united front tactics of the revolutionary proletariat through the eyes of a "leftist" social democrat. Any modified form of the rule of the bourgeoisie can never abrogate the nature of her reactionary ideology - neither the ideology of social democracy nor that of revisionism. The more the bourgeois ideology is hidden behind the mask of "Marxism-Leninism", the more dangerous it is. ( ... and all the more it is necessary to be unmasked and combated!)

From the point of view of the neo-revisionists it is self-explanatory that they perceive the correct general- line of the Comintern (SH) as a "sectarian general-line". And this is comparable with the right-opportunist point of view of Dimitrov who perceived the Stalinist line as a "sectarian general-line" (while he has hidden this truth behind praises of Stalin). The more the opportunists float with the tide - so much the more every Marxist-Leninist line appears as an alleged "dogmatic and "sectarian" line in their eyes. This shows that a principled struggle against all hues of opportunism can only be waged on the basis of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

(In contrast, the "left"-opportunists condemned the Stalinist line of the united front tactics. From their point of view it was allegedly "right-opportunistic").

Stalin stressed in 1929:

"In Bukharin's theses it was stated that the fight against Social-Democracy is one of the fundamental tasks of the Sections of the Comintern. That, of course, is true. But it is not enough. In order that the fight against Social-Democracy may be waged successfully, stress must be laid on the fight against the so-called "Left" wing of Social-Democracy, that "Left" wing which, by playing with "Left" phrases and thus adroitly deceiving the workers, is retarding their mass defection from Social-Democracy. It is obvious that unless the "Left" Social-Democrats are routed it will be impossible to overcome Social-Democracy in general. Yet, in Bukharin's theses the question of "Left" Social-Democracy was entirely ignored. That, of course, was a great defect. The delegation of the C.P.S.U.(B.) was therefore obliged to introduce into Bukharin's theses an appropriate amendment, which was subsequently adopted by the congress."

(Stalin Works, Volume 12, page 19 - 20, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

These important teachings of Stalinism have been totally violated by the decisions of the VII World Congress (up to the dissolution of the Comintern).

During the whole VII World Congress it was only the delegate from Austria who said in connection with the Austro-Marxism:

"(It) would be wrong, to denote all the leaders of the Social Democrats as traitors" (Minutes of the Seventh World Congress, Volume I, page 301, Thirteenth Session, speech of the

Austrian comrade Wieden).

We ask ourselves: Were there any leaders of the Social Democrats who were no traitors at that time ? Perhaps leaders of Austro-Marxism? At the Seventh World Congress the Austro-Marxists were no longer stigmatized as traitors because the Comintern had already adopted the position of the 'left' wing of social democracy ( - lump together ideology and united front tactics). [Later on, when the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries took over the positions of the social democratic parties, who - on their part - had completely rejected the positions of Marxism, this process emanated especially from the ideology of Austro-Marxism - (from the "left"-wing of social democracy) ]

In contrast, the program of the Comintern stated:

"Austro-Marxism represents a special variety of social-democratic reformism. Being a part of the "left-wing" of social-democracy, Austro-Marxism represents a most subtle deception of the masses of the toilers. Prostituting the terminology of Marxism, while divorcing themselves entirely from the principles of revolutionary Marxism (the Kantism, Machism, etc., of the Austro-Marxists in the domain of philosophy), toying with religion, borrowing the theory of functional democracy" from the British reformists, agreeing with the principle of "building up the republic," i.e., building up the bourgeois State, Austro-Marxism recommends "class co-operation" in periods of so-called " equilibrium of class forces," i.e., precisely at the time when the revolutionary crisis is maturing. This theory is a justification of coalition with the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the proletarian revolution under the guise of defending "democracy" against the attacks of reaction. Objectively, and in practice, the violence which Austro-Marxism admits in cases of reactionary attacks is converted into reactionary violence against the proletarian revolution. Hence the "functional role" of Austro-Marxism is to deceive the workers already marching towards Communism, and therefore it is the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat, more dangerous than the avowed adherents of predatory social imperialism." (VI. The Strategy and Tactics of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. 1. IDEOLOGIES AMONG THE WORKING CLASS INIMICAL TO COMMUNISM)

We must rightly doubt the sincerity of a world party, which creates its revolutionary program on a world congress, and which throws it into the trash bag on the following World Congress .

Now we come to our criticism of Dimitrov's definition of fascism.

For this purpose, we present at first our own definition of fascism. Then we make recourse to quotations of Enver Hoxha about the term of "fascism". We proceed with the definitions of the previous World Congresses. And after that we will confront all this with the deviating definition of Dimitrov.

## Dimitrov's revisionist FASCISM DEFINITION

### AT FIRST:

#### What is our own definition of world fascism?

When the imperialist world order is existentially threatened by its inevitable decay and by an imminent overthrow in times of revolutionary world crises, then the more moderate forms of the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie are turned into their most brutal forms that we generally summarize under the concept of world fascism.

Fascist world society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps: the fascist and anti-fascist world camp, into two great classes directly facing each other - the fascist world bourgeoisie and the anti-fascist world proletariat.

In general, fascism is the most brutal counter-revolutionary instrument of the ruling class of the bourgeoisie in the era of world imperialism, to continue the unconditional subordination of the proletariat and all other exploited classes under the monopolistic-capitalist system of exploitation - namely **unrestricted by all ultimate means** (up to mass extermination).

Thus, if all other means against dangerous explosions of class conflicts fail, then fascism exerts its terrorist rule over the whole life of society. All sorts of "*Gleichschaltung*" (Nazi-fascist system of absolute control) are established by the absolutely dominating counter-revolution in all areas of the state (police state, state terrorism), the economy, politics, society, science etc. In particular, fascism serves to the unconditional, uncompromising and arbitrary elimination of all recalcitrant world forces, especially that of the revolutionary world proletariat.

(The world proletariat is the only revolutionary, anti-fascist force which causes the downfall of the capitalist domination of the world bourgeoisie by means of the socialist world revolution, which makes itself the dominating ruling class, which replaces the era of world capitalism through the era of world socialism, and which strives for the aim of the classless society - for world communism).

[ Definition of the Comintern (SH) ]

#### QUOTATIONS OF ENVER HOXHA ON FASCISM

Enver Hoxha speaks of fascism, if the fundamentals of capitalist power are existentially threatened. 1976, in his report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, he stated:

"When it finds it impossible to cope with the revolts of the workers and people in the pseudo-democratic forms or with the «talking-shop» methods of parliaments, then the bourgeois state clamps down on them with its laws, its violence, its buldgeon. That is what is happening now in most countries where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labour and capital, and the revolt of the working people at the situation created is becoming ever more powerful.

In these situations the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening. It is a known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or to establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war."

And Enver Hoxha complements his statement with a quote from Lenin's works, vol 24,

page 213, English edition):

"For it is the great significance of all crises that they make manifest what has been hidden; they cast aside all that is relative, superficial, and trivial; they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real mainsprings of the *class struggle*."

Enver Hoxha:

"Terrorism is the preliminary preparation for fascism to come to power."

"In many capitalist countries where the crisis is great, terrorism, which is supported by capital, is assuming major proportions. In order to emerge from the crisis and crush any possibility of insurrection and revolution by the working class and the people, the reactionary forces in these countries are preparing the terrain for an authoritarian state, for the fascist dictatorship. If the working masses, we Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples fail to understand that the fascist dictatorship comes as a result of the difficult situation which the power of the capital is experiencing and do not fight it, then,, sooner or later fascism will be established, because the crisis will continue, since capitalism will strive to protect its income at the expense of the working masses who will become more and more impoverished. Being unarmed, because they do not understand why such a thing is occurring and do not fight against it and the other actions of the capital, these masses will accept the bondage of a fascist circle, thinking that it will be a way out of the crisis. In fact it is not a way out for the working class and the working people, because fascism represents the most ferocious dictatorship of capital, which will oppress the masses of the peoples even more than it is doing today. It is the last resort of exploiting capital."

"Fascism is the most brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

(Enver Hoxha, »The Marxist-Leninist Movement and the Crisis of World Capitalism «, Social Studies, Volume. 3, page 23, 1986, Tirana, engl. ed.).

"When they see the game is up, the capitalists throw off all disguise and establish the fascist dictatorship."

(Enver Hoxha, speech of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA - 10. 03.1974 before the voters in the constituency 209 of Tirana, 1974)

Additional distinctive traits and characteristics of fascism:

- Fascism ...

... is both the worst of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the replacement of the decaying parliamentarism (whether as a coup, or within a longer or shorter period of transformation). This enhancement and replacement of one form of bourgeois rule by another is not only due to her weakness, but also to the highest degree a sign of degeneration of the bourgeoisie, which eventually perish through her own domination.

- Fascism ...

... is the cruelest and most terrorist rule of the exploiters and oppressors in the history of class society.

- Fascism ...

... is expression of the dehumanizing of the decaying, parasitic and moribund capitalism.

- Fascism ...

... is the last and desperate means to escape the impending demise of imperialism - through economic, political and military terror for the purpose of increase of extreme exploitation and oppression.

- Fascism

... is the last act of desperation and powerlessness - in face of the ever deepening crisis of world capitalism.

- Fascism

... unchains the ultimate driving forces of the capitalist "wolf"- law, to increase the maximum profits of the monopoly bourgeoisie infinitely. Especially in times of crises.

everything and everybody who narrows, hinders or disrupts profit maximization, is radically eliminated - and, if necessary, with fascist violence.

- Fascism ...

... has a class-related background. The setting capitalist class wages a desperate, self-destructive, and outmost violent struggle against the unavoidably rising class of the proletariat which eliminates the inevitability of imperialism war and fascism.

- Fascism ...

... is absolutely necessary (unavoidable) for the bourgeoisie, to cope with the irresolvable escalation of the contradiction between capital and labor. The bourgeoisie is unable to stop the proletarian revolution without the means of fascism. However, the more fascist terrorism, the more revolutionary anti-terrorism. The escalation of the conflict of capital and labour cannot be eliminated without the revolutionary, violent destruction of capitalism through the world proletariat.

Imperialism wages fascist wars inwardly, and plundering wars outwardly.

- Fascism ...

... grows from the almighty driving forces of monopolism, especially the monopolism of the financial capital. The inner conflicts among monopolists aggravate in such degree that they are unable to prevent the bursting of the chains of the productive forces. When the knell of capitalist private property sounds, fascism strikes hard. However, not fascism is the basis of imperialism, but the monopolistic private property. Fascism is the last and ultimate weapon for the protection of the property of the monopolists.

.

- Fascism

... takes possession of the bourgeois state power for the purpose to protect the through and through rotten imperialist system against its gravediggers ("expropriation of the expropriators" [Marx]).

The handful of almighty financial capitalists and representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie are forced to boost their maximal profits, if they do not want to fall by the wayside. They do this with a more aggressive plundering the working masses, by brutal predatory wars against the peoples and expropriation itself larger, medium and smaller capitalists ("One capitalist always kills many dead," etc., etc.. Marx).

With their pursuit of maximum profit, the monopoly bourgeoisie provokes the interference of the state. This hunt ends at a point where capitalism destroys itself.

"This is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production within the capitalist mode of production itself, and hence a self-dissolving contradiction" [ Karl Marx, Volume 37; Capital Volume III Part V - Chapter 27. "The Role of Credit in Capitalist Production", English edition).

In order to survive, however, the revolutionary proletariat can not wait until this point.

Therefore, the proletariat is forced to seize premature power, to free itself from the shackles of the monopolistic relations of production. That is the reason why the handful of financiers fear their downfall and that's why they provoke fascist violence. Given the deepening global economic crisis, the international financial capital and the world monopolists are forced to maintain their world order in an iron grip. This world-monopolistic order develops all the features of an open world fascism. The threat of world fascism comes mainly from the two super powers, the U.S.A. and China.

Due to the inhomogeneity of the development of different capitalist countries, the conflicts increase unavoidably, especially between both the imperialist super powers. To escape from the enormous pressure of rivalry, they take fascist steps to ensure the unhindered intensification of exploitation. Fascism is not least in the service of the violent enforcement of the renewal of the partition of the world and the defense or conquest of world domination.

Capitalism leads to fascism! - Capitalism must go!

Fascism plays the demagogic role of "the great savior of the world", of a "knight in shining armor" after the utter bankruptcy of parliamentarianism. The fascists lure the masses with carrot and stick against communism.

Fascism is the unconditional subjugation and destruction of all forces around the world, especially its communist proletarian leadership, whose only purpose is to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. Anti-fascism means to organize the anti-fascist resistance, to attack fascism, to overthrow fascism, to destroy fascism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only guaranteed bulwark of the elimination of the unavoidability of fascism.

## **The world proletarian line and the tasks in the struggle against fascism and social-fascism**

This, of course, depends on certain conditions and premises. But it is primarily a question of principle.

We communists give a clear answer to the proletariat:

Smashing the fascist (/social-fascist) state power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the own new state power of the proletariat, which is the first, most important, fundamental characteristic of a truly anti-fascist (anti-social-fascist) revolution, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of this term:

There is no other anti-fascist (anti-social-fascist) way for the proletariat than the way to the victory of the socialist revolution.

Whether the socialist revolution comes sooner or later, in which forms it will appear, and which hindrances the revolution has to overcome - all this depends on concrete conditions and circumstances. All that needs to be modified on the basis of concrete economic and political analyses of a specific, concretely existing type of fascist (/social-fascist) dictatorship, but the socialist revolution is basically inevitable and it will come.

The globally united front of all anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists tackles  
9 tasks:

### **1.**

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists opposes all attempts of the world bourgeoisie and her agencies within the workers' and communist world movement, to uncouple the anti-social-fascist struggle from the anti-fascist struggle, respectively, to drive a wedge between anti-fascism and anti-social-fascism.

### **2.**

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists opposes all attempts of the world bourgeoisie and her agencies within the workers' and communist world movement, to fool the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists about the truth, that capitalism (inclusively state capitalism) is the source of fascism and social-fascism.

### **3.**

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists unmasks and combats all attempts of the modern revisionist, to disarm the world proletariat and all toilers by means of the ideology and politics of the "peaceful transition". This makes the masses defenseless in their struggle against the fascist and social-fascist terror. The tasks of the united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists can only be fulfilled by organizing the globally armed struggle against the organized armed struggle of the fascist/social-fascist world front.

4.

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists unmasks and combats all the attempts of the neo-revisionists to misuse the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism in the anti-fascist and anti-social-fascist struggle, especially to "justify" the terror of social-fascism.

5.

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists insists on the indispensability of revolutionary violence against fascist and social-fascist terror.

6.

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists struggles for democratic rights of all exploited and oppressed classes, for proletarian socialist democracy but not for the exploiting "democratic" system of the bourgeoisie which leads back to fascism inevitably. Therefore, the struggle for democratic rights is inseparably part of the overthrow of world capitalism and its imperialist state system.

7.

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists struggles for the abolition of the inevitableness of fascism and social-fascism by means of the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, the global System of Soviets and the socialist world republic.

8.

The global united front of the anti-Fascists and anti-Social-Fascists struggles for the eradication of the leftovers of all fascist and social-fascist forces within the period of world socialism.

9.

The Comintern (SH) is the global center of the international anti-fascist and anti-social-fascist movement. The Comintern (SH) unifies and leads the anti-fascist and anti-social-fascist forces of all countries towards the socialist world revolution.

The people's government:

If the people decide on a people's government then the disarmament and defeat of the counter-revolution and the destruction of the old bourgeois state power must absolutely be ensured. The power of the people's government bases itself on the power of the armed forces of the people, on the people's army. For this, the revolutionary consciousness of the masses needs to be sharpened in time, so that the majority of the people takes revolutionary actions and actually takes over the sole armed domination.

The proletariat must take the lead with its revolutionary party, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the task of the Communists to make all these necessities clear to the majority of the masses - namely as early as possible. This will protect the people from being taken by surprise through demagogical "bourgeois-democratic" chatter. And only this keeps the minority from turning the seizure of power into a dangerous adventure.

Lenin:

"Because of its class position in modern society, the proletariat can understand, sooner than any other class, that, in the final analysis, great historic issues are decided only by force, that freedom cannot be achieved without tremendous sacrifices, that the armed resistance of tsarism must be broken and crushed by force of arms." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 8, page 539 - 540: English edition).

It raises the question whether the decisions of the VII Congress gave the same or similar precise answer, or not? We are of the opinion that the VII World Congress had avoided this precise answer, because:

neither the world revolution and its implementation in the spirit of the October Revolution, nor detailed preparations of the armed uprisings against the bourgeoisie in the countries,

nor the required agitation and propaganda for this purpose, let alone the organizational preparation for seizing the power of the proletariat had been subject of the work of the Comintern after the VII World Congress.

All these 9 crucial world revolutionary tasks played virtually no role at all. They disappeared in the general tumbling of the Social Democratic class reconciliation. The so-called "broad" (opportunistic) "*Mass Line*" was opposed to the so-called "sectarian line" (revolutionary line), thus for the purpose to get better rid of it. And the leaders of the Comintern acted like this in face of the difficult, illegal conditions during fascism and war, when the bourgeoisie muzzled the revolutionary proletariat and banned its propaganda and agitation for the revolutions.

Fascism accelerates the process of ruin of capitalist society through its violent intervention in the life of the whole society. By means of the giant destruction and waste of the productive forces, in particular, the existence of the productive classes is threatened - without whom the bourgeoisie would not survive.

When the bourgeoisie has destroyed the livelihood of the working class, she is doomed to die. Even with the help of the fascist dictatorship, the bourgeoisie will not survive for all times. On the contrary, fascism accelerates the downfall of the bourgeoisie and the strengthening of the power of the proletariat.

Without capitalism, also the working class (as an exploited class !) could not survive. If the proletariat continues its life as an exploited class within the capitalist society, it is forced to help the bourgeoisie to get out of the mess - despite all the proletarian blood shed by fascism, and despite all the heavy loads that were imposed on it, despite all misery and destruction which fascism has left.

This solution is only feasible for the bourgeoisie if she can trust her reliable agencies within the workers' movement who keep the revolutionary forces in check. This bridge is built for the bourgeoisie by means of the opportunistic united front tactics. After the defeat of fascism, the opportunists come out of their rat holes:

"And it is just such sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the proletariat to the half-hearted, muddled aims of liberalism that makes up the essence of *opportunism* in tactics." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 12, page 177, English edition).

The bourgeoisie promises hypocritically that fascism will never return. And today? Today, the proletariat sees that these are nothing but empty promises. The bourgeoisie of today condemns fascism, but in the same breath she resorts to fascism. The fascism can impossibly be prevented by the bourgeoisie, even if she would.

The post-fascist society can only be constructed on the basis of class reconciliation. This new society cannot be revived without capitalism. Every socialist demand of the proletariat would inevitably result in the resistance of the ruling bourgeoisie. Waiting until the next fascism comes or, instead, the socialist revolution. Every anti-Fascist is faced with this choice earlier or later.

So the proletariat can not survive by capitalism in the long run. It can ultimately survive only by means of the abolition of capitalism, by the construction of socialism.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the proletariat will arrive at the coast of socialism even by means of a spontaneous development - according to objective laws of the development of the society. But this course will be painful and

the proletariat would have to go a long way round. Therefore, we communists tell the proletarians, that they should shorten their path of anti-fascism by means of the socialist revolution. The decisive factor is not the elimination of the brutal forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and their replacement by more moderate forms (or with "socialist" appearance), but through the abolition of any form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through the abolition of capitalism and the construction of socialism with the goal of a classless society.



For this, the proletariat needs its own proletarian, revolutionary united front in which it unites all allied forces by means of utmost resoluteness, to achieve the socialist goals as the leading revolutionary class. This proletarian united front must be strong enough to prevent any attempts at recapturing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

If the VII World Congress - from the outset - would have rejected categorically the recognition of any form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, it would never have come to the merger with the bourgeois social democracy. The social democratism (also revisionism and other opportunist ideologies) is not only the ideology of the agency of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement related to a certain, concrete form of rule of the bourgeoisie, but related to *all* forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie without exception, thus including the fascist dictatorship (in essence it is no different in terms of the bourgeois form of rule of social fascism).

"Socialism" to the capitalist rules of the game, this was the condition in the anti-fascist united front which the social democrat leadership had set to the Communists. And today the revisionists and neo-revisionists set the same conditions to us communists (inclusively the recognition of social-fascist states).

And today has long been known that these social-democratic rules of the game were accepted by the revisionist leaders at that time - namely up to the total integration into the system of world imperialism.

By means of the change of the Comintern, the bourgeoisie has learned and perfectly understood, to use finely spun nets for the re-integration of revolutionary forces into the capitalist system.

Therefore, we must never allow that the agencies of the bourgeoisie seek protection under the communist shield or even organize their subversive actions underneath of it, because they will not rest until they have completely absorbed the communist forces - or at least isolated and divided in small groups and sects. Every kind of "united front" which is dominated by opportunism serves to the disunity and decomposition of the revolutionary united front and to the formation of a social-fascist front.

That is why we say:

Social fascism is socialism in words and fascism in deeds. A social-fascist united front is socialist in words and a fascist front in deeds.

As history shows, it is the distinctive feature of social fascism in power to emanate even from restored capitalism.

To date, the proletariat was not able to overthrow social fascism by means of a socialist revolution, ie through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as capitalism prevails in the world, social fascism is inevitable. So we have also to abolish the inevitability of social fascism.

For us Stalinist-Hoxhaists is therefore an classless, neutral, and indifferent use of the term "anti-fascism" not allowed, since we have historically experienced, that there exists also a bourgeois anti-fascism alongside the proletarian anti-fascism. Proletarian and bourgeois anti-fascism/anti-social-fascism are as antagonistic, just as proletariat and bourgeoisie. They are irreconcilable and therefore they can never be part of a common united front. And an united front - "beyond" or organised "above" the classes - can impossibly exist within a class society.

The bourgeoisie hides her class interests behind the figurehead of the "anti-fascism" and poses her interests of a minority as "general interests of the entire society" at the expense of the majority of the society, of the proletariat and working people.

Only the proletarian anti-fascism is a *socialist* anti-fascism, thus the only anti-fascism, which is consistent with the general interest of society, namely the abolition of all classes and all forms of dictatorship of classes against classes - including fascism and social fascism.

The Seventh World Congress has expressly decided against the *socialist* anti-fascism, albeit with the aid of a "communist" cloak. Anti-fascism, which is not clearly and directly aligned with the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can be nothing more than bourgeois anti-fascism.

Only if we analyze the classes within an anti-fascist united front or popular front, if we expose its class relations, we can distinguish whether it is a bourgeois or a proletarian united front.

Social democracy represents the "Democratic" People's Front, under the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The revisionists propagate the Popular Front with "socialist" figurehead, but with the express acquiescence of an integrated bourgeoisie.

Communism only accepts a Popular Front under the sovereign rule of the proletariat, without any involvement and participation of the bourgeoisie.

We Stalinist-Hoxhaists do not only use the term "anti-fascism", but also the term "fascism" exclusively as a term of classes. We reject the classless use of these terms because this would serve the deception of the masses. It is the ruling bourgeoisie who hides her class interests behind "classless" concepts ( of class reconciliation ). Therefore, we must refute any theoretical variant that attempts to use a "classless" concept, or which tries to distort our class-related concept - or even misuses our concept as a magic cap. If we Stalinist-Hoxhaists really would not have clear ideas about the principled class alliance within an anti-fascist front, then our united front tactic would be doomed to failure from the beginning, and this would mean the inevitable defeat of the proletariat.

For social democratism and revisionism, fascism means something entirely different than for communism. Fascism is not only directed against the revolutionary workers, but against the whole working class, against the masses. Therefore, in order to defeat fascism, the people must be guided by the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Social Democrats and the revisionists, these forerunners of fascism and social fascism, are unable to free the people finally from fascism and social-fascism.

## **FASCISM - DEFINITION OF THE IV WORLD CONGRESS**

The correct definition of "International Fascism", decided by the Fourth Congress in 1922, was as follows:

"Closely linked to the economic offensive of capital is the political offensive of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Its sharpest expression is international fascism. Since falling living standards are now affecting the middle classes, including civil service, the ruling class is no longer certain that it can rely on the bureaucracy to act as its tool. Instead, it is resorting everywhere to the creation of special White Guards, which are particularly directed against all the revolutionary efforts of the proletariat and are being increasingly used for the forcible suppression of any attempts by the working class to improve its position.

The characteristic feature of 'classical' Italian fascism, which at present has the whole country in its grip, is that the fascists not only form counter-revolutionary fighting organizations, armed to the teeth, but also attempt to use social demagoguery to gain a base among the masses: in the peasantry, in the petty bourgeoisie and even in a certain section of the proletariat. There is currently a fascist threat in many countries: in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, almost all the Balkan countries, Poland, Germany, Austria, America and even in countries like Norway. The possibility of fascism appearing in one or another form cannot be ruled out even in such countries as France and Britain.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to organize resistance to international fascism. They must be at the head of the working class in the fight against the fascist gangs, must be extremely active in setting up united fronts on the question and

must make use of illegal methods of organization.

But the reckless promotion of fascist organization is the last card in the bourgeoisie's hand. Open rule by the White Guards also works against the very foundations of bourgeois democracy. The broadest masses of the working people become convinced that bourgeois rule is possible only in the form of an undisguised dictatorship over the proletariat."

(Tactical Theses, protocols of the IV World Congress, 1922),

The program of the Communist International - our guide line - took reference to this definition of fascism.

We refer also to the Resolutions of the VI World Congress: "IV. CLASS STRUGGLE. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, AND FASCISM"):

"The characteristic feature of fascism is that, as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system and of special objective and subjective circumstances, the bourgeoisie --in order to hinder the development of the revolution-- utilises the discontent of the petty and middle, urban and rural bourgeoisie and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat, for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass movement. Fascism resorts to methods of open violence in order to break the power of the labour organisations and those of the peasant poor, and to proceed to capture power. After capturing power, fascism strives to establish political and organisational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society (the bankers, the big industrialists and the agrarians) and to establish their undivided, open and consistent dictatorship. It places at the disposal of the governing classes armed forces specially trained for civil war and establishes a new type of State, openly based on violence, coercion and corruption, not only of the petty bourgeois strata, but even of certain elements of the working class (office employees, ex-reformist leaders, who have become government officials, trade union officials, and officials of the Fascist Party, and also poor peasants and declassed proletarians recruited into the "Fascist militia")."

The Comintern and its individual Sections based themselves also on the definitions of the Eleventh and Twelfth Plenum of the ECCI and on the relevant definitions of the individual sections (for example, the German KPD of Thalmann).

We select the following example:

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the ECCI stated:

"The recent growth of fascism was possible only because of the support given by international social-democracy since the war to the bourgeois dictatorship, whatever its form. Social-democracy, which, by fabricating a contradiction between the 'democratic' form of the bourgeois dictatorship and fascism, blunts the vigilance of the masses in the struggle against the rising wave of political reaction and against fascism, and which conceals the counter-revolutionary nature of bourgeois democracy as one form of bourgeois dictatorship, is the most active factor and pace-maker in the development of the capitalist State towards fascism.

The successful struggle against fascism requires the Communist Parties to mobilize the masses on the basis of the united front below against all forms of the bourgeois dictatorship and against every one of its reactionary measures which clears the way for open fascist dictatorship. It requires the rapid and decisive correction of errors, which arise primarily from the liberal idea of a basic difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy, and between the parliamentary and the openly fascist forms of the bourgeois dictatorship; such ideas are a reflection of social-democratic influence in the Communist Parties." [ underlined by the Comintern (SH) ]

Then, the historical turning point came on the 13th Plenum of the ECCI, where Kuusinen announced the revisionist definition of fascism for the first time:

"Fascism in power was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most

reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements [ !!! ] of finance capital."  
[ Speech of Dimitrov, protocols of the VII World Congress, page 322, German edition - underlined by the Comintern (SH) ].

This is a totally anti-Marxist definition !

The Marxist-Leninist definition of fascism as the most brutal form of the dictatorship of the class ( !! ) of the bourgeoisie [ class struggle = class against class !! ] was wiped out here with a stroke of the pen.

Fascism was deprived from its class character and reduced to a small layer within the class of the bourgeoisie ("elements").

The non-antagonistic contradictions among different layers within the whole class of the bourgeoisie were fraudulently split into antagonistic segments.

By means of this defraudation, Dimitrov opened the door to the reconciliation and alliance with the bourgeoisie ( in particular with the liberal bourgeoisie). This definition of fascism is thus a betrayal at the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in essence identical with social democratism. It is through and through anti-communist because it is based on the false assumption that there would be allegedly a *antagonistic* contradiction between the "democratic" dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. However, these are only *two different forms* of the same exploitive and oppressive character of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The relationship between form and content of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was manipulated and distorted to dupe the masses. We communists do not ignore the necessity of the use of the contradictions within the class of the bourgeoisie but we never take side with the bourgeoisie for the purpose to defend the one form of her dictatorship against the other one. And this is our criticism at the VII World Congress.

But before we go into more detail on the content of the revisionist definition, a formal question should be allowed, namely the organisational question of the radical exchange of the one definition of fascism through another one.

Why did Dimitrov favor a definition which was exclusively formulated on a sole plenum of the ECCI ? Why didn't he invoke the most relevant document of the Comintern, the program of the Comintern, and additionally all the correct definitions of the previous World Congresses ? Was it legitimate that the ECCI totally ignored the decision of the previous Congresses ? Is the Plenum of the ECCI not bound to the decisions of the World Congresses and the program ?

This is more than disregard of the decisions of the Comintern. It is a crime at the democratic centralism, at the Comintern, at the whole communist world movement and the revolutionary world proletariat. The Comintern was the Bolshevik party of the world proletariat with all its ideological, political and organizational characteristics. Dimitrov, however, did never really understand the deeper meaning of the world Bolshevik party and therefore he was unable to lead it. And in the end he drove the Comintern into the ground.

It is a typical feature of the revisionist degeneration, when all the resolutions of the world congresses were infringed, and replaced by means of ECCI decisions, even later by means of presidential decisions, and since 1941 by three (!!) top leaders of the Comintern. They had left only a sad caricature of the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin. Just one month after the VII World Congress, the Secretariat of the ECCI abolished the democratic centralism of the Comintern with its decision on reorganization which was an act of direct violation of the statutes of the Comintern. This decision was supposed to bring more "independence" for the Sections. The truth was, that the Sections were factually uncoupled from the Leninist principle of centralism and mostly isolated from the world party. The liquidation of the Comintern - that was the actual organisational consequence of the revisionist definition of fascism. And all this in the precarious moment as the whole

world was aflame !

If you have a look at the time table of the World Congresses, then this list speaks volumes about the development of the Comintern up to its final dissolution :

First Congress 2. 3. - 6. 3. 1919

Second Congress 17. 7. - 7. 8. 1920 (period of 1 year and 5 months)

Third Congress 22. 6. - 12. 7. 1921 ( period after one year)

Fourth Congress 5. 11. - 5. 12. 1922 (period of 1 year and 5 months)

Fifth Congress 17 6 - 8 7 1924 (period after 1 year and 7 months)

Sixth Congress July - August 1928 (period of nearly 4 years)

Seventh Congress 25. 7 – 25. 8. 1935 (period of 7 years!)

Dissolution of the Comintern 20 May 1943 (period of 8 years!)

Only one Congress was held in the fifteen years after the Stalinist VI World Congress in 1928. The proceedings of the four plenary sessions of the Executive Committee were not published in full. Little of the correspondence between the Executive and the Sections was made public. There was no public Comintern statement directly concerned with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the incorporation of Austria in Germany, the anti-Comintern pact, the Munich agreement, or the outbreak of war in 1939.

So much for the formal criticism.

### **We come now to our content-related criticism at the revisionist definition of fascism of the VII World Congress:**

The definition of the VII World Congress is this:

*"Fascism in power is described as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."*

In the time when fascism came up, neither Lenin nor Stalin have used such or similar definitions. Lenin was the undisputed Classic of Marxism-Leninism when the Italian fascism arose, and Stalin was the undisputed Classic of Marxism-Leninism when the Hitler fascists seized power. All 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism define dictatorship, domination, power, counter-revolution, etc., always in the context of the class society, thus of the ruling class. They never have limited the concept of dictatorship to a single "element" of classes or to a single person, to groups or layers: such as the oligarchy (financial oligarchy), the plutocracy, etc.

Basically, capitalist society rests upon the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and not upon certain power of "elements" or single strata . Through its "elements" the class does neither lose its power, nor its relative stability. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is both maneuverable (elastic) and relatively stable in all its features and characteristics - inclusively in the ability of changing its form (of course, the concrete events of class struggle play a decisive role in the course of this transitional process).

The mutual relationship between variability and relative stability is the indispensable condition of a class for the transitional process of different forms of its rulership, for the exchange of the democratic through the fascist dictatorship and vice versa.

Concerning the *"most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital"* - these elements, which are typical for the era of imperialism, exist independently from the different forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus, they exercise their powerful influence both in times of "democracy" and fascism. Imperialism has created both these "elements" and fascism. And there is no doubt about it that the bourgeoisie is the ruling class from the beginning up to the end of the capitalist class society.

Lenin defined correctly the period of imperialism like this:

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. Whatever the political system, the result of these tendencies is everywhere reaction and an extreme intensification of antagonisms in this field." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 22, page 297, English edition). And Stalin defined Leninism as Marxism of the era of imperialism and (!) the proletarian revolution (!). The Comintern (SH) adds here expressively that this excellent Stalinist definition was also valid in the time of the VII World Congress. However, the VII World Congress rejected the proletarian revolution and replaced it by the bourgeois government of the people's front. Dimitrov has dropped the proletarian revolution from the era of imperialism and thus violated and revised Leninism.

Concerning the so called "elements":

The 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism speak unambiguously of the dictatorship of classes over classes and not of the dictatorship of "elements".

The first sentence of the Communist Manifesto states:

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Fascist society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other - the fascist bourgeoisie and the anti-fascist proletariat.

And the period of fascism is undoubtedly part of this epoch of the bourgeoisie - and not part of the "epoch of certain elements of the financial capital" !

We must clearly state that the definition of the VII World Congress was not in line with the exact definition of classes, as used by the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The definition used by Dimitrov, has dropped the Marxist-Leninist concept of classes and replaced by the concept of "elements".

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the differentiation of classes. The differentiation of classes is an indispensable Marxist method, if it is based on a Marxist analysis of the class society. But it is opportunistic, if it is misused for the purpose to distort the basic contradictions of classes - and also for the justification of the pact with the bourgeois people's front government which omits socialism by silence.

We do not deny the existence and functions of certain elements within a class. Lenin taught:

"Bourgeoisies differ ... provide a vast variety of combinations of different groups, sections, and elements both of the bourgeoisie itself and of the working class" (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 17, page 413, English edition).

However, Lenin taught also: A differentiation of classes is anti-Marxist in the case, if an element is equated (or mixed up) with the whole class. And vice versa, it is also anti-Marxist, if a class is disintegrated (/absorbed) by a single element (a single element cannot fill the shoes of a whole class).

Lenin speaks of "... narrow down the concept of class":

"Sure enough, the stratum of the biggest capitalists economically dominates all the other strata, which it unquestionably overwhelms .. This is beyond doubt. Nevertheless, it is a stratum, and not a class." ( Lenin, Collected works, Volume 18, pages 58 - 59; English edition).

The struggle against fascism, the struggle against the monopoly-bourgeoisie, against the financial capital, etc. - all this is class struggle and not a struggle of strata - dissociated from class struggle. Of course are we fighting against "*the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital*", no question, and we do

everything possible to direct as much forces as possible against them, but a victory over fascism is impossible without smashing the fascist state ( which protects these "elements" by means of brutal violence) by means of the revolutionary, anti-fascist weapons of the exploited and oppressed classes - under the leadership of the proletariat.

The disunity within the different fractions and elements of the bourgeois class makes the proletariat strong. Therefore, we do not deny the use of the manifold collusions among the different elements of the bourgeoisie for the cause of the proletariat - as Marx and Engels have written in the "Communist Manifesto":

"Altogether, collisions between the classes of the old society further in many ways the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all time with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles, it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for help, and thus to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie" (Marx, Engels: "Communist Manifesto" [Chapter I, Bourgeoisie and Proletariat]).

Please note: "...fighting the bourgeoisie", and not only fighting *"the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."* (!)

This false definition contradicts the Marxist-Leninist principle of "class against class".

Only by means of the removal of the *"worst elements"*, the proletariat gets not rid of fascism. The appearance of these "elements" are unavoidably part of imperialism and cannot be eliminated selectively. They can only be eliminated by means of the world-revolutionary destruction of imperialism.

The 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism speak of the overthrow of the bourgeois class through the proletarian class, of the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus, of the destruction of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, of the armed socialist revolution, smashing the shackles of capitalist relations of production, of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat etc. ( - and all this independently from the different forms (!) of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie )

Lenin emphasized:

"Let the Martovs, the Chernovs, and non-Party philistines like them, beat their breasts and exclaim: "I thank Thee, Lord, that I am not as 'these', and have never accepted terrorism." These simpletons "do not accept terrorism" because they choose to be servile accomplices of the whiteguards in fooling the workers and peasants. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks "do not accept terrorism" because under the flag of "socialism" they are fulfilling their function of *placing* the masses *at the mercy of the whiteguard terrorism*. This was proved by the Kerensky regime and the Kornilov putsch in Russia, by the Kolchak regime in Siberia, and by Menshevism in Georgia. It was proved by the heroes of the Second International and of the "Two-and-a-Half" International in Finland, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, Britain, etc. Let the flunkey accomplices of whiteguard terrorism wallow in their repudiation of all terrorism. We shall speak the bitter and indubitable truth: in countries beset by an unprecedented crisis, the collapse of old ties, and the intensification of the class struggle after the imperialist war of 1914-18—and that means all the countries of the world—terrorism cannot be dispensed with, notwithstanding the hypocrites and phrase-mongers. Either the whiteguard, bourgeois terrorism of the American, British (Ireland), Italian (the fascists), German, Hungarian and other types, or Red, proletarian terrorism. There is no middle course, no "third" course, nor can there be any." [Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 32, page 356, English edition - underlined by the Comintern (SH) ].

That what Lenin correctly called the necessity of "Red, proletarian terrorism" against

fascist terrorism, was condemned "sectarianism" on the VII World Congress !!

And Dimitrov had chosen this "middle" course, though there is no "third" course, nor can there be any !

Dimitrov, in contrast to Lenin, used the definition of the VII World Congress to damp down and blur the class contradictions for paving the way towards class reconciliation - instead of the transformation of the anti-fascist revolution towards the socialist revolution.

When Lenin speaks of "narrowing the concept of classes" then we must state that the (third) superlative degree, which was grammatically chosen in the definition ("... *most* reactionary, *most* chauvinistic and *most* imperialist..."), is nothing else than the improper potentialization of narrowing the concept of classes.

Similarly, the definition contains adjectives which sound "very revolutionary". But this is only a demagogic trick to distract from the false concept of "elements" (narrowing of the concept of classes), and consequently to reduce the actual degree of the danger of the bourgeoisie as a whole class. The classification of fascism at power had been reduced to a very small amount of elements of finance capital. And additionally, with the utilization of a grammatical third superlative degree of adjectives, the named elements were purposely overemphasized, with the conclusion that the dictatorship of the whole bourgeois class was completely separated from the definition.

The definition of fascism - presented by the VII World Congress - is a revision of Marxism-Leninism and thus a revisionist definition. It is a milestone in the history of modern revisionism. The core of the revisionist nature of this definition of fascism is that the class of the bourgeoisie was divided: into a "progressive" part with which you can cooperate and another ("reactionary") part that you have to combat. The traditional (and still valid) program of the revisionists is based on the reformist slogan of "reducing of monopolies" , for example by means of obtaining parliamentary majority. Even not a "majority" can reduce the monopolistic elements by means of reformist measures as long as imperialism exists. These "elements" can only be destroyed in the course of the socialist world revolution. Besides, also Maoism defended the revisionist definition of fascism.

Coming to the conclusion:

When you hear today about the history of the Comintern, then it is not the right line of Lenin and Stalin, but the wrong line of Dimitrov. And when you hear something about the infamous united front tactics of the VII World Congress, then the quotation of the infamous definition of fascism takes centre stage of attention.

Therefore, the fight against the myth of the revisionist definition of fascism is an important part of the general-line of the Comintern (SH) in its revolutionary struggle against world fascism.

### **Some lessons about the struggle against the revisionist definition of fascism**

The proletariat is not in a position to "tame", to control or even to eliminate the dominance of monopolies and fascism within the capitalist social order. And there is no "peaceful" way in which the inevitability of the "*reactionary, chauvinist, most imperialist elements of finance capital*" could be abolished. They can even neither be urged back nor reduced. In the long run, one can not urge the minimization of monopolies because the creation of monopolies is an immanent law of the development of capitalism and therefore inevitable. One can eliminate monopolism only with the socialist revolution by eliminating the class, to which the finance capitalists belong and from which they emerge. The finance capitalists do not sit "above" the class of the bourgeoisie, but they are her dominant force within imperialism.



The revisionists have turned the anti-monopolistic struggle into an intermediate stage towards "peaceful" socialism which they call "*anti-monopolistic democracy*". The revisionists argue that the united front against fascism makes the working class and its allies strong enough, so that the bourgeoisie could be "forced" by means of overwhelming majorities, to "peacefully" allow the "transition to socialism". Supposedly, the working class would not be able to perform the victorious socialist revolution, so that an intermediate period would be required, in order "to facilitate" the way to socialism.

The trick is as follows:

One separates and uncouples the path from the target (according the thesis of Bernstein), centers demagogically the question of the way, and then one explains certain "intermediate stages" as steps of the way towards the "target". In this way, the socialist goal disappears in the distance until the cows come home.

Lenin, however, teaches that there can be no "intermediate rung" of the ladder from capitalism to socialism. Thus there can also be no "intermediate rung" for the elimination of the "*reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*"

Lenin wrote already in 1921:

"A victorious proletarian revolution in German would immediately and very easily smash any shell of imperialism and would bring about the victory of world socialism".

Lenin called it "a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism there are no intermediate rungs" (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 32, page 335 and 336 English edition).

Imperialism is definitely the last stage of capitalism before the transition to socialism.

And also in contrast to the VII World Congress of the Comintern, it is said clearly and unambiguously in the Comintern program of 1928 :

*"In these (highly developed capitalist countries) is the main demand of the program, the immediate transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat "* [ the program of the Communist International, in: International Press Correspondence No. 133, 1928, Page 2641, German edition - underlined by the Comintern (SH) ].

Did these conditions fundamentally change in the period of fascism ? Of course, they didn't. In the contrary. Capitalism was fully matured for the transition to socialism. The state-monopoly capitalism means the increased - even driven to the extreme - subordination of the State under the monopolies.

"Socialism is merely the next step forward from state-capitalist monopoly"

(Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 32, page 336; English edition).

Stalin wrote in 1952, in: "*The economic problems of socialism in the USSR*" (page 52, German edition, Moscow, 1952):

"The word 'coalescence' (of the monopolies with the state machine) is not appropriate. It superficially and descriptively notes the process of merging of the monopolies with the state, but it does not reveal the economic import of this process. The fact of the matter is that the merging process is not simply a process of coalescence, but the subjugation of the state machine to the monopolies. The word "coalescence" should therefore be discarded and replaced by the words "subjugation of the state machine to the monopolies."

We repeatedly explained that the power of the monopolies can only be eliminated by the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus by means of the armed revolution of the workers, and that anything else awakens illusions about the class nature of the state monopoly for the purpose, to deny the necessity of revolution.

The fascism-definition of the VII World Congress serves the world bourgeoisie, by being adapted to deny the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to explain the socialist world revolution as unnecessary - and to drop socialism in "one" country as a discontinued model. We Communists speak about the approach to the proletarian revolution, about the defeat of fascism by means of the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, however, we refuse a united front government as a so called "preforming of the

dictatorship of the proletariat" which comes about in pact with the bourgeoisie. Every government of a united front which is not built on the ruins of the bourgeois state, is a united front - based upon the bourgeois state. Lenin defined the united front as the front of the workers, united with its allies, inclusively the workers of the social democracy - but never the bourgeoisie and her agencies within the workers' movement. Recognizing the antagonism and irreconcilability between bourgeoisie and proletariat only in words, however in deeds practicing a class reconciliatory policy - that is the core of every revisionist policy of classes. And in nothing but capitalism ended all history of the popular front decisions of the VII World Congress

Some comrades justify the admissibility of the anti-fascist alliances with the bourgeoisie in comparison with Stalin's alliance with the Allies in the Second World War. These comrades must thoroughly study the Albanian alliance against the fascist occupiers [ Enver Hoxha: "The Anglo - American Threat to Albania" (Memoirs of the National Liberation War) ]. These comrades also ignore the fact that it was about a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union as the leading force of the socialist world. This special anti-fascist alliance was not a coalition in the sense of "association of like-minded", but a deal with enemies of communism, which was based on the 5 correct Marxist-Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence.

There are other comrades who criticize the correct definition of fascism - decided by the Fourth Congress, claiming it might only be related to the "anti-imperialist" united front. We can only say to these comrades that they do not understand the integrity and essential difference between the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front tactics of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Both proletarian united front tactics, as well as the united front tactics in union activities serve to the overall unity of the world proletariat, serve the strategy and tactics of the world revolution and are therefore inseparable. Both of them must be based on the same principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The same lessons that we have learned in some detail here about the anti-fascist united front tactics, must also be considered in great detail from the anti-imperialist united front tactics, otherwise you can destroy neither fascism nor imperialism. This means that today's Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement must draw conclusions from the revisionist betrayal at the anti-imperialist united front tactic, namely in such a way that the neo-revisionist restoration of modern revisionism is completely unmasked and combated, similar to the anti-fascist united front tactics.

Many comrades ascertain correctly that in the speech of Dimitrov consistently statements were made, which are not at all in contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. Admittedly, it is not easy to unmask the documents of the VII World Congress. However, this is not astonishing. In general, this phenomenon applies to nearly all speeches and documents of the modern revisionists. We do not criticize the Marxist-Leninist correct positions by themselves, but only the hypocritical way in which the revisionist betrayal was camouflaged with the help of these correct Marxist-Leninist positions. For example, correct positions were elsewhere refuted or abrogated by eclecticism and centrism. In addition, the speech of Dimitrov is so cleverly written, that "everyone" - even with diverging positions - can easily feel vindicated and identify ideologically. Constancy of principles had been confused with dogmatism, and exactly therewith began the process of ideological dissolution of the Comintern, which was followed by the organizational process of its dissolution.

We must judge the definition of fascism (in particular), and the whole speech of Dimitrov (in general), primarily by the actual historic consequences, namely not only the dissolution of the Comintern, but moreover the serious consequences of the crimes of the modern revisionists in their entirety.

The conciliators protected the rightist opportunists:

Bukharin's secret theses on the VI. World Congress of the Comintern were uncovered and removed by Stalin - such as the peaceful transition of capitalism into socialism ( Later on, the Maoists used the Bukharinism for setting up their Chinese social-imperialism).

The conciliator Dimitrov rushed to help Bukharin, however, Stalin successfully frustrated the conciliation towards the Right deviation:

"It is impossible to overcome the Right, opportunist deviation without waging a systematic fight against the conciliatory tendency, which takes the opportunists under its wing."

(Stalin: "The right danger in the C.P.S.U (B), Volume 11, page 208, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

As long as Dimitrov had taken the Rightist opportunists in the Comintern under his wing, the Comintern could not free itself from the Rightist opportunism. Thus came what was to come:

"A victory of the Right deviation in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries would mean the ideological rout of the Communist Parties and an enormous strengthening of Social-Democratism. And what does an enormous strengthening of Social-Democratism mean? It means the strengthening and consolidation of capitalism, for Social-Democracy is the main support of capitalism in the working class."

(Stalin: "The right danger in the C.P.S.U (B), Volume 11, page 199 - 200, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

And that was also exactly the problem of the Comintern:

Firstly, the liquidation of the Comintern and then, secondly, the liquidation of the Soviet Union, and finally the liquidation of socialism in Albania and the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist world movement - this is the story of the tactics of revisionism which was intended to restore the autarchy of world imperialism. This is reason enough to draw conclusions from the rightist turn of the Comintern. This may not happen a second time.

The Seventh World Congress made centrist concessions to the Social Democrats and even sought an alliance with the Second International. Lenin, however, led a fierce, all-round struggle against the Second International. The founder (!) of the Communist International had therefore not the goal to restore the Second International, because this was quite impossible. Lenin created "Terms of Admission into Comintern" (1920) as an irrevocable demarcation line against the Second International which were violated in the last years of the Comintern.

Stalin was asked: "Is it possible to unite the Second and Third Internationals?"

ANSWER : I think it is impossible. It is impossible because the Second and Third Internationals have two entirely different lines of policy and look in different directions.

Whereas the Third International looks in the direction of the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, the Second International, on the contrary, looks in the direction of the preservation of capitalism and of the destruction of everything that is needed for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

The struggle between the two Internationals is the ideological reflection of the struggle between the supporters of capitalism and the supporters of socialism. In this struggle, either the Second or the Third International must be victorious. There are no reasons for doubting that the Third International will be victorious in the working-class movement."

(Stalin, Works, Volume 10, page 187, German edition, KPD/ML 1971)

Today there is still a so-called "Socialist" International (albeit inwardly rotten), but for 57 years there were no more a Comintern! Please notice:

The Communist International was founded five years after the collapse of the Second International. The striking difference between these two time periods gets our point across the whole extent of the consequences of the betrayal at the Comintern. Lenin wrote several volumes of his works in demarcation to the Second International. And how many volumes were written about the end of the Comintern until today ? Not even one Volume !

Our greatest lesson, therefore, is first of all to create a solid ideological foundation beyond the end of the Comintern. With our general-line, we are at the beginning of a modest fundament including all the unavoidable initial difficulties. We can still not speak about a satisfactorily completed Marxist-Leninist lesson about the end of the Comintern. We emphasize this again and again.

Dimitrov's attempts for an alliance with the ruling social democrats, with the Amsterdam International of Labour Unions and all his connection to social democracy, they all resulted historically in an adaption of communism to capitalism. These are lessons that must not be forgotten. If principles are not adhered to, the alliance and compromises take a wrong course, and endanger the line, the world party, and the proper progress of the world revolution. The laws of the world revolution, of the international class struggle, of the nature and role of the Bolshevik world party cannot be manipulated as Dimitrov wished, under the pretext of an allegedly «flexible unity front policy».

We know that the more we gain influence among the masses, the stronger the pressure of the bourgeoisie to the masses and to us communists. Bowing to pressure for the masses to leave the communists, is the goal of the opportunists.

The correct line of the VI. Congress relied on the intensification of the class struggle under the conditions of the world economic crisis in 1929. The broad implementation of these correct line met with great approval and sympathy among the working masses. The masses saw that the Communists gave them a revolutionary flag to fly - in contrast to the leaders of the Social Democracy. Stalin's idea of the new united front tactic was to build on these successes and expand the united front on a revolutionary basis. But after the VII World Congress the flag of Stalin was pulled down in the course of the growing pressure of fascism.

It was Dimitrov who did not adhere to principles of Marxism-Leninism. It was Dimitrov, who in his own country - attacked those comrades as so called "*sectarians*" whose "crime" was alone in it, to fight for the "*object of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat*" (Dimitrov, Selected Works, Volume 3 - in Bulgaria; page 558, translation from German edition).

Dimitroff:

"The VII World Congress of the Communist International implemented the turn of the line of all the Communist Parties by tackling the basic task for the next period the struggle against fascism, as the biggest threat to the working class and the working people: for the peace and freedom of peoples." (Ibid, page 561).

Where is the revolution and socialism? They vanished in the haze. To this opportunism we can only say: There, where the communist flag is pulled down, the opportunists hoist their flag !

Not the Marxist-Leninists, but the eclecticists and opportunists replace the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the "theory" and practice of "*transitions*" and "*interval periods*" to postpone the dictatorship of the proletariat off indefinitely.

The question of elasticity, applied to the united front policy by means of subjectivism, can mean nothing other than eclecticism.

A Popular Front government, which replaces the socialist revolution, or which neglects the creation of better conditions for the break out of a socialist revolution, is not a proletarian but a bourgeois popular front. A government of the proletariat is without a socialist revolution that defeated the bourgeoisie, not possible. If the capitalist state would be able to fulfill revolutionary demands, the proletariat would not need a socialist revolution.

If we can not prevent fascism by means of the revolution, then we must smash fascism by means of the socialist revolution. We will never stop on the half way of the Comintern of a Georgi Dimitrov. That is the general line of the Comintern (SH) in the question of the overthrow of fascism.

By means of waiving the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, Tito was later able to develop the capitalist theory and practice of the Yugoslav "self-administration". Without conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without conditions of the establishment of Soviet power, without overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of its state apparatus - thus under the conditions of capitalism, the proletariat can not achieve its own revolutionary measures and build socialism.

In capitalism, the state can not die peacefully. Dimitrov neglected this lesson by favoring the Popular Front government with the bourgeoisie. The slogan of the Popular Front is therefore only a hollow "revolutionary" phrase, because thus the pressure on the bourgeoisie is only limited by means of the recognition of a Popular Front government. For it, and only for this, the VII World Congress has needed the mass struggle, but not for violent socialist revolution. With the only correct slogan of the socialist revolution, the Popular Front government of Dimitrov would be made completely impossible.

Lenin did not found the III International with the intention to dissolve it one fine day. Not one step back to agreements between social-imperialists and defectors from the camp of socialism!

"Unless the *revolutionary* section of the proletariat is thoroughly prepared in every way for the expulsion and suppression of opportunism it is useless even thinking about the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is the lesson of the Russian revolution which should be taken to heart by the leaders of the "independent" German Social-Democrats, French socialists, and so forth, who now want to evade the issue by means of verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To continue. The Bolsheviks had behind them not only the majority of the proletariat, not only the *revolutionary* vanguard of the proletariat which had been steeled in the long and persevering struggle against opportunism; they had, if it is permissible to use a military term, a powerful "striking force" in the metropolitan cities.

An overwhelming superiority of forces at the decisive point at the decisive moment—this "law" of military success is also the law of political success, especially in that fierce, seething class war which is called revolution." (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 30, page 158, English edition).

The VII World Congress flew in the face of these Leninist principles.

And Stalin taught in *"The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists"* (December 1924), in respect of compromising parties, as follows:

"The preparation for October thus proceeded under the leadership of one party, the Bolshevik Party. But how did the Party carry out this leadership, along what line did the latter proceed? This leadership proceeded along the line of isolating the compromising parties, as the most dangerous groupings in the period of the outbreak of the revolution, the line of isolating the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

What is the fundamental strategic rule of Leninism?

It is the recognition of the following:

- 1) the compromising parties are the most dangerous social support of the enemies of the revolution in the period of the approaching revolutionary outbreak;
- 2) it is impossible to overthrow the enemy (tsarism or the bourgeoisie) unless these parties are isolated;
- 3) the main weapons in the period of preparation for the revolution must therefore be directed towards isolating these parties, towards winning the broad masses of the working people away from them.

In the period of preparation for October the center of gravity of the conflicting forces shifted to another plane. The tsar was gone. The Cadet Party had been transformed from a compromising force into a governing force, into the ruling force of imperialism.

In this period the petty-bourgeois democratic parties, the parties of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, were the most dangerous social support of imperialism.

Why? Because these parties were then the compromising parties, the parties of compromise between imperialism and the laboring masses. Naturally, the Bolsheviks at that time directed their main blows at these parties; for unless these parties were isolated there could be no hope of a rupture between the laboring masses and imperialism, and unless this rupture was ensured there could be no hope of the victory of the Soviet revolution. Many people at that time did not understand this specific feature of the Bolshevik tactics and accused the Bolsheviks of displaying "excessive hatred" towards the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and of "forgetting" the principal goal. But the entire period of preparation for October eloquently testifies to the fact that only by pursuing these tactics could the Bolsheviks ensure the victory of the October Revolution."

Those who only limit themselves on anti-fascist class struggle, are far from being Marxist-Leninists. Marxist-Leninists are only those who expand the antifascist class struggle on the dictatorship of the proletariat - namely not only in words but also in deeds.

The defamation of the dictatorship of the world proletariat - that was the worst betrayal since the VII World Congress.

And this betrayal manifested itself at the same time in relation to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union:

## **"Irreversible" victory of socialism in "one" country.**

### **Our crucial criticism at the decisions of the VII World Congress.**

Now we come to one of the key criticisms at the VII World Congress, which we believe also decisive for the failure of the Comintern, and for the end of socialism in the first phase of its historical development. It was the complete rejection of the doctrine of Leninism on socialism in "one" country, namely in the most important Resolution of the VII World Congress - openly and unanimously adopted. This grave error is, in our opinion, the main flaw of the rightist deviation of the VII World Congress, from which all other errors arise, including the rightist deviation in the united front tactics against war and fascism. This Resolution (subsequent to the speech of Dimitrov) defines the following false thesis on the task of the international labor movement (in Section I, a):

#### **"Finalized and irrevocable victory of socialism in the country of the Soviet Union"**

(Minutes of the VII World Congress of the Comintern, Page 984, Translation from the German edition).

In another Resolution (decided subsequent to the report of Manuilsky) this false solution was repeated, and even proclaimed as "world historical significance":

#### **"ultimate and irrevocable victory of the Soviet Union"**

(Protocols of the VII World Congress, Volume II, Page 1008, translation from the German edition).

And finally, the same wording in the Resolution subsequent to the report of Togliatti (Ercoli alias):

***"With the final victory of socialism (...) relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have entered a new phase."***

(Protocols of the VII World Congress, Volume II, page 998, translation from the German edition).

The quotes from these 3 Resolutions clearly show that it concerns the central opportunist line of the VII World Congress. This was a quite clear and open turn of the old correct line of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin into its opposite .

In juxtaposition we quote the correct position of comrade Stalin:

"What is the final victory of socialism?

The final victory of socialism is the full guarantee against attempts at intervention, and hence against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with the support of international capital. Therefore, the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries, and still more the victory of the workers in at least several countries, is a necessary condition for fully guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of socialism. Anyone who confuses the first group of contradictions, which can be overcome entirely by the efforts of one country, with the second group of contradictions, the solution of which requires the efforts of the proletarians of several countries, commits a gross error against Leninism. He is either a muddle-head or an incorrigible opportunist." (Stalin, Works, Volume 7, pages 102 and 103, German edition, KPD/ML 1971)

"It imposes upon us the duty of working better and fighting better for the final victory of socialism in our country, for the victory of socialism in all countries." (Stalin, Works, Volume 13, page 336, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

For the final victory of socialism in one country has yet to be fought. For Stalin this meant nothing else than to fight for the world socialist revolution because the victory of socialism can only be secured and guaranteed on a world scale.

But with the resolutions of the VII World Congress, the Comintern would not need any more to fight for socialism, because socialism in the Soviet Union had already been supposedly "irrevocably triumphed." That was for the leaders of the Comintern the justification for the cancellation of their main task - namely to organize the world socialist revolution, and thus to secure the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union irrevocably. The leaders of the Comintern left the struggle for socialism to the Soviet Union, and they confined themselves to "democracy and peace." Broader masses should be mobilized for "democracy and peace". They would then be led towards socialism by means of the Soviet Union. That was - so to speak - a new Comintern as a missionary for pure "peace and democracy" - "mass provider" as a kind of "supplier operation" for the Soviet Union. This corresponded exactly to the objectives of Kautskyism, namely to transform the International from an instrument of the international class struggle into an instrument of peace and reconciliation. Stalin, however, defended the Leninist doctrine of the necessary victory of socialism in all countries as a contribution for securing the final victory in the Soviet Union and in all the other socialist countries:

"The final victory of socialism in the first country to emancipate itself is impossible without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries, and the unfolding of the world revolution will be the more rapid and thorough, the more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to the workers and laboring masses of all other countries."

(1924 - Stalin: *"The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists"*; underlined by the Comintern [SH])

Dimitrov thesis of the "final victory" was related to the "peaceful transition" of Bukharin. This way, the dangerous Kautskyism was smuggled into the Soviet Union in the phase of the advanced construction of socialism. If you don't go forwards you go backwards. And the VII World Congress called this "*final victory of socialism*". After the "final victory of socialism" begins nothing but the restoration of capitalism and the curtain which was drawn over socialism's transition to communism. From Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism" to a

certain "ultra-socialism" , namely the "peaceful transition of imperialism to socialism". This was the centrist model of the "definitive defeat of imperialism by means of the final victory of socialism"!

The "theory of the transition to the final victory of socialism in 'one' country 'to the next higher quality level of the" final victory of communism in' a 'country', this was later preached by the Soviet revisionists, in particular by Khrushchev.

Stalin emphasized three following 3 conclusions that have been completely disregarded in the resolutions of the VII World Congress ( namely 1 year before it took place):

"first conclusion":

"There is the danger that certain of our comrades, having become intoxicated with success, will get swelled heads and begin to lull themselves with boastful songs, such as: "It's a walkover," "We can knock anybody into a cocked hat," etc. This is not precluded by any means, comrades. There is nothing more dangerous than sentiments of this kind, for they disarm the Party and demobilise its ranks. If such sentiments gain the upper hand in our Party we may be faced with the danger of all our successes being wrecked." (Stalin, Works, Volume 13, page 333, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

This dangerous mood spilled over into the Comintern, too. The leaders of the Comintern let themselves be carried away to their swaggering resolution of the so called *"irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union"*. They became arrogant and misused the authority of the Comintern. Stalin, however, warned the Comintern, not to become lulled, to increase vigilance, to preserve the state of combat readiness upright: not to become disarmed by the Social Democrats, but arming against social democracy, not demobilization, but mobilizing all forces against the adaption of the Comintern to the Social Democracy in general and its "left" wing in particular. The rightists misused the euphoric moods to transform the mass mobilization for the revolution into a mass mobilization for the restoration of capitalism. In this way, the revolutionary slogans degenerated to a fig leaf - which were then sentenced as so called "sectarian" slogans.

Stalin:

"We must not become infatuated with the successes achieved, and must not become conceited.

It is a very rare thing for ruling parties to have a correct line and to be able to put it into effect. Actually, there are now no such parties in the world; for they are all living without prospects, they are floundering in the chaos of the crisis, and see no way of getting out of the swamp.

To what does our Party owe its superiority? To the fact that it is a Marxist party, a Leninist party. It owes it to the fact that it is guided in its work by the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. There can be no doubt that as long as we remain true to this teaching, as long as we have this compass, we shall achieve successes in our work." (Stalin, Works, Volume 13, page 335, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

What was the situation when Stalin said this ? In that time, Stalin was seriously worried about the right danger in the CPSU (B). Stalin forestalled the right deviation of the VII World Congress with these words:

"Hundreds of bourgeois governments have tried to destroy Marxism. And what has happened? Bourgeois governments have come and gone, but Marxism has remained"(Stalin, Works, Volume 13, page 335, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

But the *indestructibility of Marxism*, as the ideology of the proletariat, was never equalized with the *indestructibility of socialism in "one" country"* , neither by comrade Lenin nor by comrade Stalin (– thus as long as the power of world imperialism still exists).

This sleight of hand could only be produced by the right-wing leaders of the Comintern. And here we have the essentially similar ideological battle line of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" against the correct Leninist-Stalinist theory of socialism in "one" country - the



one as an open line , and the other hidden:

The right-opportunist elements declared the "definitiveness" and "irrevocability" of the victory of socialism in "one" country (although in a period when world imperialism prevails on an international scale). Therefore they are the ideological twins of the Trotskyists who declared the victory of socialism in "one" country initially "impossible" and later "unwinnable".

This is expression and result of the antagonistic contradiction between the position of Stalin and the positions of the "Bloc of Rightists and Trotskyists" within the CPSU (B) and the rightist and centrist leaders of the Comintern. The then ensuing clashes and counterclashes, the trails and purges, all this was inevitable - not only within the CPSU (B), but also within the Comintern. Stalin gained a victory over Bukharinism (Bukharin propagated the peaceful transformation of socialism).

The following quote of Stalin is of fundamental importance for the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, especially in the then current phase of fascism in power. This quote was directed not least against the right-wing threat in the Comintern.

Stalin:

"The working class of the U.S.S.R. is strong not only because it has a Leninist party that has been tried and tested in battle; further, it is strong not only because it enjoys the support of the vast masses of the labouring peasants; it is strong also because it is supported and assisted by the world proletariat. The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world proletariat, its advanced detachment, and our republic is the cherished child of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that if our working class had not had the support of the working class in the capitalist countries it would not have been able to retain power, it would not have secured the conditions for socialist construction, and, consequently, it would not have achieved the successes that it has achieved. International ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the capitalist countries, the fraternal alliance between the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of all countries —this is one of the corner-stones of the strength and might of the Republic of Soviets. The workers in the West say that the working class of the U.S.S.R. is the shock brigade of the world proletariat. That is very good. It means that the world proletariat is prepared to continue rendering all the support it can to the working class of the U.S.S.R. But it imposes serious duties upon us. It means that we must prove by our work that we deserve the honourable title of shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. It imposes upon us the duty of working better and fighting better for the final victory of socialism in our country, for the victory of socialism in all countries.

Hence, the third conclusion: We must be true to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries. Such are the conclusions." (Stalin, Works, Volume 13, pages 335 - 336, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

Lenin and Stalin have fought against the opportunism of the false thesis of the so-called "final" victory of socialism in "one" country in many battles. They both knew and emphasized that the fate of the Soviet Union stands and falls with the necessary victory of the revolution in a number of other socialist countries. It was actually from the beginning always been the general line of the Comintern to strengthen the proletarian internationalism and to advance the world revolution and thus to defend the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union by the support of the world proletariat.

Not later than in 1956, the anti-Leninist thesis of the *"final and irrevocable victory"* is contradicted by historical facts, especially with the open betrayal on the XX. (Krushchevite) Congress of the CPSU.

The modern revisionists around the world came to the aid of the Soviet revisionists and carried the so called "irreversible" socialism to the grave by means of the restoration of capitalism. The modern revisionists talked the world proletariat out of Stalinism and the

international proletariat was led astray.

This thesis of the "*indestructibility*" of Socialism in conditions of world imperialism has the character of capitulation and is liquidationist. It is even sectarian in some ways, because it assumes that socialism could be achieved without the socialist revolution, without the international proletariat, without the Comintern.

The task of the international labor movement was steered into the totally wrong direction through this false thesis. This thesis of the VII World Congress led directly to the isolation, weakening and liquidation of the Soviet Union. And with the Soviet Union, the world proletariat lost its base and lever of the socialist world revolution. This was a serious betrayal of the socialist world revolution and the Comintern. In this way, the question of socialism was declared "solved". The VII World Congress redundantized the hegemony of the world proletariat. Lenin and Stalin were convinced that the world proletariat is the only revolutionary force which will build up world socialism. Without the victory of the world proletariat is the final victory of socialism in "one" country impossible.

Addressed to such forces who claimed boastfully and self-deceitfully that they had already achieved allegedly the "*full guarantee against intervention and the restoration of capitalism*", Stalin answered to Comrade Filippovitch, on February , 1938, concerning the Resolution of the Fourteenth Conference of the CPSU (B):

"Lenin teaches us that "we have all that is necessary for the building of a complete Socialist society." Hence we can and must, by our own efforts, overcome our bourgeoisie and build Socialist society.

Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and those other gentlemen who later became spies and agents of fascism, denied that it was possible to build Socialism in our country unless the victory of the Socialist revolution was first achieved in other countries, in capitalist countries. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen wanted to turn our country back to the path of bourgeois development and they concealed their apostasy by hypocritically talking about the "victory of the revolution" in other countries. This was precisely the point of controversy between our Party and these gentlemen. Our country's subsequent course of development proved that the Party was right and that Trotsky and company were wrong. For, during this period, we succeeded in liquidating our bourgeoisie, in establishing fraternal collaboration with our peasantry and in building, in the main, Socialist society, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist revolution has not yet been victorious in other countries.

This is the position in regard to the first side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

The second side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of the mutual relations between our country and other countries, capitalist countries; the problem of the mutual relations between the working class of our country and the bourgeoisie of other countries. This concerns the sphere of external, international relations.

Can the victorious Socialism of one country, which is encircled by many strong capitalist countries, regard itself as being fully guaranteed against the danger of military invasion, and hence, against attempts to restore capitalism in our country?

Can our working class and our peasantry, by their own efforts, without the serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries, overcome the bourgeoisie of other countries in the same way as we overcame our own bourgeoisie?

Can we regard the victory of Socialism in our country as final, i.e., as being free from the dangers of military attack and of attempts to restore capitalism, assuming that Socialism is victorious only in one country and that the capitalist encirclement continues to exist?

Such are the problems that are connected with the second side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the negative.

Leninism teaches that "the final victory of Socialism, in the sense of full guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale" (c.f. resolution of the Fourteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Can the victory of Socialism in one country be regarded as final if this country is encircled by capitalism, and if it is not fully guaranteed against the danger of intervention and restoration?

Clearly, it cannot, This is the position in regard to the question of the victory of Socialism in one country.

We could say that this victory is final if our country were situated on an island and if it were not surrounded by numerous capitalist countries.

But as we are not living on an island but "in a system of States," a considerable number of which are hostile to the land of Socialism and create the danger of intervention and restoration, we say openly and honestly that the victory of Socialism in our country is not yet final.

From your letter it is evident that Comrade Urozhenko adheres to different and not quite Leninist opinions. He, it appears, asserts that *"we now have the final victory of Socialism and full guarantee against intervention and the restoration of capitalism."*

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Comrade Urozhenko is fundamentally wrong. Now you can judge whether the passage from the book "Problems of Leninism" (1926) on the victory of Socialism in one country is out of date or not. I myself would very much like it to be out of date. I would like unpleasant things like capitalist encirclement, the danger of military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, etc., to be things of the past. Unfortunately, however, these unpleasant things still exist."

(On the Final Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. [18 January 1938 - 12 February 1938] - Stalin, Works, Volume 14, German edition, page 173, KPD/ML 1971).

Stalin wrote, concerning: "The Possibility of Building Socialism in our Country" (Reply to Comrade Pokoyev) – February 10, 1926:

"We are capable of completely building a socialist society by our own efforts and without the victory of the revolution in the West, but that, by itself alone, our country cannot guarantee itself against encroachments by international capital—for that the victory of the revolution in several Western countries is needed. The possibility of completely building socialism in our country is one thing, the possibility of guaranteeing our country against encroachments by international capital is another. In my opinion, your mistake and that of your comrades is that you have not yet found your way in this matter and have confused these two questions." (Stalin, Works, Volume 8, page 87, German edition, KPD/ML 1971). And the VII World Congress had confused these two questions, too.

Stalin:

"Can this task be fulfilled, can the final victory of socialism be achieved in one country, without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several advanced countries? No, it cannot. To overthrow the bourgeoisie the efforts of one country are sufficient; this is proved by the history of our revolution. For the final victory of socialism, for the organisation of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient; for that, the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are required" (see *"The Foundations of Leninism"*)

"What is meant by the impossibility of the complete, final victory of socialism in one country without the victory of the revolution in other countries? It means the impossibility of having a full guarantee against intervention, and consequently against the restoration of the bourgeois order, without the victory of the revolution in at least a number of countries. To deny this indisputable thesis means departure from internationalism, departure from Leninism." (Stalin, Works, »Concerning Questions of Leninism«, Volume 8, page 59, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

The VII World Congress abandoned this principle, and therefore also the proletarian

internationalism!

»*Final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union* - it means in effect that the class struggle would be no more needed to ensure the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union (Bukharinism). To this denial of the class struggle, Stalin replied in 1937 as follows:

"We must smash and cast aside the rotten theory that with every advance we make the class struggle here must subside, the more successes we achieve the tamer will the class enemy become. This is not only a rotten theory but a dangerous one, for it lulls our people, leads them into a trap, and enables the class enemy to recuperate for the struggle against the Soviet government." (Stalin, Works, Volume 14, page 136, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).).

Gradual dying away of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, Unification of revisionists with social democratism - that was their counter-revolutionary alliance in service of the world bourgeoisie. The line of the VII Congress resulted in exactly this direction.

Dimitrov polemized with a preference against supposedly "revolutionary hollow phrases". But he himself had set up, with his "irrevocable final victory", the greatest revolutionary hollow phrase of the VII World Congress. In words occur against revolutionary hollow phrases - but he himself canted revolutionary hollow phrases to deceive the comrades - this is the true Dimitrov.

His "final victory" - this is a thoroughly reactionary and revisionist line. With this line he had proved a disservice to the world imperialists.

The Resolution of the Fourteenth Conference (*"The Tasks of the Comintern and the RCP (B) in connection with the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI"*), it says about the victory of socialism in one country:

"The existence of two directly opposite social systems gives rise to the constant menace of capitalist blockade, of other forms of economic pressure, of armed intervention, of restoration. Consequently, the only guarantee of the *final victory of socialism*, i.e., the *guarantee against restoration*, is a victorious socialist revolution in a number of countries. . . ."

"Leninism teaches that the *final victory of socialism, in the sense of a full guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relationships, is possible only on an international scale.* . . ."

"But it *does not follow* from this that it is impossible to build a *complete socialist society* in a backward country like Russia, without the 'state aid' (Trotsky) of countries more developed technically and economically". [Resolution quoted by Stalin, Vol 8, page 63, German edition].

"Recently, in the Political Bureau, Kamenev and Zinoviev advocated the point of view that we cannot cope with the internal difficulties due to our technical and economic backwardness unless an international revolution comes to our rescue. We, however, with the majority of the members of the Central Committee, think that we can build socialism, are building it, and will completely build it, notwithstanding our technical backwardness and in spite of it. We think that the work of building will proceed far more slowly, of course, than in the conditions of a world victory; nevertheless, we are making progress and will continue to do so. We also believe that the view held by Kamenev and Zinoviev expresses disbelief in the internal forces of our working class and of the peasant masses who follow its lead. We believe that it is a departure from the Leninist position" (This document was quoted by Stalin in Volume 8, page 65, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971)

When Zinoviev had cloaked his disbelief in the victory of socialism in one country as alleged "*internationalism*", Stalin put the following question:

"Will it not be more correct to say that it is not the Party but Zinoviev who is sinning against internationalism and the international revolution? For what is our country, the country "that is building socialism," if not the base of the world revolution? But can it be a real base of the world revolution if it is incapable of completely building a socialist society? Can it remain the mighty centre of attraction for the workers of all countries that it undoubtedly is

now, if it is incapable of achieving victory at home over the capitalist elements in our economy, the victory of socialist construction? I think not. But does it not follow from this that disbelief in the victory of socialist construction, the dissemination of such disbelief, will lead to our country being discredited as the base of the world revolution? And if our country is discredited the world revolutionary movement will be weakened. How did Messrs. the Social-Democrats try to scare the workers away from us? By preaching that "the Russians will not get anywhere." What are we beating the Social-Democrats with now, when we are attracting a whole series of workers' delegations to our country and thereby strengthening the position of communism all over the world? By our successes in building socialism. Is it not obvious, then, that whoever disseminates disbelief in our successes in building socialism thereby indirectly helps the Social-Democrats, reduces the sweep of the international revolutionary movement, and inevitably departs from internationalism?" (1926 - Stalin, Works, Volume 8, page 66, German edition, KPD/ML, 1971).

For many years, this "leftist", Trotskyist and anti-Bolshevik line has been successfully combated under the leadership of Comrade Stalin - both in the CPSU (B) and in the Comintern. And this was the reason why the VII World Congress had to hide its turn away from Leninism-Stalinism behind the criticism of the "left" deviation. This hampered the Stalinist struggle against right opportunism in the question of the victory of socialism in "one" country. And this is still unclear for some comrades, but they cannot combat "left" opportunism by means of right opportunism. Therefore, these comrades are mistaken if they believe that they could "defend" Stalinism by means of these centrist Resolutions of the VII World Congress.

And, moreover, you cannot defend the Bolshevization of the Comintern if you defend the so-called "final victory of Bolshevism" - a revisionist slogan which was created by Dimitrov. He created this slogan as an "achievement" of the VII World Congress. The true meaning of this reactionary anti-Bolshevik slogan was, however, that the VII World Congress had declared the process of the Bolshevization of the 5th and 6th World Congress as definitely finished. In consequence, this meant the nullification of the Bolshevization of the Comintern.

The "Bolshevization" of Bolshevism - this rhetorical play on words means logically nothing other than to downgrade, neutralize and eliminate Bolshevism. The opportunist leaders misused this term to purify the Comintern from its Leninist-Stalinist Bolshevization. Dimitrov used the term "*final Bolshevism*" in his Selected Works, Volume 3, Page 562, German edition). But with such "final" declarations it is impossible to eliminate Bolshevism. However, the Classics of Marxism-Leninism have never used such a term.

Lenin and Stalin acted always on the assumption that the process of the permanent Bolshevization is a law of development of the Comintern. And with the Mao Tsetung-"thoughts", its creator tried to set a final point behind the development of Marxism-Leninism. Also Ramiz Alia proved as a follower of Dimitrov, when he preached the "final victory over revisionism" in Albania. It is clear that you can neither combat nor abolish revisionism by means of revisionism.

It is unclear, for some comrades, that it is impossible to defend the world revolution against the "Left" opportunism (Trotskyism) by means of Right opportunism. They do not understand that this is only possible by means of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The character of the authentic communist world movement was and is always, and at any time, determined by the common struggle for the socialist world revolution. The destruction of this main feature of the world communist movement was caused by the betrayal of the modern revisionists. And the neo-revisionists affirm the revolution only in words, but in deeds, these lackeys are in the hands of the revisionists. With the VII World Congress, the Comintern abandoned its course towards the socialist world revolution. The VII World Congress paved the revisionist way against the socialist world revolution. And the Resolution on the "invincibility" of the Soviet Union and the

"irreversible" victory of socialism in "one" country played a key role for this purpose. The VII World Congress had drawn a line under the whole world revolutionary history of the Comintern. It was a historically decisive stroke with all its aftereffects which are still visible today. We will create the new Stalinist-Hoxhaist World movement on the basis of our criticism at the VII World Congress. Only this enables us to follow the path of the great Comintern in a dignified manner - namely exactly at the point where the betrayal began. The so-called "final victory" of socialism meant basically a rape of the world revolution. The proletarian internationalism was misused by the modern revisionists, namely for the purpose to strengthen one's own interests at the expense of other countries. The proclamation of the "final" victory of socialism in "one" country promoted inevitably the so-called *"own path to socialism"* at the expense of world socialism and the socialist world revolution. The historical consequences are well-known:

When the fascist occupiers were swept away from Eastern Europe, the backward decaying classes tried to survive under new masters. The revisionists of East Europe set out to Stalin's bootlickers to regain their privileges. The right deviation towards nationalism under the banner of *"friendship with the Soviet Union"* cultivated the ambition of the new bourgeoisie to establish her new rule over the working class and peasants. The Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was betrayed in favor of own nationalist interests of the revisionists. Tito showed them how. Later, he was followed by all other the other revisionists.

Stalin said about the essence of the deviation towards local nationalism in his political Report to the 16th Congress on 27 June 1930:

"The essence of the deviation towards local nationalism is the endeavour to isolate and segregate oneself within the shell of one's own nation, the endeavour to slur over class contradictions within one's own nation, the endeavour to protect oneself from Great-Russian chauvinism by withdrawing from the general stream of socialist construction, the endeavour not to see what draws together and unites the labouring masses of the nations of the U.S.S.R. and to see only what can draw them apart from one another.

The deviation towards local nationalism reflects the discontent of the moribund classes of the formerly oppressed nations with the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat, their striving to isolate themselves in their national bourgeois state and to establish their class rule there." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, page 324, German edition, KPD/ML 1971)

So we are of the opinion that this departure in the sense of local nationalism can also be applied to the Eastern European people's democracies. And we are also of the opinion that this development was influenced by the false thesis of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. This was exactly the demanded *"peaceful way towards socialism"* by means of the so called "final" victory of socialism in the Soviet Union - thus without the need of the socialist revolution and without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course this was only true, as long as the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin existed. With the separation from the rule of the social-imperialist Soviet Union at the beginning of the era of Khrushchev and Brezhnev took the matter a different course. We bring Czechoslovakia in 1968 to mind and also the great-Russian social-chauvinism of the new revisionist Kremlin Tsars against the Soviet peoples. Again, the thesis of the so-called *"final victory of socialism"* played an important role for the subsequent emergence of social-chauvinism in the degenerated revisionist Soviet Union, and of course for the rise of the Soviet social-imperialism to the second superpower in the world.

Up to the VII World Congress, the Comintern had seen the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as an essential chain link in order to facilitate the victory of the working people over world capitalism. According to Lenin, it is the task of the victorious revolution, to do everything possible for the development and support of the revolution in other countries. Those who abandoned the Soviet Union as the base of the world revolution, set out on the path of treachery. And from this betrayal emanated inevitably the dialectical

transformation of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin into a new base and center of the world imperialist counterrevolution.

The whole united front policy of Dimitrov is thus linked to the idealistic postulate of the *"final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union."*

With the demise of the Soviet Union and Albania, this united front policy of Dimitrov collapsed like a house of cards. With the VII World Congress, the world bourgeoisie hoped to hold in her hands a return ticket back to the station of capitalism, for the case, that her downfall would be heralded by the establishment of world fascism. But this return ticket expired historically, and has been declared to be invalid by the Comintern (SH). The end of the world bourgeoisie is inevitable, and the whole strategy and tactics of the proletarian world revolution is based on this absolute truth. The world revolution is not finished with the VII World Congress nor with the dissolution of the Comintern. Nobody will or can stop it.

Let the neo-revisionists argue the opposite as much as they want: There will be no *"final victory of the world socialist revolution"* before the era of world communism. Class struggle ends up with the classes, and not beforehand. With world communism is the socialist world revolution really completed. That is and remains the general-line of the Comintern (SH) !

## **Our critique of the right-opportunist Resolution of the VII World Congress**

### **against the imperialist war**

[ We recommend to compare the concerning correct [Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the ECCI](#)) and the [RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH ECCI PLENUM ON THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR](#) - especially: "6. To unmask social-democracy..." - which are in contrast to the revisionist Resolution of the VII World Congress]

Also in the question of the imperialist war, the VII World Congress had completely left the Leninist road of the October Revolution.

In the Resolutions of the Seventh Congress there is nothing at all about the fact that the imperialist war creates the conditions for the socialist revolution, for the world revolution; that we Communists are expressly committed to connect the imperialist war with the world revolution; that you can only eliminate the inevitability of imperialism and wars by means of the dictatorship of the world proletariat and the construction of world socialism; that the October revolution will finally win in this way, and that one must proceed the Leninist path. The VII World Congress thus has finally abandoned the doctrine of Lenin on the anti-imperialist war.

Lenin:

"The opportunists have wrecked the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle congresses, which made it binding on socialists of all countries to combat chauvinism in all and any conditions, made it binding on socialists to reply to any war begun by the bourgeoisie and governments, with intensified propaganda of civil war and social revolution." [underlined by the Comintern(SH)]. The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism, which developed from the features of a now bygone (and so-

called "peaceful") period of history, and in recent years has some practically to dominate the International. The opportunist have long been preparing the ground for this collapse by denying the socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead; by rejecting the class struggle with its inevitable conversion at certain moments into civil war, and by preaching class collaboration ... instead of recognising the need for a revolutionary war by the proletarians of all countries, against the bourgeoisie of all countries. The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan! [*underlined by the Comintern(SH)*]. Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries! Long live a proletarian International, freed from opportunism !" (Lenin, collected works, Volume 21, "*The War and Russian Social-Democracy*", English edition)

"The war has been brought about by the ruling classes and only a revolution of the working class can end it." (Lenin, »*War and Revolution*«, Volume 24, page 420, German edition).

None of these Leninist principles can be found in the decisions of the Seventh Congress!

In the contrary:

Dimitrov described the claim - "*that allegedly exactly those parties of the people's front and those states which advocate peace would lead to civil war and military involvements*" - as "*provocations of the Fascists*" (! !) (Dimitrov, Selected Works, Volume 3, page 49, translation from the German edition ).

Lenin's thesis that the communist parties have to do everything possible for the civil war with compelling need, in order to achieve the termination of the war, and in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat - this was allegedly a "*fascist provocation*" in the eyes of Dimitrov ! And this for the alleged purpose that the pacifists should not be "deterred" through communism (?!).

"Renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of repelling the "broad masses of the population"(meaning the petty bourgeoisie)—such, doubtlessly, are the ideological foundations of opportunism". (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 21, page 35, English version).

In his essay, "*The united front of struggle for peace*", 1938, Dimitrov calls those comrades who propagate "*the inevitability of war and the impossibility of preserving peace*" = "*left phrases threshers*" and "*ossified doctrinaires*". (Dimitrov, Selected Works, Volume 3, page 15, translation from the German edition).

Thus, Dimitrov called Stalin's teachings (that the inevitability of imperialist wars remain in force ) "*a fatalistic perception.*" (Dimitrov, Selected Works, Volume 3, page 15, translation from the German edition).

And what had Dimitrov written in 1941 in his article "The seventieth anniversary of the Paris Commune?" "*To avoid the accusation, that the Communards would unleash the civil war, they have not begun immediately a sweeping military offensive against the reaction of Versailles*" (Dimitrov, Vol 3, Page 213, translation from the German edition).

But if the proletariat must wage a civil war against imperialist war, in order to overthrow the rule of the fascist bourgeoisie by force of arms, then this is demonized as a "*fascist provocation*". The attitude of Dimitrov differs not essentially from the attitude of Kautsky.

With his social-chauvinism, Kautsky argued for waiving the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in one's own country. The Seventh World Congress had also decided such a waiver, albeit in disguised form, because the Soviet Union would have "favorable conditions for solving the problem with its own resources". In Togliatti's Resolution against the war, we also find the thesis of the so-called "*final victory of socialism*" in the Soviet Union (= "*full guarantee against intervention*").

And thus the VII World Congress limited itself to a "peace-maker" instead of organizing the revolutionary civil world war against the imperialist war. In his Resolution, Togliatti rejected the Marxist-Leninist principle of the need, to eliminate the inevitability of imperialist wars by



means of the world-revolutionary overthrow of world imperialism.

"It is the duty of every socialist to conduct propaganda of the class struggle, in the army as well; work directed towards turning a war of the nations into civil war is the only socialist activity in the era of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations. Down with mawkishly sanctimonious and fatuous appeals for "peace at any price"! Let us raise high the banner of civil war! Imperialism sets at hazard the fate of European culture: this war will soon be followed by others, unless there are a series of successful revolutions.

The story about this being the "last war" is a hollow and dangerous fabrication, a piece of philistine "mythology" (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 21, page 40, English version).

The struggle against fascism and the struggle against the imperialist war - thus the two main pillars of the Seventh Congress - were established on totally anti-Leninist basis.

The world-capitalist encirclement of socialism in "one" country makes the danger of military intervention unavoidable. Socialism in "one" country can neither prevent imperialist wars against other imperialists, nor imperialist wars against a socialist country - namely as long as world socialism is still not there.

In this sense, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union could impossibly guarantee future prevention of imperialist wars - what is proved by irrefutable facts. The invincibility of the ideology of the world proletariat must not be equated with the so-called "invincibility" of a socialist country which is surrounded by capitalist countries. History of socialism teaches us that socialism is in no way invincible as long as imperialism rules the world.

The preventability of imperialist wars can ultimately only be guaranteed by the armed victorious world proletariat . However, not before the era of world communism, the threat of war of man against man is abolished forever.

Stalin later refuted the false, right-opportunist line of the *"termination of the era of the inevitability of imperialist wars"* :

"Some comrades hold that, owing to the development of new international conditions since the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable.

They consider that the contradictions between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp are more acute than the contradictions among the capitalist countries. These comrades are mistaken. They see the outward phenomena that come and go on the surface, but they do not see those profound forces which, although they are so far operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of developments. The struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp. The inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force."

(Stalin, »The economic problems of socialism in the USSR, 1952).

Of all this, nothing is to read in the minutes of the Seventh World Congress.

In the Resolution of Togliatti, you can neither find the word "revolution" nor the word "socialism" (with the exception of the Soviet Union).

We counter: No one is allowed to answer the question of the inevitability of imperialist wars without the question of the armament of the proletarian revolution and socialism. In an opportunistic manner, Togliatti had formulated the following sentence in his Resolution to the VII World Congress (according to the pacifist slogan: "peace, friendship, harmony of classes"):

*"The Soviet Union defends the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defense of national independence of small nations; it serves the vital interests of humanity; it protects the culture against barbarism of war"*

(Resolution of Togliatti: "(II) The role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace", protocols of the Seventh World Congress, Vol II, page 1000, translation from the German edition).

We hardly believe that Lenin and Stalin would ever content themselves with such universal phrases, where neither the revolutionary transformation of the war nor the socialism was

mentioned.

*"On the basis of the final victory of socialism over capitalism and the consequent strengthening of the military strength of the country, the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have reached a new stage"* (Togliatti, protocols, ibid, page 1000).

What was meant by this? A Soviet social-imperialist superpower which has itself waged imperialist wars such as against Afghanistan or so? The Seventh World Congress has paved the ideological foundation for the development of the social-imperialist Soviet Union. This truth has been confirmed in practice later.

During the German-Soviet non-aggression treaty, in the Comintern was spoken little about the "fascist warmongers" - in comparison with the previous Resolution of the VI. World Congress. Remarkably, nearly all documents have "disappeared" in this time period. It is a characteristic feature of opportunism that ideological principles are sacrificed in favor of tactical reasons. The German-Soviet non-aggression treaty did not and could not eliminate the nature of warmongering of the Hitler-Fascists.

Dimitrov's article: *"The tasks of the working class in the war"*, dated 11 November 1939, began with quotations of Lenin and Stalin, but not for the purpose to propagate the revolutionary standpoint against imperialist wars, but only to justify his opportunistic "united front tactics".

Bourgeois sources say that the renegade and leading member of the Comintern - Walter Ulbricht - had openly propagated the support of the Hitler-Fascists *"against the Anglo-French war bloc"* (August Hoppe, *Darium of the world revolution*, 1967, Iimgau-Verlag, page 245, German edition - The bourgeois author bases himself on the Comintern's magazin: *"Die Welt"*, published in Stockholm on February 9, 1940").

Also Dimitrov directed his spearhead against the *"aggressors England and France"* (Dimitrov Works, Vol 3, Page 166, German edition) while keeping silence on the Hitler-fascist warmongers - after the *"final victory of socialism in the USSR"*, when *"the relationship between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries enter into a new phase."*

Defense of socialism in "one" country can never be equalized with disarmament of the world revolution. And the dissolution of the Comintern inmidst the war against the Soviet Union was doubtedless a disarmament of the world revolution and thus weakening the defense of socialism in "one" country.

Stalin was completely right when he said:

"The U.S.S.R. cannot be defended if support is given to the disorganisation of the Sections of the Comintern." (Stalin, Works, Volume 10, page 73, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

Despite the betrayal by the rightist leaders of the Comintern, Stalin dealt a devastating blow to the world imperialists. With the Great Patriotic War, Stalin broke through the capitalist encirclement of the world center of the world revolution. Historically, Stalinism was the biggest and farest step of the revolutionary transition from world capitalism to world socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha followed Stalin by means of the victory of the Albanian liberation war over the fascist occupiers. But in the end, this path towards world socialism was blocked by world imperialism with greatest efforts, and in particular, with the help of the betrayal of the modern revisionists, that had been already initiated on the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. The restoration of capitalism became the biggest obstacle on the path to world socialism.

Enver Hoxha continued successfully with the Leninist-Stalinist fight against the restoration of capitalism. The Hoxhaism produces evidence to the world proletariat, that socialism triumphs over modern revisionism if the working class is guided by the teachings of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism. Hoxhaism is the doctrine of the victory of the working class over the modern revisionism, and secures the way to the victory of the world socialist revolution.

**And this is supposed to be a “leader” of the Comintern !**  
***Can there really be such “leaders”?* (Stalin)**  
**Stalin's struggle against the opportunists and conciliators**  
**in the Comintern and its Sections**

"I shall not stop to show that the Right faction is breaking with Marxism-Leninism and waging a desperate struggle against the Comintern. That was shown long ago. Nor shall I stop to show that the group of conciliators are violating the Sixth Congress resolution on waging a systematic fight against the Rights.

That, too, was shown long ago. The point now is that this situation in the German Communist Party cannot be tolerated any longer. **The point is that to tolerate any longer an "order" of things in which the Rights poison the atmosphere with Social-Democratic ideological rubbish and systematically violate the elementary principles of Party discipline, while the conciliators bring grist to the mill of the Rights, would be to go against the Comintern and to violate the elementary demands of Marxism-Leninism.**"

(Stalin, Works, Volume. 11, page 269, German edition)

In this chapter we urgently recommend the study of Stalin: *"The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U.(B.)"* - (Chapter III - Disagreements in Regard to the Comintern - April 1929; Stalin, Works, Volume 12, page 17 – 24, German edition)

Stalin's conclusion:

"Bukharin thinks that by conducting a struggle against the Right deviation and conciliation towards it in the Sections of the Comintern, by purging the German and Czechoslovak Communist Parties of Social-Democratic elements and traditions, and by expelling the Brandlers and the Thalheimers from the Communist Parties, we are “disintegrating” the Comintern, “ruining” the Comintern. We, on the contrary, think that by carrying out such a policy and by laying stress on the fight against the Right deviation and conciliation towards it, we are strengthening the Comintern, purging it of opportunists, bolshevising its Sections and helping the Communist Parties to prepare the working class for the future revolutionary battles, for the Party is strengthened by purging itself of dross." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, page 23 - 24, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

In his report to the XVI Congress of the CPSU (B) - June 27, 1930 - Stalin struggled against the underestimation of the rightist danger as follows:

"Now that the Party has emerged victoriously from the struggle for the general line, now that our Party's Leninist line is triumphant along the whole front, many are inclined to forget the difficulties that were created for us in our work by all kinds of deviators. More than that, to this day some philistine-minded comrades still think that we could have managed without a struggle against the deviators. Needless to say, those comrades are profoundly mistaken. It is enough to look back and recall the handiwork of the Trotskyists and Right deviators, it is enough to recall the history of the struggle against deviations during the past period, to understand the utter vacuity and futility of this party philistinism. There can be no doubt that if we had not curbed the deviators and routed them in open struggle, we could not have achieved the successes of which our Party is now justly proud. (...) To what is the Party indebted for this decisive achievement? It is indebted for this achievement to the circumstance that in its struggle against deviations it always pursued a

policy based on principle, that it never sank to backstairs combinations or diplomatic huckstering. Lenin said that a policy based on principle is the sole correct policy. We emerged victoriously from the struggle against deviations because we honestly and consistently carried out this behest of Lenin's." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, pages 325-326, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

Stalin followed the correct line of Lenin also in the Comintern and its Sections:

Comrade Stalin dealt also with the struggle against the factionalism within the CPUSA which refused to accept the correct decisions of the VI World Congress and the ECCI:

"The history of the Comintern shows that comrades who have moved away from the Comintern always begin with just such "manoeuvres." When Zinoviev moved away from the Comintern he began by counterposing the line of the Comintern to the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. He did that in order to conceal his fight against the Executive Committee by talk regarding the line of the Comintern. The same is true of Trotsky, who began his divergence from the Comintern by drawing a distinction between the line of the Comintern and the decisions of the Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. That is the old, outworn path of opportunism, as old as the world itself." (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"Comrades, the Comintern is not a stock market. The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern, therefore, must not be confused with a stock market. Either we are Leninists, and our relations one with another, as well as the relations of the sections with the Comintern, and vice versa, must be built on mutual confidence, must be as clean and pure as crystal -- in which case there should be no room in our ranks for rotten diplomatic intrigue; or we are not Leninists -- in which case rotten diplomacy and unprincipled factional struggle will have full scope in our relations. One or the other. We must choose, comrades." (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 6, 1929)

"In the history of the revolutionary movement of the working class we Bolsheviks have not infrequently had occasion to conduct a factional fight against opportunism. It was at the time when the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks found themselves in one common Party, when the Bolsheviks were obliged to organize a faction in order to break down the authority of the social-democrats, to organize a split against Social-Democracy and to create our own Communist Party. At that time factionalism was useful and essential. But now? Now it is a different matter. Conditions have changed basically. At present we have our own monolithic Communist Parties, sections of the Communist International. Now factionalism is dangerous and harmful, because it weakens communism, weakens the communist offensive against reformism, undermines the struggle of communism against social-democracy in the labor movement. Our American comrades evidently do not understand the fundamental difference between the past and the present. Our American comrades have done everything possible to transform the decision of the Sixth Congress into a scrap of paper." (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"Can you picture a Communist, not a paper Communist, but a real Communist, avowing loyalty to the Comintern and at the same time refusing to accept responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the Comintern? What sort of loyalty is that? What is the reason for this duplicity? This hypocrisy?" (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"There have been numerous cases in the history of the Comintern when its most popular leaders (...) found themselves isolated as soon as they raised the banner against the Comintern." (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"The cleansing process of the Communist Parties now proceeding is a beneficent process,

strengthening the Comintern and its sections. The philistines are afraid of this beneficent process, and in their fright talk nonsense regarding the disintegration of the Comintern, just because they are philistines. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, will always welcome this beneficent process, because it is at the same time an integral part of the great cause of preparing the working class for the approaching class struggles, which is now the main task of the Communist Parties of the world." (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"True bolshevik courage does not consist in placing one's individual will above the will of the collective, above the will of the Comintern. True courage consists in being strong enough to master and overcome one's self and subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, the will of the higher Party body. Without that there is no collective. Without that there is not, and cannot be, any collective leadership." (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"Without the ability to subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, without these qualities, there can be no collective, no collective leadership, no Communism. And that is true not only in respect to individual Parties and their central committees; it is particularly true in respect to the Comintern and its leading organs, which unite all Parties of Communists throughout the world. Is it not clear that we should never have had any decisions or any collective will, neither in the individual Parties, nor in the Comintern, if individuals, and minorities in general, did not submit to the will of the majority, to the will of the higher collective?" (Stalin: Speech Delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI May 14, 1929)

"As regards the rights of the Comintern and its intervention in the affairs of the national parties, I emphatically disagree with those comrades who spoke in favour of curtailing those rights. They want the Comintern to be transformed into an organisation situated beyond the stars, gazing dispassionately at what is going on in the individual parties and patiently recording events. No, comrades, the Comintern cannot become an organisation beyond the stars. The Comintern is a militant organisation of the proletariat, it is linked with the working-class movement by all the roots of its existence and cannot refrain from intervening in the affairs of individual parties, supporting the revolutionary elements and combating their opponents. Of course, the parties possess internal autonomy, the party congresses must be unfettered, and the Central Committees must be elected by the congresses. But to deduce from this that the Comintern must be denied the right of leadership, and hence of intervention, means working on behalf of the enemies of communism." (Stalin: *Speech Delivered in the Czechoslovak Commission of the E.C.C.I.*, Works, Volume 7, page 57, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

The fight against the Right deviation in the CPSU (B) affected directly the Comintern. There, Bukharin had tried to suppress the question of "leftist" social democracy in his theses against the Social Democrats. And Stalin countered:

"It is obvious that unless the 'Left' Social-Democrats are routed it will be impossible to overcome Social-Democracy in general." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, page 19, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

Stalin criticized Bukharin also because of his renunciation of the struggle against conciliation in the sections of the Comintern against the Right deviation.

Stalin:

"The third question is that of the conciliatory tendency in the Sections of the Comintern. Bukharin's theses spoke of the necessity of fighting the Right deviation, but not a word was said there about fighting conciliation towards the Right deviation. That, of course, was a great defect. The point is that when war is declared on the Right deviation, the Right deviators usually disguise themselves as conciliators and place the Party in an awkward position. To forestall this manoeuvre of the Right deviators we must insist on a determined

fight against conciliation. That is why the delegation of the C.P.S.U.(B.) considered it necessary to introduce into Bukharin's theses an appropriate amendment, which was subsequently adopted by the congress." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, page 20, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

Stalin defended Ernst Thälmann against Bukharin:

"Thus, instead of the directive of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern about fighting conciliation being carried out, instead of a fight against the Right deviation and against conciliation, there was, in fact, a most gross violation of this directive, there was a fight against the revolutionary leadership of the German Communist Party, a fight against Comrade Thälmann, with the object of covering up the Right deviation and of consolidating the conciliatory tendency in the ranks of the German Communists.

And so, instead of swinging the tiller over and correcting the situation, instead of restoring the validity of the violated directive of the Sixth Congress and calling the conciliators to order, Bukharin proposed in his well-known letter to sanction the conciliators' coup, to hand over the German Communist Party to the conciliators, and to revile Comrade Thälmann in the press again by issuing another statement declaring him to be guilty. And this is supposed to be a 'leader' of the Comintern! Can there really be such 'leaders' ?" (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, page 22, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

([see: Resolution of the ECCI on Bukharin - 1929](#)).

Further, Stalin criticized Bukharin, because of his evasive position on the issue of the fight against Brandler and Thalheimer in the KPD, and their exclusion:

"At bottom, it was the fate of the German Communist Party that was being decided. Yet Bukharin and his friends, knowing this, nevertheless continually hindered matters by systematically keeping away from the meetings of the bodies which had the question under consideration. For the sake of what? Presumably, for the sake of remaining "clean" in the eyes of both the Comintern and the Rights in the German Communist Party. For the sake of being able subsequently to say: "It was not we, the Bukharinites, who carried out the expulsion of Brandler and Thalheimer from the Communist Party, but they, the majority in the Central Committee. And that is what is called fighting the Right danger!" (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, pages 22 - 23, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

In 1918, Bukharin conspired as a counter-revolutionary "Left" Communist against Lenin and collaborated with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries. Bukharin ordered them to assassinate Stalin.

Since 1920 he was a leaders of the Comintern (and represented in all ECCI plena). In 1928, he had conspiratorial contact with Kamenev during the VI. World Congress.

Bukharin admitted that he had been involved as a conspirator and traitor in the leadership of the Comintern since 1932. He instructed the Right opportunists and the conciliators and established counter-revolutionary conspiratorial organizations against the Comintern.

Since 1932, Bukharin contacted social-revolutionary terrorist groups to carry out bomb attacks on members of the Politburo of the CPSU (B) - inclusively on Stalin. As one of the heads of the "5th Column" of the counter-revolution, Bukharin worked into the hands of the Nazi-Fascists. He was initiator of a "palace coup", a leader of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" - everything for the implementation of the target: the overthrow of the Soviet power and its leaders. His last words were: *"I consider myself to be responsible for the largest and most monstrous crime against the entire international proletariat. The waiver of the positions of Bolshevism means the transition to political counter-revolutionary banditry."* (Bukharin, March 12, 1938).

If we have a look at the sneaky collaboration between Dimitrov and Ulbricht , then their attacks were hiddenly directed against Ernst Thälmann - behind hypocritical expressions of sympathy. The footprints of the assassination of Comrade Thälmann by the NAZIS, they can be traced up to the rightist treacherous leadership of the Comintern and the KPD. The

Pieck / Ulbricht clique had prevailed with Dimitrov the revisionist course of the KPD to a time when Ernst Thälmann was in the fascist concentration camp "Buchenwald" (Besides, Honecker was an agent of the Nazi's in Buchenwald who sent communists to their doom). Bukharin wanted to rebuke comrade Thälmann on the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B), because he was criticized by comrade Thälmann. In defense of Ernst Thälmann, Stalin said:

"It is connected with Bukharin's demand prior to the November plenum of the Central Committee that Neumann be recalled from Germany and that Comrade Thälmann, who, it was alleged, had criticised in one of his speeches Bukharin's report at the Sixth Congress, be called to order. We, of course, could not agree with Bukharin, since there was not a single document in our possession supporting his demand. Bukharin promised to submit documents against Neumann and Thälmann but never submitted a single one. Instead of documents, he distributed to the members of the delegation of the C.P.S.U.(B.) copies of the speech delivered by Humbert-Droz at the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., the very speech which was subsequently qualified by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. as an opportunist speech. By distributing Humbert-Droz's speech to the members of the delegation of the C.P.S.U.(B.), and by recommending it as material against Thälmann, Bukharin wanted to prove the justice of his demand for the recall of Neumann and for calling Comrade Thälmann to order. In fact, however, he thereby showed that he identified himself with the position taken up by Humbert-Droz, a position which the E.C.C.I. regards as opportunist." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, pages 22 - 23, German edition, KPD/ML 1971). And comrade Stalin concluded:

"You see that these are not merely shades of difference in the ranks of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), but quite serious disagreements on fundamental questions of Comintern policy." (Stalin, Works, Volume 12, pages 24, German edition, KPD/ML 1971). [Fight against conciliation opposite to the right deviation in the Comintern - remark of the Comintern (SH)]

Stalin distinguished the open opportunism from the hidden opportunism within the Comintern:

"I said that Humbert-Droz and Serra have landed in the quagmire of craven opportunism. What does that mean? It means that, besides overt opportunism, there is also covert opportunism, which fears to show its true face. And this is precisely the opportunism of conciliation towards the Right deviation. Conciliation is craven opportunism. I must, I repeat, note with regret that both these comrades have landed in the quagmire of craven opportunism." (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, pages 262 - 263, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

In all its severity, Stalin condemned the "grossest violation of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern by the Rights and, to a certain extent, by some of the conciliators" (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, page 271, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

Therefore, comrade Stalin urged the disciplined adherence to the Leninist conditions of admission - which were decided on the II World Congress of the Communist International: "The 12th point of the twenty-one conditions says that the Party must be "organised on the most centralised lines," that within it must "*prevail iron discipline bordering upon military discipline.*" You know that the Rights in the German Communist Party refuse to recognise iron discipline, or any discipline whatever, except their own, factional discipline. The question arises, can this scandalous state of affairs be tolerated any longer? At the present time, in the shape of the Rights we have real (not imaginary) violators of the fundamental principles of the Communist International. Why, then, do they keep silent? Is it not because they want, under the guise of a verbal defence of Comintern decisions, to smuggle through a defence of the Rights and a revision of these decisions?" (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, pages 271 - 272, German edition, KPD/ML 1971). [underlined by the Comintern (SH)]

However, further development within the Comintern showed:

The Trotskyists were expelled from the ranks of the sections and of the Comintern, but the rightists unfortunately not to the necessary extent ( the rightists obtained assistance by the conciliators) - and all this happened, although it was clearly stated in the decisions of the VI World Congress:

"In opposing the expulsion of the Rights, Humbert-Droz and Serra refer to the resolution of the Sixth Congress which says that Right deviations must be overcome by means of an ideological struggle. That is perfectly true. But these comrades forget that the resolutions of the Sixth Congress by no means limit the struggle of the Communist Parties against the Right danger to measures of an ideological order. While speaking of methods of ideological struggle against deviations from the Leninist line, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, in its resolution on Bukharin's report, at the same time declared that:

*'far from precluding, this presumes the utmost strengthening of iron inner-Party discipline, unqualified subordination of the minority to the majority, unqualified subordination of the lower bodies, as well as of other Party organisations (groups in parliament, groups in trade unions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party centres.'*

It is extremely strange that Humbert-Droz and Serra forget this thesis of the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It is extremely strange that all conciliators, both those who consider themselves conciliators and those who repudiate the name, when pleading the Sixth Congress resolution systematically forget this important thesis of the Communist International." (Stalin, Works, Volume 11, page 270, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

All this happened already before the Seventh World Congress. And Stalin's quotes make it clear how much endangered the Comintern and some sections had been already before the VII World Congress. But instead of strengthening the Bolshevik line of the VI World Congress, instead of taking the instructions of comrade Stalin seriously, the threat of rightist and conciliators was far too much underestimated.

That is why Stalin fought even more consistently against arrogance, carelessness, sloppiness, patronage and cliquism, against cult of personality and bureaucracy and all the negative phenomena that were caused by the right opportunists and conciliators. The inevitable purges, mid-thirties, served not the least to the strengthening of the Comintern. However, the Comintern did not seriously enough implement Stalin's directives for the Bolshevization and continued, instead, its dangerous, complacent, conciliatory course. Therefore, the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) released the following circulars shortly before the VII World Congress took place (January 18, 1935). Indirectly, it was also directed against the euphoric moods of the so-called *"final victory of socialism"*:

*"We must put a stop to the opportunistic complacency which arises from the mistaken assumption that as we grow in the strength of our forces, our enemies become ever more tame and harmless. Such an assumption is fundamentally wrong. It is an echo of the the Right deviation, which assured all and sundry that the enemies would quietly creep into Socialism [ because of the final victory of socialism" - decided by the VII World Congress - remark of the Comintern(SH) ], that they would become real Socialists in the end.*

*Bolsheviks must not rest on their laurels and become empty-headed. We do not need complacency, but vigilance, real Bolshevik, revolutionary vigilance. We must remember that the more hopeless the position of the enemies becomes, the more readily they will clutch at extreme measures as the only measures of the doomed in their struggle against Soviet power. One must remember this and be vigilant."*

And in the CC - circulars of July 29, 1936, it is written:

*"The inalienable quality of every Bolshevik under present conditions must be the ability to discern an enemy of the Party, no matter how well masked he may be."*

Stalin had always called the enemy by name, regardless of the masks behind which he



was hidden. And he voiced anonymous warnings against *"other double-dealers"*, particularly *"leading comrades of the center"*, *"who have a share that foreign agents occupied responsible positions"* (CC Circular 3 and 5 March 1937).

Stalin made no exception at the leaders of the Comintern. The hidden opportunists within the Comintern and within the individual Sections got scared, when they witnessed the Moscow trials. Many former leaders of the Comintern sat on the dock (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, and many others). Experiences teaches: one would have to demand the purges within the Comintern and within its Sections by means of the statutes. And among the many critics who condemned Stalin's relentless line of intensified class struggle, such as Togliatti, Pollitt, Thorez, Tito, etc., we quote here Walter Ulbricht, one of the worst rogues among the German revisionist:

*"It was also corrected the position, represented by Stalin, that the class struggle aggravates with the ongoing successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union"* (XX Party Congress of the CPSU, in: Pravda, March 4, 1956).

And in the central organ of the SED, *"Neues Deutschland"*, on the 18th of March 1956, Ulbricht wrote: *"The existing opposing forces were no serious threat. The blow was virtually directed against a part of the Communists ... "*

Thus, Ulbricht had accused himself. In the Moscow Trials, Ullbricht was in fact not on the side of the accuser, but rather on the dock of the spies, saboteurs and assassins! Instead, he organized with Dimitrov and other renegades, the disorganization of the Communists Parties. Unoffended, with their "Comintern diplomatic passport," the Ullbricht-Cligue and the revisionist cliques of many other communist parties made their bloody nuisance - inmidst of Moscow.

So, of course, Stalin had not tolerated all these attacks of the rightists. Even before the VII World Congress, at the time when it took place, and all the more after the VII World Congress, the biggest wave of purges rolled against the conspiracy of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites and the Comintern. Opportunistic elements in the Comintern were located and eliminated .

The fact is that since the end of 1932, the elements of the Trotskyists and Zinoviev concentrated their entire hostile activity against the party and against the government. Mainly, they prepared attempts on the life of the highest leaders of the CPSU (B). Primarily, they organized terror against Comrade Stalin and against his influence in the Comintern. Stalin's re-election in the Comintern leadership was thwarted. A planned assassination attempt on the 13th Plenum of the ECCI failed because Stalin was not present. After that, Trotsky appointed David Fritz (who had contacts within the Comintern), to shoot Stalin during the Seventh World Congress. This attempt failed and in 1936 David Fritz was sentenced to death.

# **The Cominform**

**1947 - 1956**

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## **PART I**

## **The Place of the Cominform in the History of the World Communist Movement**

### **- On the critical revision of the revisionist historiography**

This is only our momentary assessment of the history of the Cominform and it cannot be anything else, because documents are still missing or continue to be falsified, interpreted anti-communistically and "revised" - all in the service of the ruling class. With this caveat, corrections of our views on the Cominform, taking into account new documents, are not only allowed, but also desirable and indispensable.

The historical truth only comes to light through a sharp proletarian class struggle, which is why we want to encourage all communists interested in the truth to actively participate in the reappraisal of the history of the Cominform, and to help us liberate the proletarian historiography from its bourgeois-revisionist falsification.

In particular, the historiography of the Cominform and the socialist camp has been significantly falsified by the modern revisionists. The fact is that this falsification of history still has a negative, even determining influence on today's communist world movement. We have to face this challenge if we want to be taken seriously.

For us, this necessary correction of the revisionist historiography of the Cominform (and its "revision" by historians of western capitalism) is new territory, which is why we cannot do it without mistakes. For example, we have to be careful that our criticism does not overshoot the mark. We must strictly adhere to dialectical and historical materialism in order to avoid mistakes in the opposite direction - mistakes of sectarianism, mistakes of dogmatism. We are aware of this counter-danger. But that does not stop us from doing what we are obliged to do:

Only we Stalinist-Hoxhaists are destined and capable of cutting neo-revisionism's umbilical cord to the womb of modern revisionism cleanly and without complications. It is in this direction that we have written this critique of the Cominform.

We are equally aware that the modern revisionists in particular have blamed the mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses of the Cominform on comrade Stalin and it is in this sense that the neo-revisionists operate, albeit under the cloak of the "4½ classics of Marxism-Leninism".

It is quite clear that the historians of the modern revisionists used the method of bourgeois ideology, namely to criticise everything about the Cominform that was Stalinist and to present as allegedly "Stalinist" everything that was revisionist. The ideological formation of the power of the modern revisionists is based on "Stalinism" in words and anti-Stalinism in deeds. And in this way they have also harnessed the Cominform to their cart - especially after Stalin's death!

The truth is:

The Cominform was created by Stalin with the intention to counteract the ongoing process of ideological flattening of Stalinism, to push back the growing influence of revisionism and social-democratism in the world communist movement, to purify Marxism-Leninism tainted by revisionism and to purge the revisionists from the world communist movement in general and from the world Stalinist camp in particular.

This was welcomed in particular by comrade Enver Hoxha and it is the documents of the Party of Labour of Albania that defended, supported and propagated the Comintern (SH) on the anti-revisionist meaning of the Cominform from the beginning. In this direction, we defend the Albanians against all their critics. We must realise the fact that Hoxhaism, which perfected and developed Stalin's critique of modern revisionism, was still in its infancy at the time of the Cominform. Today we have the complete weapon of Hoxhaism and with it we can critically illuminate the Cominform, which is impossible without Hoxhaism.

Seventy years have passed since the founding of the Cominform. In these years, especially after the partial opening of the archives, we have come to see documents that give us much more critical insight into the history of the Kominform than comrade Enver Hoxha and the PAA were able to do at the time. Today, as a Stalinist-Hoxhaist, one can and must absolutely look critically at the history of the Cominform on the basis of new findings.

As is well known, the proletarian ideology is by its very nature a critical ideology and can only remain alive and continue to develop if it deals critically with history, including the mistakes made by us communists.

From the standpoint of the time, the Cominform was roughly assessed with the following rule of thumb: "The Cominform was Stalinist - its dissolution by Khrushchev was revisionist." This rule of thumb is in any case no longer tenable and urgently needs to be revised on the basis of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

We will certainly be criticised for being "wrong" with our critical revision, but this does not change the fundamental necessity of revising our previous view of the

Cominform, which was anything but uncritical. On the contrary.

Anyone who has read our website on the

### [Cominform](#)

which has existed since 2013, will not be able to overlook the introductory sentence:

The Comintern (SH) has a critical standpoint towards the dominant influence of the modern revisionists within the COMINFORM.

All the more it is necessary to study these historical documents in order to open our eyes and expose the modern revisionists.

But only now have we found the time to fill our critique of the Cominform with content and to ground it theoretically.

So those who have not criticised our revision before and are only now beginning their criticism cannot accuse us of opportunism or any "180 degree turn". From the beginning, we have dealt with the history of the Cominform just as critically as with the history of the Comintern.

And those who wantonly equate our revision with "revisionism", who present it as a "proof" of the "falsification of Marxism-Leninism", are and remain dogmatists and sectarians. It may be that we have not yet seen one or the other correctly, we will continue to work on that. But in essence, our revision of the history of the Cominform is based on the firm ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism and that is the decisive thing.

Only the bourgeoisie and its agents in the camp of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement have an interest in our not correcting our mistakes. For the world proletariat, on the other hand, the correction of our mistakes is directional and thus of decisive importance for the victory of the world socialist revolution, which is why it will fundamentally welcome any correct criticism and self-criticism of the Comintern (SH). Without overcoming our own mistakes, world imperialism cannot be defeated.

Without self-critical assessment and demarcation from revisionist positions of the Comintern, we expose ourselves to the danger of appropriation by such political organisations that do not represent the position of Stalin and Enver Hoxha, but only abuse it as lip service to deceive the world proletariat. We reject a neo-revisionist unity on the basis of anti-Marxist positions as propagated in the Cominform. Unity with the Comintern (SH) will only exist on the correct positions of the Cominform, even if they were dominated by the predominantly wrong positions. This presupposes that we demarcate and separate the correct positions of the Cominform from revisionist positions in the Cominform, which have been advocated not only by the CPJ but also by all other parties in the Cominform without exception, albeit more or less concealed by phraseology.

Our criticism and self-criticism is not for the purpose of declaring the Cominform useless, an "error of history". We are not liquidators, quite the contrary. We are Stalinist-Hoxhaists who defend the Stalinist line of the Cominform. And we defend the Stalinist line of the Cominform by liberating it retrospectively from its revisionist fetters, so that the new Cominform becomes useful to us on our way to the restoration of the world socialist camp.

The Bolshevik essence of criticism and self-criticism is to RESTLESSLY reject wrong views and actions and replace them with correct ones. Word and deed must coincide in this. And even with this we cannot be satisfied, because the enemy will not joyfully welcome our criticism and self-criticism, but will fight it with all means. Only our false or imperfect criticism and self-criticism will be welcomed by the enemy, because it diverts us from our revolutionary path and thus benefits not us but our class enemies. And even if the agents of the bourgeoisie within our own ranks "welcome" our criticism and self-criticism in words, they do so not out of honest conviction but only for reasons of their camouflage. So we must never allow the neo-revisionists to turn the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which we use correctly, against ourselves. On the basis of a) the cover-up of mistakes of the Comintern and the Cominform and b) their half-hearted, faulty or incomplete "correction", we cannot rebuild these two indispensable instruments of the world proletariat and the world communist movement. We want to and must rebuild the Comintern and the Cominform. But we do this only on the solid teachings of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism, through correct application of the Bolshevik principle of criticism and self-criticism.

What was right and what was wrong?

The Cominform was undoubtedly in the hands of Stalin in the beginning.

But - contrary to the prevailing opinion - the modern revisionists already had their hands in it during his lifetime. From the beginning, the Cominform was infiltrated and backstabbed by the modern revisionists, only to fall completely into the hands of the modern revisionists after Stalin's death. Almost all the Cominform delegates were only in words "Stalinists" and that from the very beginning. In historical retrospect, facts show that not a single member of the Cominform went the way of Stalin, the way of Marxism-Leninism. They sooner or later turned out to be declared opponents of Stalin and held leading posts within the revisionist world camp. Most of the delegates of the Cominform were traitors to the revolution and socialism, traitors to Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, traitors to socialist Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha. And here our demarcation line does not run only after the death of comrade Stalin. The course for the conquest of power by the revisionists began even before that.

In the age of the internet, young people in particular are more influenced by images and especially by historical images than by written texts, which the bourgeoisie exploits extensively with its multi-layered manipulations. Whoever has the material power in this world also rules over the internet and thus over the power of disinformation. For example, there are many pictures from the time of the Cominform and the socialist world camp that are supposed to give the impression of authenticity, that they would exactly reflect the reality of that time 1:1. This is called visual transfiguration (rose-coloured glasses) of history. However, reality was by no means as it was portrayed in the propaganda pictures of the revisionists. Even our comrades are not free from not looking critically enough at such historical images. One must not indulge in any wishful thinking, but look at history as it was, not subjectively but objectively. Illusions have never been a good advisor for the world revolution.

Let us take the current war preparations of world imperialism as an example, including the warmongers of the Russian imperialists led by Putin. Putin is not only trying to get the fascists on his side, but also the social fascists. How does Putin do this? Very cleverly, because he was a KGB officer. The social fascists have received the order from him to make the criminal transformation of the socialist world camp into a revisionist world camp disappear behind the banner of Stalin, in order to lure the Stalinists like rabbits into Putin's kitchen. The social fascists use these old images from the time of the Cominform to hide the hypocrisy of the revisionists towards Stalin at that time, and finally to present the crimes of the revisionists as "merits of Stalin". Putin owed his rise to power to none other than the Soviet revisionists and the Stalinists are supposed to applaud this ! Those who refuse to applaud and have seen through Putin's demagoguery and the demagoguery of his social-fascist lackeys are accused of being "Trotskyists". These accusations come from the camp of the neo-revisionists - especially against the Comintern (SH). The neo-revisionists are stooges of precisely such leaders of imperialism as Putin is. What we want to say is this: The critical attitude towards the Comintern is not a history topic just to refresh or broaden our historical knowledge. It is not just about an attitude, but about the use of an ideological weapon in today's class struggle, which shoots us down the road to the victory of the world socialist revolution. The analysis, evaluation and generalisation of both positive and negative experiences with the Cominform should ultimately enable us to raise the communication and cooperation of the sections of the Comintern (SH) to a higher level under the future conditions of world socialism.

For all these reasons, it is therefore necessary to take a closer look at this so-called "socialism" of the revisionists at the time of the Cominform, at the time of the emergence of



the people's democracies - with the Marxist method of historical and dialectical materialism. We Stalinists-Hoxhaists must never forget that from the nationalist road to "socialism", i.e. on the bourgeois road to "socialism", social fascism inevitably had to develop with its present-day consequences, as can be seen in reactionary nationalism, xenophobia, open fascism, etc. in the former Eastern bloc countries.

Let us return to the Cominform.

In the final analysis, Stalin's Cominform was dissolved by the modern revisionists, as had happened before with Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. It was the modern revisionists in the individual countries of the Eastern bloc who destroyed the path of the people's democracies to socialism from below. And it was the Soviet revisionists who destroyed Stalin's socialist camp from above. Those modern revisionists who, through hypocrisy in the Cominform, evaded Stalin's purges (from above AND below) were also the same ones who were later responsible for the criminal purges against us Stalinists.

In short, our scientific work on the truth of the Cominform must be continued in the light of new knowledge, which will inevitably lead to self-critical corrections of our present critical assessment.

So we are not defending the Cominform wholesale, just as we are not criticising it wholesale. We look a little more closely behind the scenes. We defend only what was Stalinist about the Cominform, while criticising everything else that we consider revisionist about it, namely "Stalinist" in words and anti-Stalinist in deeds.

In 1956, with the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU, the modern revisionists were firmly in the saddle and could thus completely and definitively drop their previous mask of "Stalinism", which they had still used in the Cominform period. And consequently, it was not by chance that 1956 was the year of the dissolution of the Cominform, that the Cominform was finally buried as a "relic of the ill-fated Stalin era".

On the basis of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, the Comintern (SH) will continue the criticism of modern revisionism also on the question of the Cominform. We are aware that in doing so we will incur the displeasure of the neo-revisionists, who will try to prove in our critical stance on the Cominform a further "confirmation" of our alleged "betrayal" of Marxism-Leninism. However, we will not lower our ideological level for their sake, and certainly not to the lowest level of the neo-revisionists, where they compensate for their inability to deal with ideological content by

insults, just as they have learned from the modern revisionists.

Let the neo-revisionists yap as loudly and as much as they want. We, on the other hand, maintain our Stalinist-Hoxhaist course in order to realise our revolutionary goals.

It is our duty to completely turn upside down the historiography of the Cominform falsified by the modern revisionists. In this way we continue the ideological disarmament of the neo-revisionists that we have started, we knock one ideological weapon after another out of their hands.

Neo-revisionism on the question of the Cominform consists in recognising its victory over Titoism in words, but at the same time concealing or justifying the betrayal of all other modern revisionists in the world socialist camp who - especially in the Cominform - hid behind the struggle against Titoism in order to rehabilitate it after Stalin's death.

Neo-revisionism is "anti-Titoism" in words and Titoism in deeds.

Neo-revisionism is the justification of the use of revisionist means in the anti-revisionist struggle.

Those who try to fight revisionism with revisionism are in fact fighting against Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

To hide one's own revisionism (for example, Dimitroff's) behind the revisionism of others (for example, Titoism) is neo-revisionism.

Neo-revisionism is "anti-revisionism" in words and revisionism in deeds.

If someone calls our struggle against neo-revisionism dogmatism and sectarianism, we shout to him the words of Enver Hoxha:

"Take off your revisionist glasses and you will see more clearly!"

Before dealing directly with the Cominform, let us deal with the world socialist camp in which the Cominform has operated.

### **What is the world socialist camp?**

The world communist movement had been weakened by the war in general and by the dissolution of the Comintern in particular, which changed abruptly with the victory in the Second World War. As at the end of the First World War, so at the end of the Second World War, the world communist movement continued to expand. The Soviet Union emerged from the Second World War stronger and became an even more powerful lever of the world communist movement in general and the world socialist revolution in particular, especially through the creation of the world socialist camp.

Enver Hoxha described the formation of the world socialist camp as "the greatest event since the October Revolution." (Enver Hoxha, in: "Eurocommunism", page 19)

Specifically, since the immediate post-war period, the world socialist camp has been understood in a narrower sense as the camp of countries liberated from fascism and led by the Soviet Union. Stalin's doctrine of the creation of the world socialist camp, the transition from the period of "socialism in one country" to the period of the formation of the union of several socialist states, and thus the enlargement of the world socialist camp, this is one of the pillars of Stalinism. The Leninist doctrine of "socialism in one country" is originally based on the refutation of the Trotskyist "theory of the impossibility of socialism in one country".

As for the further historical development of Trotskyism in this respect, Trotskyism considered "socialism in one country" to be "impossible". But when it was built in spite of the Trotskyists, that is when the Trotskyists created their "opposition" in order to steer the road of socialism into the paths of the restoration of capitalism. When Stalin hit the Trotskyists on the head and when the common construction of socialism in several countries finally became possible through the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the Trotskyists used their splitting methods to isolate, weaken and liquidate Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, to split the socialist camp and to hand it over to the imperialist world camp, for example with the splitting mushroom called Tito. Today, it is possible to build world socialism directly after the fall of world imperialism, which is why the Trotskyists also deny this possibility, just as they once denied socialism in "one" country. The Trotskyists followed this liquidationist line in the period before the first socialist state, then in socialism in "one" country, and finally Trotskyism continued its root-and-branch work in the socialist camp. And today? Today, the Trotskyists continue their liquidationist line in the struggle against the Comintern (SH) for world socialist revolution, for world socialism and world communism.

Stalin's doctrine of the creation of the world socialist camp, the revolutionary transition from "socialism in one country" to "socialism of several countries", this is one of the pillars of Stalinism.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the modern revisionists misused the Leninist slogan of "socialism in one country" as a cover and camouflage for their bourgeois-nationalist road to "socialism". In the post-war period, the old Leninist slogan of "socialism in one country" was already outdated by the formation of the socialist camp, because the Soviet Union was no longer alone. With "socialism in some countries", Stalin had set a direct course for "socialism in all countries of the world" ! And it was precisely this that the

modern revisionists in the people's democracies prevented with their conception of the bourgeois "national road to socialism" (above all Tito) . At the same time, the Soviet revisionists set course for the subjugation of the people's democracies and eventually transformed them into their vassal states.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism distinguishes socialism in "one" country from socialism in one country - that is, first with inverted commas and second without inverted commas, where a socialist country with inverted commas is surrounded by capitalist countries, while a socialist country without inverted commas is surrounded by socialist countries. The socialist world camp in the post-war period thus consisted, unlike in the past, of borders with capitalist countries as well as borders with socialist countries.

When the Soviet Union was still the only socialist country in the world, Lenin and Stalin still defined the world socialist camp as the bulwark of the world communist movement against capitalism led by the Soviet Union, as the camp of all forces united by the world proletariat, through which the epoch of world capitalism would be ended and replaced by the epoch of world socialism.

Under the conditions of globalisation, the concept of the world socialist camp has also changed. The Comintern (SH) uses the new term of the world socialist camp for this.

These new world socialist states, which are the result of the victory of the world proletariat over world imperialism, are qualitatively different from the former socialist states of the first period of socialism. They are no longer those socialist states which, as in the past, are threatened by the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism. They are therefore no longer those socialist nation states which have to co-exist in life and death with capitalist states. World socialist states are no longer surrounded by hostile capitalist states, but are developing in truly mutual peaceful co-existence in the spirit of socialist internationalism. These world socialist states will merge into a federation of Soviet republics which will ultimately merge into a single world socialist state. The world socialist state that has emerged from the fusion process of the federation of Soviet republics will then be followed by the process of the dissolution of the world socialist state, whereby the last existing state on this earth will have disappeared into world communism.

In my article on the 50th anniversary of the counterrevolution in Hungary (1956), I wrote about the two main revisionist tendencies in the world socialist camp:

*"We must bring to light that at that time the revisionists not only of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, but all without exception, were united to smash socialism, Marxism-Leninism, workers' power. All internal and external revisionists were involved in the*

*counterrevolution in Hungary, even if they represented their own particular interests (not to be left unmentioned: the revisionist influence through Togliatti's interview). In particular, the counterrevolution was pre-arranged between the Titoists, behind whom stood world capital, and the Khrushchev revisionists, the representatives of Russian social imperialism, and they also worked together during and after the counterrevolution, both secretly and openly. There were two main directions in the camp of modern revisionists. One direction, the stronger direction, was based on Soviet revisionism, which camouflaged itself with the "continuation" of the tradition of the glorious Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, in order to transform all allies into vassals of Russian social-imperialism and to appear as a strong imperialist bulwark with the aim of fighting against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism, against the revolutions in individual countries and against the world revolution. The other direction had the same aim, but in rivalry with Soviet revisionism. Tito in particular, but also Togliatti and other revisionist leaders like Mao later, tried to implement their revisionism in their own independent way, in demarcation from the Soviet revisionist clique. Both main revisionist tendencies served world capitalism to weaken, split, liquidate the chain links of socialism, to bury communism. All revisionists agreed to appear in the name of "socialism" and "Marxism" in order to blame the true Marxist-Leninists for their revisionist betrayal of communism. All modern revisionists threw mud at our leaders, Comrade Stalin and Enver Hoxha, and made them out to be "criminals". Our Marxist-Leninist leaders were to be the scapegoats for all the counter-revolutionary acts of the modern revisionists."*

After the big bourgeoisie in the People's Democratic countries took flight abroad, the revisionist new bourgeoisie emerged there.

If the big bourgeoisie, which had fled Russia after the revolution, had still been able to call the foreign interventionists to its aid, it was Stalin's Soviet Union, with its Red Army, which protected the People's Democratic States from military raids by the foreign imperialists. It was Stalin's Soviet Union that guaranteed the inviolability of the people's democracies and not so much the working class at home, as was the case in Albania. The people's democracies owed their existence solely to the Red Army and had themselves neither emerged from the socialist revolution nor been steeled in a subsequent civil war. The working class in the People's Democracies did not establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on the model of the October Revolution, but was led by a party united of revisionists and social democrats, thus making it impossible for it to build socialism under the rule of the working class. The working class did not have a steeled Bolshevik party of a

new type as in the Soviet Union. This was the decisive weakness of the people's democracies and made it easier for the modern revisionists to hold and expand their power.

Instead of building socialism, the revisionists in the People's Democracies were primarily interested in the economic aid of the Molotov Plan in order to enrich themselves in order to use it to build capitalism in their own country. They were interested in the world socialist camp only to the extent that they could squeeze advantages out of it for themselves. Yes, squeeze it out. The revisionist leaders of the people's democracies exploited the contradictions and conflicts between the USA and the Soviet Union by all means, pumping money into these countries in order to integrate them into their sphere of power on the one hand, or, on the other hand, to satisfy them so that they would remain in the sphere of power of the Soviet social-imperialists as the "wasallen states". The oaths to Stalin fell silent after his death. But the revisionist leaders of the People's Democracies never really had to suffer, because what they had snatched away in profits through enslavement by the Soviet revisionists, they squeezed out of their own people through double exploitation. Thus, the revisionist People's Democracies - first Yugoslavia and then all the others following - began to obtain credits from the world capitalist camp, first turning away from Stalin for a few dollars and then gradually from the Soviet revisionists, whose power was approaching its collapse through their own restoration of capitalism. Stalin's internationalism differed from the nationalism of the revisionist People's Democracy in that he adhered to the Marxist-Leninist policy on the national question, which he had also implemented so successfully in the construction and cooperation of the Soviet republics. In 1947, Stalin had self-critically recognised and reversed the mistake of creating joint societies with the peoples' democratic brother countries for the exploitation of mineral resources. Stalin thought and acted selflessly in granting economic aid, while Khrushchev pursued the capitalist path of ruthless exploitation of the people's democracies, to the detriment of the world socialist camp. Thus, Stalin's CMEA was transformed by the Soviet revisionists into an instrument of control and exploitation of the member countries. Stalin had not - as he was wrongly accused of - , staked out spheres of influence with the imperialists after the capitulation of the Hitler fascists, but on the contrary, he had protected all countries of the world from the grip of the imperialists.

The world socialist camp that Stalin had created was the greatest victory of communism after the victory of the October Revolution. But history proved that the world socialist camp - except for Albania - moved further and further away from the path of

socialism until the power of the modern revisionists was established and after Stalin's death the world socialist camp turned into a revisionist world camp and was finally dissolved by world imperialism. The decay of the Cominform was the result of the collaboration between the world imperialists and their revisionist lackeys through which Stalin's world socialist camp was liquidated. The only thing that reminded of the socialist world camp was the name "socialism", behind which in reality capitalism was hidden, which grew into social imperialism and social fascism and finally fell as a ripe fruit on the soil of the autocracy of world imperialism. This had a negative impact not only on the communist world movement but also on the revolutionary liberation movement in the oppressed countries and former colonies (so called "proxy wars" of the imperialists and social imperialists). 1949 Foundation of NATO and instigation of the Korean War by the American imperialists.

The Cominform was a creation of Comrade Stalin, an international organisation for building and strengthening the world socialist camp. The death of Stalin also meant the death of the Cominform, which was conquered by leaders of modern revisionism who finally liquidated it. These were the same revisionist forces that had previously liquidated the Comintern.

One cannot correctly reconstruct the Comintern without exposing both the Comintern's and the Cominform's mistakes, giving a self-critical account of the fact that we Stalinist-Hoxhaists are only now drawing a clear line under the betrayal of the revisionist Cominform members.

Mind you, we are talking here about the same overwhelming majority of revisionist Cominform representatives, some of whom were even identical in terms of personnel with the representatives of the revisionist parties in the Comintern. [Example CP of Italy: Togliatti (alias Ercoli)].

Just as we have criticised the dissolution of the Comintern, we hereby criticise the dissolution of the Cominform, which Stalin had created in the struggle against modern revisionism. To torpedo our urgently needed critical revision of the assessment of the Cominform, which has hitherto been common in the world communist movement, is precisely what constitutes the treachery of the neo-revisionists. It is not wrong to admit mistakes, but to insist on mistakes. This is where Stalinism-Hoxhaism differs from neo-revisionism today. For it is the neo-revisionists today who defend this betrayal of the revisionist Cominformists and call us Stalinist-Hoxhaists names because we allegedly wanted to drag the "reputation" of the Cominform into the mud. Only revisionists and their successors, the neo-revisionists, can drag the reputation of the Cominform into the mud,

but not we Stalinist-Hoxhaists. From the very beginning, we have defended the revolutionary line of Stalin and Enver Hoxha against the neo-revisionists. However, it is the neo-revisionists who "defend" the Cominform in words, justifying and defending the hypocrisy of the revisionists against Stalin and the Soviet Union. In this way, they want to let the modern revisionists get away scot-free, so that they can inherit their legacy undisturbed, namely the legacy of the revisionist betrayal of the revolution and socialism. You cannot defeat neo-revisionism unless you uproot its roots, which had spread in the Comintern and then further in the Cominform.

The Comintern (SH) looks at the history of the Cominform from the point of view of the necessity of re-founding the Comintern on the principles of Marxism-Leninism - one cannot and must not adopt a different standpoint as a Stalinist-Hoxhaist as, for example, the neo-revisionists do. The Cominform can be regarded in the Marxist-Leninist sense as nothing else, as an aid, as a step on the way to the re-foundation of the Comintern - everything else is revisionism.

In order to judge the Cominform, it is therefore decisive that in founding the Cominform no consequences were drawn from the revisionist degeneration and dissolution of the Comintern, which in our view could only consist in rebuilding the Comintern on the foundations of Leninism-Stalinism.

The Marxist-Leninist principle of civil war is:

If war cannot be prevented, if it has already broken out, then it must be ended by socialist revolution, by means of revolutionary civil war.

This principle is also applicable on a world scale.

It was applied victoriously under the leadership of Lenin in World War 1. The October Revolution was victorious, the civil war in Russia that resulted from it was victorious, and it was possible not only to start building socialism in the first country of the world, but also to carry forward the world socialist revolution by supporting the civil war in Germany and other countries that were involved in the First World War. Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern served the world socialist revolution. The Marxist-Leninist principle of civil war retained its importance.

It was successfully applied in the Second World War under Stalin's leadership. The victory of the Red Army over Hitler's fascism gave the Soviet Union a position of world power which enabled Stalin to build the world socialist camp.

Instead of using the Second World War for the victory of the world socialist revolution and applying the Bolshevik principle of revolutionary world civil war and preparing the world proletariat ideologically, politically and militarily for the decisive battle



against the world bourgeoisie, the 7th World Congress under the leadership of Dimitroff took the treacherous road of pacting with the bourgeoisie, stopped the struggle for world socialist revolution and stabbed Stalin's Soviet Union in the back by dissolving it in the middle of the Second World War. The liquidation of the Comintern had devastating consequences not only for the whole communist world movement, but also had a corrosive effect in the creation of the Stalinist world camp. This became evident already 4 years after the liquidation of the Comintern, i.e. at the foundation of the Cominform. The world communist movement had lost its leading world party and left the communist parties to their fate, which opened the door to bourgeois influences such as those of modern revisionism, nationalism, social democratism, etc. opened the door. Inspired by Dimitroff's Popular Front policy, some communist parties had already united with the social democrats, while other communist parties were preparing this unification. Stalin thus founded the Cominform at the time of this unification process, which was to help the modern revisionists seize power. Stalin was forced with the Cominform to counteract this striving for power of the modern revisionists, in order to thus avert the danger for the Soviet Union, for the Stalinist world camp, for the communist world movement and ultimately for the world socialist revolution. If the Comintern had not been liquidated, the foundation of the Cominform would not have been necessary. Its foundation was inevitable precisely because of the revisionist degeneration of the Comintern, was a consequence of the spread of modern revisionism.

Compared to the influence of modern revisionism on the Comintern, its influence within the Stalinist world camp took on a new quality because the parties in the so-called "people's democracies" came to power with the help of the Red Army and were equipped for the first time with corresponding state organs of power.

What was the situation in the world socialist camp during the time of the Cominform?

Two complementary tendencies hampered the building of the world socialist camp:

1. in the People's Democracies, great obstacles still had to be cleared away on the road to socialism . It was only the beginning.

2. In the Soviet Union, the influence of the Soviet revisionists became an increasing danger of the restoration of capitalism. One was already at the beginning of the end.

While capitalism in the People's Democracies had first of all to be eliminated, the Soviet revisionists were already beginning to restore capitalism.

## **The Cominform**

**- Timetable - organisational structure - participants - tasks - about the 3 conferences - dissolution of the Cominform**

As early as 27 May 1946, at a meeting with the Yugoslav government delegation led by Tito, Stalin had presented a plan in the Kremlin for the creation of the Cominform.

From 22 to 27 September 1947, the founding conference of the Kominform took place in the Polish town of Szklarska Poreba. The Kominform was officially founded on 30 September 1947.

The second conference of Kominform was held in Bucharest - Romania in June 1948.

The third conference of the Kominform met in Budapest - Hungary in November 1949.

There were also 4 meetings of the Kominform Secretariat.

All minutes on decisions were allegedly (!) checked by the CC of the CPSU (B) and Stalin personally.

### **The First Conference of the Cominform took place in Poland**

**from 22 to 27 September 1947**

**Chair: Gomulka**

Wladyslaw Gomulka lost his post as General Secretary of the Polish Labour Party in the summer of 1948 (!). After a comprehensive 'self-criticism' he lost all offices, is expelled from the government and sits in prison from 1950 to September 1954. So at the head of the founding conference of the Cominform was a traitor !!!! But Gomulka was by no means an isolated case. From beginning to end, the Cominform was composed of modern revisionists who had feigned their devotion to Stalin and the Soviet Union in order to follow their path to the end after his death into the deepest social fascism.

Participants in the First Conference:

From Poland Gomulka and Minc (both revisionists).

Minc, Hilary (1905-1974), Polish economic theorist

[Report of the Soviet delegates to Stalin: "the Poles are cowards and do not want to associate"]

from Yugoslavia: Kardej and Djilas (Titoists) [the Soviet delegation passed the following message to Stalin: "the reports of Kardej and Djilas made a very good impression"]. (This message to Stalin, this adulation of the Titoists must be read on the tongue!!).

Kardelj, Edvard (1910-1979); CP member since 1928; trained at the party school in Moscow; 1941 organiser of the partisan war in Slovenia; member of the Supreme War Council; after 1945 in the CC and Politburo, close collaborator of Tito 1948-1954 Foreign Minister

from Romania Dej and Anna Pauker Dej was a collaborator with the West; Anna Pauker was expelled from the Romanian Party with Stalin's approval as a member of an anti-party group and imprisoned in 1953. She was a delegate to the 7th World Congress).

from Hungary: Farkas and József Révai (both revisionists) - [ Report to Stalin: "In general Revai's report was good"].

Revai, Jozsef (1888-1959), founding member of the CP in 1918; emigrated to the CSR after the fall of the soviet republic; member of the exiled CC; returned to Hungary in 1930 and arrested; from 1933/34 in the USSR worked for the ECCI apparatus; 1937-1939 illegal party work in Prague; from 1940 in the propaganda department of KOMINTERN; returned to Hungary in 1944; 1945-1948 CC secretary in Budapest; 1945-1953 Minister of National Education; later ousted from the PB .

from France Duclos, Fajon, Georges Cogniot ( all three revisionists; Duclos= delegate to the 7th World Congress)

from Italy Longo and Reale, Longo became General Secretary of the revisionist Italian CP, Reale was also a revisionist) [communication to Stalin: "Longo's report made a painful impression on the majority of the participants"].

Reale, Eugenio (1905-1986) - resigned from the CP in 1956.

from Bulgaria Chervenkov and Kostoff - (Both revisionists).

Kostov, Traicho, D. (1897-1949); member of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1924; arrested, released in 1929; worked in Moscow in the Balkan Secretariat; organised the partisan war against the Germans during the war; arrested in April 1942; freed from prison in 1944; General Secretary of the partisan movement from 1933; Deputy

Prime Minister of Bulgaria (1949); arrested and executed on 14 December 1949.

and from Czechoslovakia Slansky and Bashtevan. (Both revisionists)

The deliberators agreed at their first conference:

1. to establish an information bureau composed of representatives of the Communist Party of the aforementioned countries.
2. to entrust the Information Bureau with the task of organising an exchange of experience and, if necessary, coordinating the activities of the communist parties on the basis of mutual agreement.
3. to include in the Information Bureau two representatives of each of the respective Central Committees, to be appointed and exchanged by them.
4. the Information Bureau shall publish a printed bi-monthly, later a weekly. This will be published in French and Russian and, if possible, in other languages.
5. the Information Bureau is to have its headquarters in Belgrade.

Why did Stalin change the headquarters of the Comintern ?

Moscow was and remained the centre of the world socialist camp during the Comintern period. Nevertheless, Stalin decided not to install the headquarters of the Cominform in Moscow, but to move it towards the West, in order to send several signals:

1. towards the American imperialists, whose strategy was to turn the whole of Europe into an anti-communist bulwark against the Soviet Union.
  2. towards the new people's democracies, whose independence and autonomy were to be underlined by this.
  3. at each Kominform conference the headquarters were moved to a new country.
- In 1947, the Kominform was constituted in Poland, and in the following year the seat was moved to Bucharest, because the planned transfer to Belgrade was not necessary due to the absence of Belgrade from the second Kominform Conference. The third conference was held in Budapest in 1949.

Why was Belgrade originally planned as the seat of the Cominform? In this way, Stalin wanted to better influence that country which had already moved furthest away from the position of the Soviet Union in every respect and in all fields and had moved ever closer to the West. Stalin tried to give Tito a shorter leash in his own country. The seat in Belgrade would be best suited to let the deviating line in the Western countries collide with the deviating line of Yugoslavia, in order then to bring first the Western parties, then Yugoslavia and finally all the other countries of the People's Democracy back on the

correct course of Stalinism. In a real sense, the Cominform was Stalin's instrument to free the communist parties both outside and inside the world socialist camp from the influence of modern revisionism and to purge out the deviants. The Cominform was the first international instrument of the anti-revisionist purge outside the Soviet Union. The idea of giving the Cominform more of a control function from Moscow arose from the negative experiences with the Comintern in this regard. The Comintern leaders had already withdrawn too much from Stalin's influence. The purification of the Comintern had proved even more difficult than the purification of the Cominform. The right opportunists in the ECCI had long since put the Comintern to sleep and allowed it to die slowly, so that in the end Stalin decided to agree to its dissolution. At the second conference of the Cominform, which the Titoists had stayed away from and were promptly expelled from, it was decided to move the headquarters to Bucharest, from where the heads of the traitors in Romania and Bulgaria then rolled. At the 3rd Kominform Conference, it was decided to move the headquarters to Budapest, where the heads of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak revisionists rolled.

The Titoists, who had still participated in the 1st Kominform conference, refused to take part in the 2nd conference, where they were then also expelled from the Kominform.

At the Cominform conferences the modern revisionists submissively demonstrated their hypocrisy towards the Soviet Union, the CPSU (B) and above all towards Stalin !

And in deeds, the modern revisionists in turn fought against the Stalinists. For example, the Polish Kominform delegate, Jakub Berman, was expelled from the party because of his "Stalin terror", the Stalinists Gottwald from Czechoslovakia and Bierut from Poland were murdered by the Soviet revisionists. All these crimes against Stalinists took place while the Cominform was still in power or immediately afterwards.

Apart from Rakosi and Jakub Berman, these were mostly representatives of modern revisionism who took part in the Kominform conferences.

What to think of Malenkov, Suslov, Judin and other traitors we learned from Enver Hoxha (Enver Hoxha: "The Khrushchevites")!

The participants acted on their own in their country and moved more and more in the direction of modern revisionism. For the most part, they were already deep in the mire of modern revisionism.

The Cominform representative of Czechoslovakia was the traitor Slansky, who was an agent of Tito, a Trotskyist and a Zionist and was sentenced to death in 1952 !

Clementis, Vladimir (1902-1951); member of the Communist Party since 1924; from 1953 CP deputy; 1939 exile in London; 1948 Czech Foreign Minister; 1949 CC member;

arrested in 1951, sentenced to death in the Slansky trial; executed on December 1952.

As for Togliatti, it is an outright provocation for us Stalinist-Hoxhaists that he dared to appear as a Cominform representative after being one of the leading masterminds of the liquidation of the Comintern! - He should not have participated at all. Just as far too few revisionist traitors had been tried, Togliatti too should have been sentenced to death for his betrayal not only during and after the Cominform, but before that for his betrayal of the Comintern alone.

The Cominform was not filled with the revolutionary spirit of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. The delegates were mainly revisionist hucksters.

Look at the figures who did their revisionist politics there in the Cominform: Suslov, Duclos, Togliatti and the revisionist leaders in Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. A lot of spies and agents, whose activity can be traced back to the time of the Gestapo, were delegates of the Cominform, some of whom in turn were executed after having carried out their agent activities for 2 years since the existence of the Cominform, without the Cominform supposedly noticing anything about it. The agents who were sent into the Cominform were mostly executed, but those who kept them hidden and who bear the real responsibility for this, such as Tito and Dimitroff - all of them were never held accountable, nor convicted.

None of the invited parties stood on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism. All were far from the positions of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern.

All the spies and agents who had been condemned after Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform were, incidentally, rehabilitated at the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU.

Slánský (Czechoslovakia) Prague Trials, December 1952. And what else was in Malenkov's report to Stalin? It expressly praised Slansky's report on the CP of Czechoslovakia at the founding conference of the Cominform! Slansky, by the way, was also a delegate to the 7th World Congress).

László Rajk (Hungary) executed on 15 October 1949.

Kostoff, (Bulgaria) sentenced to death in November 1949 (as a delegate of the Cominform just 1 month after the 3rd Conference of the Cominform !!).

Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu (Romania) - was executed as an agent of the imperialists.

The Kochi Xoxe trial in Albania (this traitor was hanged in May 1949) should not go unmentioned.

The trials were not about the personal misconduct of the accused, but about the condemnation of their counterrevolutionary activity for the Titoists and their imperialist

backers. How overdue the purification of anti-party elements were within the world socialist camp can be seen even in the Cominform. A number of the delegates to the Cominform were executed or imprisoned. As long as Stalin could influence these trials of the traitors, the Cominform officially followed Stalin's course. Conversely, when the traitors gained influence over the trials, after the modern revisionists had conquered more and more positions of power, the Stalinists were deprived of power, put in prison or murdered. These purges, which began with the founding of the Cominform, can be seen as an approximation of the transformation of the Stalinist Cominform into an anti-Stalinist Cominform. The early period of the Cominform was a time of the climax of the sharpest class struggle between the Stalinists and the modern revisionists. With the dissolution of the Cominform, the struggle between the Stalinists and modern revisionists did not end. The waves of trials continued until about the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU. After that, at the latest, all the traitors punished by the Stalinists were rehabilitated one by one. This also shows who belonged to the Stalinists and who to the anti-Stalinists at the time of the Cominform.

How "peaceful" and "democratic" the camp of the modern revisionists was in reality, they proved not only with their class reconciliation and cessation of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, but also with their social-fascist terror against the Stalinists in the socialist camp, within the communist parties, within the communist world movement. Of course, these anti-communist crimes against the Stalinists do not appear in the bourgeois revisionist historiography. Here it is above all the Comintern (SH), which does not only pillory all modern revisionists without exception with the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU, but also their crimes during the Comintern period (and not only the crimes of the Yugoslav revisionists!).

Shdanov's assassination on 31 August 1948 does not coincide with Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform. In January of the same year, the Yugoslav delegation was warmly received by Shdanov in Leningrad, which was not exactly registered with goodwill in Moscow (Malenkov-Beriya faction). Incidentally, Shdanov was responsible in the Politburo for relations with foreign communist parties.

Malenkov (anti-Stalinist Moscow Malenkov/Beriya faction in competition with Shdanov's Leningrad faction / Leningrad "affair"), Suslov (Brezhnevian)

On 18 November 1947 there was a meeting between Stalin and Thorez  
(present: Molotov and Suslov).

Suslov was present at this meeting. But this did not prevent him, at the third conference of the Cominform, from taking the opposite revisionist view and including in his

resolution the anti-Stalinist thesis of "right-wing socialism", a thesis which Stalin had sharply criticised in the conversation with Thorez: "The social-democratic leaders of the left wing are the agents of the right wing." (Stalin)

This struggle against conciliationism towards the "left" wing of social democracy had been waged by Stalin in the Comintern many years before. This then developed into the fusion of the communist and social democratic parties, which comrade Enver Hoxha subjected to sharp criticism. Under the guise of the "workers' united front", the ideology of modern revisionism received its organisational expression through this fusion with social democracy - a revisionist party. The revisionist ideology of so-called "right-wing socialism" did not only dominate after Stalin's death, but already had a determining influence in the Cominform during his lifetime.

### **The SECOND CONFERENCE OF COMINFORM took place from 19 to 23 June 1948.**

Participants: B. Chervenkoff, Traicho Kostoff (Bulgaria - both revisionists)

G. Bares, B. Geminder, V. Siroky, R. Slansky (Czechoslovakia) (all revisionists; Siroky was a delegate to the 7th World Congress)

Geminder, Bedrich (1901-1952); member of the CP since 1921; worked in the KOMINTERN apparatus in Moscow; after 1945 head of various sections of the Party Secretariat; arrested in 1951; sentenced to death and executed

M. Farkas, E. Gero, Matyas Rakosi (Hungary) (all revisionists except Rakosi)

Farkas, Mihaly (1904-1985); from 1921 member of the Czech Communist Party; 1929-1937 leader of the Youth International; participant in the Spanish Civil War (1935-1943); there active under the code name 'Michael Wolf'; candidate for the ECCI presidium; 1944 return to Hungary; 1945-1953 member of the Politburo; 1948-1953 Minister of Defence; under Rakosi head of the Security Service (AVO); 1956 expulsion from the party and conviction

Gerö, Erno (1891-1980); member of the Communist Party since 1918; fled to Vienna in 1919; returned to Hungary in 1922; arrested there and sentenced to 15 years in prison; deported to the USSR after 2 years; from 1924 COMINTERN adviser in France and Belgium, then NKDW representative in the Spanish Civil War; During World War II, leading member of the exiled party in Moscow; after 1945, member of the Central Committee; in the Politburo responsible for economic and security issues; in October 1956, fled to the USSR, expelled from the party in 1962 because of his role in the show



trials; later worked as a translator.

J. Berman, A. Zawadski (Poland) (revisionist Zawadski replaced Bierut after Bierut's assassination - Zawadzki, Aleksander (1899-1964); Chairman of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions, became Chairman of the Council of State on 20 November 1952. )

[ J. Berman (1901-1984); member of the CP since 1924; in the CC from 1925; COMINTERN duties in the SU; leading member in the Polish government-in-exile; in 1944 in Poland; in the PB responsible, among other things, for state security, ideology and culture; in 1956 expelled from the CC because of his role in the trials in Hungary; expelled from the Party in 1957. Until 1969 editor in a book publishing house]

G. Georgiu Dej, V. Luca, Anna Pauker (all Romanian revisionists) - (V. Luca was a revisionist and was rehabilitated in 1968 [5 years after his death in prison])

Etienne Fajon, Jaques Duclos (France) (both revisionists)

Fajon, Etienne (1906-1991); from 1927 member of the CPF; 1932-1945 candidate for the CPF Central Committee; 1936-1939 deputy; from 1935 responsible for the CPF cadre schools; 1940-1943 imprisoned; 1945-1978 member of the Politburo; 1948-1950 editor-in-chief of 'Humanite', from 1958 its political director

P. Secchia, Palmiro Togliatti ( Italy) (both revisionists)

Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), A. Zhdanov, G. Malenkov, M. Suslov - all represented revisionist positions in the Cominform;

The Information Bureau discussed the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and unanimously adopted a resolution on the question of

According to the minutes, the agenda of the 2nd Conference was unanimously adopted as follows:

1. on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

2. current issues:

- a) the seat of the Information Office;

- b) on the seat of the newspaper of the Information Bureau

- c) the composition of the editorial board of the newspaper

- d) the Belgian Trade Union Convention and the Balkan Youth Council.

(Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RRS);

- e) applications by some communist parties to join the Information Bureau

- e) the statutes of the Information Bureau

- g) on the apparatus of the Information Bureau.

**The Third Conference took place in 1949,  
from 16 to 19 November 1949 in Budapest - Hungary.**

Chair: M. Rakosi (Hungary)

Togliatti P. (leader) [modern revisionist].

D'Onofrio E.4 (Deputy Leader of the Delegation) [1949 Secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party - modern revisionist]

Chikalinini A.5 [?]

Longo L. [modern revisionist: Longo, Luigi (1900-1980); co-founder of the CPI (1921); delegate to the IV World Congress; 1927-1932 exile in France; 1932-1935 in Moscow; 1936-1939 Inspector General of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War; 1939 interned in France; 1941 extradition to the Gestapo; 5 years of exile; after release 1943-1945 commander of all communist partisan groups in northern Italy; 1964-1972 General Secretary of the CPI ]

Delegation of the Hungarian Party of Labour

Rakosi M. (head of delegation ) [weak Stalinist, for example, he was instrumental in the revisionist merger of the CP with the Social Democratic Party and did not fight consistently against the revisionists, especially Tito]

Gare E. (deputy leader) [?]

Revai I. [modern revisionist]

Kadar I.6 [modern revisionist]

The delegation of the French communist

Duclos J. (leader) [modern revisionist, 7th World Congress]

Fajon E. [modern revisionist]

Delegation of the All-Union Communist Party (the Bolsheviks)

Suslov MA (leader) [modern revisionist]

Judin P. F. [modern revisionist]

Delegation of the Romanians

GeorgieG. Dej G. (leader) [modern revisionist]

Kishinevsky I. (deputy head )[modern revisionist]

Mogiorosh A. [modern revisionist]

The Delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party

Berman J. (leader) [Stalinist?]

Zavatsky A. [revisionist successor of President Bierut - died in 1964 = renegade!]

The Delegation Party of the CP of Czechoslovakia

Slansky R. (leader) [sentenced to death as a traitor in 1952]

Bashtovansky Sh. [modern revisionist]

Kopřiva L. [modern revisionist]

Geminder B. [executed together with Slansky]

The communist delegation of the CP of Bulgaria

V. Chervenkov (leader) [= anti-Stalinist: related by marriage to Dimitroff and became his successor ]

V. POPTOMOV [modern revisionist: Poptomov, Vladimir (1890-1952); member of the Bulgarian Communist Party; from 1935-1943 adviser at the ECCI Balkan Secretariat in Moscow; 1943-1944 editor at the Publishing House for Foreign Language Literature in Moscow; member of the Politburo 1949-1950 and in 1952 Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian CP ]

Kostoff was still present at the 1st and 2nd meetings of the Cominform and was sentenced to death in December 1949. He was Dimitroff's scapegoat for the anti-Soviet Balkan Federation.

Participating as guests were:

Georgi Kumbiliev [modern revisionist - Foreign Trade Minister of Bulgaria].

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\*) Note, we were not able to identify all names with the Russian Google translation. We lacked money to buy the English edition.

## Agenda

1. protect the world and fight the warlords.

Speech by Suslov. (Soviet Union)

2. the unity of the working class and the tasks of the communist parties.

Speech by Togliatti. (Italy)

3. struggle against the Tito clique.

Speech by Georgi Dej (Romania)

and concluding communiqué by representatives of the communist parties on this subject .

4. on the draft statute of the Information Bureau.

Duclos. (France)

### **The End of the COMINFORM**

Already with the death of Stalin, the Cominform can be considered extinct.

Between summer and December 1950, Togliatti refused to take over the chairmanship of the Cominform and thus openly opposed the socialist camp and its Cominform. Basically, Togliatti was expressing here his negative attitude towards Stalin and the Soviet Union. Although Khrushchev had only officially dissolved the Cominform on 17 April 1956, from 1951 onwards Togliatti had already in fact contributed to the existence of the Cominform, as had Beria and other traitors to Stalin. The dissolution of KOMINFORM, like the dissolution of KOMINTERN, was carried out without discussion and without any consultations. The Cominform organ concluded by saying:

"The Information Bureau and its press organ, the journal 'For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy' have played a positive role for the development and strengthening of fraternal relations as well as for the exchange of experience between the communist and workers' parties, shedding light on the questions of Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with the concrete conditions of the various countries as well as the experience of the international and communist workers' movement."

In the end, Kominform existed only through the editorial board of the Kominform organ. In the truest sense of the word, the Kominform was only "on paper" at the end:

### **About the organ of the Cominform**

***"For lasting peace, for people's democracy".***

This central slogan alone is not suitable for putting into practice the general line of the Kominform, namely, to free the world socialist camp from the increasing influence of modern revisionism and to make Marxism-Leninism the ruling ideology of the world socialist camp. This slogan is more reminiscent of pacifism and reformism and has nothing to do with the necessary orientation towards revolution and socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha never mouthed this revisionist slogan.

When the Cominform was founded, Marxism-Leninism was not the ruling ideology in these countries. And it has never become the ruling ideology there until today. With the liberation of the People's Democracies from Hitler's fascism by the Red Army, the proletariat is thus not automatically liberated from the still ruling capitalist ideology of exploitation and oppression. Only favourable conditions have been created from outside for this. This is a task that cannot be solved from outside - for example, by the Red Army - but only by the revolutionary working class itself, in particular by its Marxist-Leninist party in its own country. The organisational unification of the proletarian and bourgeois parties would have been impossible without the unification of proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. The dominant ideology in the people's democracy was thus a mixture of proletarian and bourgeois ideology, with the political power of the old big bourgeoisie already disintegrated by the war. The bourgeoisie fled, but not the bourgeois ideology. They left it behind in the country they had to abandon. And it was on this bourgeois ideology that modern revisionism was able to save bourgeois class society, that the modern revisionists were able to cultivate their "national road to socialism" under the guise of socialist internationalism and friendship with Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union.

Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union was at that time in the historical phase of the post-war period, in which it had the task of building the world socialist camp under its leadership, and this under the massive anti-communist pressure of the imperialist world camp. The imperialist encirclement, which the Soviet Union had successfully broken for the first time with the Second World War, turned into an encirclement of the socialist world camp. It was to turn out historically that Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union had successfully mastered its struggle against the imperialist encirclement, which could not be said of the people's democracies later. After the modern revisionists seized power, a new form of imperialist encirclement emerged - namely, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of Albania, the only socialist country after Stalin's death. The same people's democracies that had prevented Albania's membership in the Cominform were fighting not Titoism but Hoxhaism - that is, the highest stage of development of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. The socialist world camp, which had turned into a revisionist world camp, united with the

imperialist world camp against the socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha.

Just as the Bolshevik Party must first be ideologically built, the same was true for the building of the Soviet Union and even more so for the world socialist camp. A world socialist camp which is not led by Bolshevik parties and which is not guided by Marxism-Leninism is doomed to failure. A socialist world camp must be built on correct ideological foundations. This was generally not the case. The conditions for this had to be created first. And this included the Cominform as an ideological instrument.

Lasting peace cannot be guaranteed by people's democracy, but only by socialism on a world scale. Lasting peace cannot be guaranteed by Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union alone either. That is only possible through world socialism. It is only possible through the world socialist camp and not through the world democratic camp.

Pavel Yudin, chief editor of the organ of the Cominform, was once a "red professor" who had been awarded the Stalin Prize and became a Brezhnev revisionist. He was a member of the CC of the CPSU between 1952 and 1961.

The organ of the Cominform appeared once a week, usually every Friday, in 19 languages of the world. It reported on events from the entire communist world movement, published documents of the communist parties, i.e. not only those from the socialist (later revisionist) world camp. The organ served not only the ideological orientation, but also the solution of the international question of strategy and tactics.

Following the name "Information Bureau", the "IB" ("Information Bulletin") appeared in August 1958 as the successor organ, which was published by the publishing house: "Peace and Socialism" (Prague) ("Problems of Peace and Socialism.") . The German edition was published by the revisionist STERN-Verlag - Vienna. We have this revisionist archive with the issues between the mid-60s to the mid-80s.

Now to our critical remarks about the organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties: "For lasting peace, for people's democracy" :

We have selected a few examples from the issues between 1947 and 1956. The full texts can be read in English for study purposes. We would like to point out that the articles are mainly revisionist, with the exception of a very small number of Marxist-Leninist articles, among which the Albanian articles are particularly noteworthy. The majority of the authors are revisionists.

On 1 July 1948, the modern revisionist Vahan Grigorian (Beriya's confidant and later Suslov's successor under Brezhnev) was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of the Kominform organ.

The organ of the Kominform is bulging with revisionist articles written by modern

revisionists:

from a long list we pick out only 4 examples of authors whose articles were published in the organ of Kominform:

Roman Zambrowski (Polish revisionist who came to power with Gomulka after the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU in the party united with the Social Democrats).

Mao Zedong (Chinese revisionism)

G. Dimitroff (Bulgarian revisionist, liquidator of the Comintern, traitor to Stalinism)

Max Reimann - revisionist party leader of the West-KPD; delegate to the 7th World Congress)

Walter Ulbricht - the worst of all German revisionists)

Dolores Ibarruri (Spanish revisionist)

OTTO GROTHEWOHL, JOSEF CYRANKIEWICZ, HARRY POLLIT and all the other leaders of the Communist Party of that time, who united with the bourgeois, social-democratic parties to form revisionist parties, all had their say in the organ published by the Cominform. The Kominform made itself the international ideological, political and organisational instrument to bring the modern revisionists to power. And after the modern revisionists had seized power, they no longer needed the Kominform and dissolved it.

In the beginning, Stalin quotations were still used diligently, but only to decorate their revisionism with them. Later, the Cominform took off this Stalin mask.

**Here follow comments on selected issues, of which the few usable ones are marked as such.**

No. 1, Monday, 10 November 1947

[Founding documents of the Cominform](#) (including the documents of the Titoists).

No. 12 (15), Tuesday, 15 June 1948

This issue contains an article on criticism and self-criticism. In it, it is praised that the CP of France and Italy had practised "self-criticism" in the Cominform. This was held up as an example worthy of imitation. There had also been "self-criticism" a year earlier by Thorez in his conversation with Stalin. But all this "self-criticism" was a big bluff, because these two parties - like all other parties - went the way of modern revisionism and thus the way of betrayal of Stalin. One can only really speak of self-criticism when words are

followed by deeds. These revisionist parties were neither willing nor able to do this. Criticism must be levelled above all at the Cominform, which praised this kind of "self-criticism" and did not expose it.

In the same issue, the fusion of the CP with the Social Democratic Party is propagated by the Soviet-revisionist editor of the Kominform organ) who also sells this fusion as an expression of the "unity of the working class" under the provocative title: "Be vigilant against the organisational princes of the Marxist Party". The sheer mockery!

This unification slogan of the Cominform was not propagated in Russia or Albania, nor in the Comintern, at least not before the Comintern fell into the lap of Dimitroff. But Rakosi too has praised the unification between the CP and SP in this issue of the Kominform organ.

No. 13 (16), Thursday, 1 July 1948

[Resolution on the situation of the CP of Yugoslavia](#) (the most important document of the Kominform!)

This is also the first issue to be published in Bucharest instead of Belgrade, as was the case at the beginning, with the editorial office being moved to Romania.

No. 16 (43), 15 August 1949

[THE MASK IS OFF](#) - Pravda article of 13 August 1949 - useful article

But this issue also published, among other things, an article by the Albanian revisionist Bedri Spahiu.

No. 18 (45), Friday, 16 September 1949.

["GANG OF FASCIST CONSPIRATORS, SPIES AND PROVOCATEUR"](#) - usable article.

No. 4 (64), FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1950.

[The Cominform on the Colonial and Dependent Countries.](#)

Without socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, there can be no complete liberation in the rear of imperialism. This is what the October Revolution has taught. This central factor of the



world revolutionary smashing of colonialism in the alliance of the world proletariat with the oppressed peoples, is not mentioned with a syllable in this article. Quotations from Stalin are used, but in the final analysis, the essence of this article is to prepare the way for modern revisionism on the colonial question.

No. 27 (87) July 1950

["New Step by the Tito Clique to Restore Capitalism in Yugoslavia"](#) - Yugoslavia was never a socialist country, so logically capitalism cannot be "restored" in Yugoslavia, precisely because it existed all along. What is correct about the article, however, is that Yugoslavia's economy was increasingly dominated by the US imperialists. Only in this respect is the article useful.

No. 32 (92), 11 August 1950

"Popular Front and Popular Democracy"

American revisionist William Z. Foster, who applauded Dimitroff's Popular Front policy in America without wanting to follow it. In his opinion, a Popular Front government is pure speculation as long as the USA has not yet been afflicted by fascism.

"We do not recognise the inevitability of fascism, any more than we recognise the inevitability of a third world war."

Apparently, according to the American communists, there is a very special "progressive" imperialism in the US - one without war and fascism (see the same tall tales of Browderism). Trump will be grateful for this compliment. Foster keeps beating around the bush, saying that a popular front is probably not yet on the agenda in America, but that is why it should not be lost sight of in perspective. All opportunist gibberish, because in an imperialist country like the USA, nothing else can be on the agenda but socialist revolution. It is precisely this simple thing, which every American worker understands, that the nine-times-wise William Foster has failed to grasp all his life. For this he seeks all the more advice from the Soviet revisionist Suslov and quotes his articles from the organ of the Cominform extensively. Foster does not doubt the role of revolutionary violence in words, but he considers it "out of date" under present conditions (as at the time of the Cominform). This is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, because Leninism is the Marxist doctrine in the epoch (also) of (American) imperialism, an epoch of proletarian revolution (also in the USA), the dictatorship of the proletariat applies (also to the USA).

As for the people's democracies, they seem to be somehow peacefully transforming themselves into the dictatorship of the proletariat. But these are all just hypotheses with

Foster. It's all "not so easily" applicable in America, where everything is much more "complicated".

29 September 1950

Article on the 1st anniversary of the PRC

Mao Tse-tung said, "When we have created a flourishing national economy and culture, when all conditions are ripe, and when this is approved by the whole country, we will enter the new era of socialism in our steady advance. "

Meanwhile, China is a social imperialist superpower and further away from socialism than ever before ....

No. 11 (175), 14 March 1952

"Canada's road to socialism" - "for democratic progress and peace".

Instead of proletarian democracy, popular front government with bourgeois parties. No socialism on the road to proletarian revolution. About a majority in parliament for "socialism".

No. 15 (179), 11 April 1952

In this number appears a longer article by comrade Enver Hoxha:

["The Party of Labour of Albania in the Struggle for the Creation of the Foundations of Socialism"](#) - Enver Hoxha - General Secretary of the CC of the PAA.

- This contribution is one of the few Marxist-Leninist contributions in the organ of the Cominform which are not mixed with revisionist ideas. It emphasises the struggle of the Albanians against the fascist Tito gang.

No. 18 (182), 12 May 1952.

"The British road to socialism" [!]

"The victory of the liberation struggle of colonial and dependent peoples is inseparable from the victory of the aims of democracy, national independence and peace throughout the world."

(Linked to anything but communism).

Written by Palme Dutt, who traded his loyalty to Stalin for his loyalty to the Soviet revisionists (from whom he was paid his pension with an annual income of £15,000 until

his death). Palme Dutt defended the faction of Soviet revisionists against the faction of Eurocommunists in the revisionist CP of Britain.

No. 27 (191), 4 July 1952

An article on the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of Japan states:

"The ideas of Mao Tse-tung must be our ideas too.

Long live independence, freedom and peace for Japan!

Long live national liberation, long live democratic revolution!"

No. 19, 8 May 1953

"Sweden's Road to Socialism" - In the party programme adopted at the 16th Party Congress of the CP of Sweden, there is nothing to be found of the road of socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the usual slogans of the modern revisionists of "peace, democracy and people's power."

No 51, December 23, 1955

The article: "The all-conquering doctrine of MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-STALIN" - published on the birthday (!) of Stalin is reduced by the modern revisionists to:

"The great ideas of Marxist-Leninism, which illuminate the road to peace, freedom and progress for all mankind, live on."

This teaching illuminates "everything" ? Yes, except for one small thing: the revolutionary road to socialism and communism has been obscured by the modern revisionists....

"Stalin Prizes" were awarded on December 9, 1955 - not to deserving communists, but - to.

Lazaro Cardenas- President of Mexico;

Sheikh Mohammed Al-Ashmar-Syria;

Josef Wirth-German Reich Chancellor (Catholic Centre Party) ;

Ton Duc Thang-President under the revisionist leadership of Le Duan);

Ragnar Forbakk-pastor of Oslo Cathedral.

1956:

Khrushchev: In one of the last issues (February 1956) of the organ of the Cominform, his speech at the XXth Party Congress was published (!!!) - that is, in the organ of Stalin's Cominform, of all things, which he liquidated after publishing his anti-Stalinist speech ! This shows in which hands the Kominform was in reality - in the hands of the Soviet revisionists !

Clearly, Khrushchev disbanded the Cominform after tactically bending before Tito's eyes during a visit to Belgrade in 1955 to ally himself with anyone who supported his course against Stalin. If the great merit of the Cominform was to condemn Titoism, in the end it had to see Yugoslavia transformed back into a "socialist" country thanks to Khrushchev. And even Mao applauded.

## **PART II**

### **3**

#### **Relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform**

##### **What is the difference between the Comintern and the Cominform ?**

The Comintern was the highest form of world proletarian class organisation founded by Lenin.

The Comintern was the highest form of organisation of the working class of the world socialist camp liberated from Hitler's fascism, founded by Stalin.

Formally, in contrast to the Comintern, the Cominform was only an "information and advisory body without superior decision-making authority", non-binding on the Communist Parties. In fact, the decisions and resolutions of the Cominform gave direction and were decisive for common action, not only for the world socialist camp, but also for the entire world communist movement.

Without Stalin, without the leadership of the Soviet Union, there would have been no Cominform. We say: the foundation of the Cominform was urgently necessary and has

a firm place in the history of the communist world movement.

However, we have to ask ourselves the critical question: Was there a theory of the Cominform on which its foundation was based and from which its practice was guided? In answering this question, we find:

The theory of the Cominform, the scientific determination of its role in the history of the world communist movement, was not elaborated at its foundation. A theory of the Comintern in which the Comintern is of no relevance is built on sand, is a bourgeois and not a socialist theory. The Comintern (SH) considers the conclusions drawn by the Cominform from the Comintern to be wrong, a betrayal of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. For the Comintern (SH), the theory of the Cominform can be nothing other than the necessary further development of the theory of the Comintern. The role of the Cominform as a mediator of the exchange of information of the Communist Parties within the socialist world camp with the involvement of two Communist Parties from the imperialist world camp could only contribute as a very first beginning to the solution of its task. However, before it even came to the development of an independent theory of the Cominform, which defines the Cominform as the highest class organisation of the socialist world camp with its corresponding Bolshevik principles of organisation, the Cominform was already in the hands of the modern revisionists and was dissolved by them when it was no longer of any use to them. A theory of the Cominform which is not developed on the firm foundation of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern, which ignores or even denies the role of the Comintern in building the world socialist camp, can only be a revisionist theory. This is for us one of the most important lessons of the history of the Comintern.

Instead of a preceding elaboration of a theory of the Cominform oriented towards the revolutionary goal of world socialism, actually only the old Dimitroffian tactics of the popular front were taken over and pragmatically imposed on the Cominform. The Cominform was not concerned with the goal of world socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, as it had been anchored in the programme of Lenin and Stalin's Comintern. The Comintern went no further than cementing the status quo of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and imperialist world camps with the main slogan of democratic and peaceful struggle. Lenin's slogan of October Revolution is not to be found in the Cominform. The Cominform opposed the violent socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The world revolution was the defence of Lenin's slogan also in the Comintern programme. Therefore, the Comintern programme is still the basis for our general line and for our programme on world communism today. We defend the Comintern programme just

as we defend the Communist Manifesto. As far as the world socialist camp is concerned, what was already correctly written about the Soviet Union in the Comintern programme could only have been extended to the world socialist camp and thus brought up to date. But the continuation of the Comintern was rejected and rejected from the outset by the Cominform. To this day, we search in vain for a Marxist-Leninist-based refutation of the correctness or validity of the Comintern's programme. As far as we know, there has never been an officially published decision to justify, let alone declare, the invalidity of the Comintern programme. Decisions have been taken on the dissolution of the Comintern, but not on the invalidity of the Comintern programme. We say: A truly socialist world camp follows the world revolutionary banner of the Comintern programme, orients itself and others to it, is guided by the Comintern programme, defends it against modern revisionism. But the Cominform and the world socialist camp did not want to know anything more about the Comintern programme, and therefore their fate was predetermined, namely to become victims of the modern revisionists. In our opinion, the revisionist development could have been prevented if the Cominform and the world socialist camp had been built strictly according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, all that remains for us today is to draw lessons for the future so that such a history of the Cominform is not repeated.

As the bearer of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology of the world proletariat, it is the task of the Comintern (SH) to contribute retrospectively to the theory of the Cominform, because we are fighting, after all, for the restoration of the socialist world camp, albeit for a different socialist world camp, namely modified under the conditions of today's globalisation. A complete and comprehensive theoretical work cannot be done within the framework of this article, for this a separate theoretical article is needed. But we will at least outline the basic features of the theory of the Cominform.

The world socialist camp does not only need the leading role of the most developed socialist country in order to be built and to grow. It also needs the proletariat within the imperialist world camp - and vice versa. World socialism can only be victorious through the unification of the entire world proletariat in an "international front" as Stalin put it, that is, through the unification of the proletariat of the imperialist world camp with the working class in the socialist world camp in the struggle for the victory of the world socialist revolution, without which world imperialism cannot be overthrown. It is not the working class of the world socialist camp as a part of the world proletariat that alone treads the road to world socialism. Not one part alone, but the entire united world proletariat is treading this road to world socialism in an "international front", the front for world socialist revolution.

The socialist world camp serves the world proletariat for revolutionary global liberation and not vice versa. The revolutionary liberation of the world proletariat cannot be subordinated by anything and by anyone. The unity of the working class can only be achieved through the revolutionary way and not through the revisionist way. The end of capitalism and the beginning of socialism on a world scale stands and falls with the world socialist revolution. The interests of the world proletariat as a whole are always higher than the interests of the proletarians of individual countries, thus also higher than the interests of the working class, which forms the world socialist camp. This is an old Marxist doctrine as already formulated in the Communist Manifesto. And having a socialist world camp does not change its validity. The Comintern (SH) has also adopted this in its general line and adheres to it.

The socialist world camp is a lever with which the division of the world proletariat into an already liberated and a still enslaved part is broken. But it would be foolish to assume that this is the only lever. At least as indispensable is the lever of socialist revolution within the imperialist world camp. And it is only by combining them that the leverage necessary to unhinge the old world is created. The socialist world camp does not make the socialist world revolution superfluous, as the Cominform has wrongly assumed. The socialist world camp only creates better conditions for the violent overthrow of the imperialist world camp, which it cannot bring about on its own. However, the Cominform has never worked in the direction of world socialist revolution and never wanted to do so. It limited itself to the democratic struggle. We are not at all against the democratic struggle, but it is to be directed towards bringing about the socialist revolution, the necessity of which the Cominform denied. According to the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, the democratic struggle is an indispensable instrument for bringing about the socialist revolution. Any democratic struggle that does not have as its aim the victory of the socialist revolution is a struggle for bourgeois democracy and not for proletarian democracy, which can only come about through the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie. For us Stalinist-Hoxhaists, a socialist world camp means a lot, but not so much that we would renounce the socialist world revolution only with the socialist world camp in our hands and - as the Cominform unfortunately did - in order to clear the imperialist world camp out of the way on a peaceful, democratic path. This way led straight into the arms of the world imperialist camp. And it could not be any other way, because it was a revisionist way, a way of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

## **What do we learn from this sorrowful history of the revisionist development of the Cominform?**

Since the Cominform could be nothing other than the highest class organisation of the world socialist camp, the existence of the Communist International is missing here, which, according to the teachings of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, as the highest form of class organisation of the world proletariat, has to play the leading role until the entry into world communism, i.e., also during the construction of the world socialist camp. In order to end the old age of world capitalism and to replace it by the new age of world socialism, the Communist International as its vanguard organisation is of decisive importance and absolutely indispensable for the world proletariat. This is the most important lesson we have learned from the mistake of the Cominform.

Does the leading role of the Comintern mean at the same time the renunciation of the leading role of the Cominform? And does this consequently mean that there can only be the Comintern and not the Cominform? No, it does not mean that at all. For the world proletariat there is no alternative to choose between the Comintern or the Cominform. The Comintern was correct and remains. The Cominform was also correct and remains. The problem was only that the Cominform could not fulfil its task at all without the Comintern. So it was only the dissolution of the Comintern that was wrong and not the foundation of the Cominform.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that neither the Cominform replaces the Comintern nor, conversely, the Comintern replaces the Cominform. They are both supreme forms of organisation of the working class, both indispensable in the phase of building the world socialist camp, and both complement each other. The Cominform is an integral part of the Comintern, namely, the independent vanguard of that section of the world proletariat which is already liberated from capitalism. Only together with the Comintern and under the leadership of the Comintern can the Cominform fulfil its independent leadership tasks in the world socialist camp. The Cominform only covers the leadership of a part of the world proletariat and cannot at the same time be the leader of the whole world proletariat. A Cominform is useless for the world proletariat, through which there is no more room for the Comintern. A so-called "proxy function" of the Comintern must be rejected on principle, because it does not correspond to the teachings of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. The world proletariat always needs its own world party as long as the world proletariat exists. Without the world proletarian party, without the Communist International, the world proletariat cannot reach world socialism, nor from world socialism to world communism. The Cominform leads the world socialist camp, while the Comintern leads the entire world



proletariat.

What relation must there be between the Comintern and the Cominform?

Quite simply. The relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform corresponds to the relationship that already existed between the Comintern and the CPSU (B) of Comrade Lenin and Stalin. The relationship between the Soviet Union and the Comintern is merely extended as the relationship between the world socialist camp and the Comintern, with the leading role of the most developed socialist country remaining untouched, i.e., continued and extended.

Just as the Comintern is indispensable for representing the entire interests of the world proletariat, so is the Cominform indispensable as the representative of the interests of the working class within the world socialist camp. Unfortunately, the Comintern could no longer play its leading role in the building of the socialist world camp because it had been dissolved shortly before. This dissolution of the Comintern is therefore considered the greatest betrayal in the history of the proletarian international. This betrayal therefore consisted not least in the fact that the Cominform had to take up its activity without being led by the Comintern. If the Comintern had continued to lead in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin, it would certainly have been much more difficult for the modern revisionists to get their hands on the Cominform. The world proletariat could have prevented this more easily with the Comintern of comrade Lenin and Stalin continuing to exist (not, of course, with Dimitroff's "Comintern"). The world proletariat and the world communist movement thus have both the experience of the Comintern and the experience of the Comintern, but not the experience of a Comintern integrated into the Comintern. History has instructed us to gain this experience ourselves, as soon as we have created the new world socialist camp, which - as we have always emphasised - cannot and will not be a mere copy of the old world socialist camp.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches, on the basis of historical experience, that a world socialist camp must fail if it is not built under the leadership of the entire world proletariat and its Communist International and, without the Comintern, falls into unilateral dependence on the strongest socialist country. The world proletariat is the only revolutionary class in this globalised world and no one else. Therefore, this global class must also consistently hold the leadership over the world socialist camp and thus naturally also over the most developed socialist country. This does not at all mean that this country loses its function as the most important lever of the world socialist revolution and is no longer the driving force on the road to world socialism. Quite the contrary. Through the enlargement of the world socialist camp, the Soviet Union has become stronger than ever

before.

The same applies to the role of the Communist Party in the most developed socialist country, both its role within the Cominform in particular and its role within the Comintern, in general.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the transition from the world socialist camp to world socialism is impossible without the Communist International and the Cominform as its most important department. Similarly, the building and consolidation of the world socialist camp in terms of the transition to world socialism is impossible without the driving force of the most advanced socialist country within the world socialist camp. If the world proletariat has again created a socialist camp, then the goal of the world socialist republic cannot be achieved without the leadership of the Communist International and its Cominform Department.

Is the theoretical problem of the Cominform thus solved ? By no means. It would be solved on the false premise that the world socialist camp could bring about world socialism by its own efforts. We have always strictly rejected this false theory for the reasons mentioned above, because the work of world socialism can only be the work of the whole world proletariat. Thus, in our previous theoretical model, we have completely disregarded the fact that there cannot be only one Cominform. If the world socialist camp has its own highest form of class organisation in the form of the Cominform, why should the proletariat in the world imperialist camp not have its own highest form of class organisation ? This is the crux of the matter.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that under the leadership of the Communist International, in the conditions of a world divided into a camp of the working class and a camp of the bourgeoisie, there must be not one but necessarily two Cominforms. This is the one Cominform as the vanguard organisation of the working class in the socialist world camp, and the other Cominform as the vanguard organisation of the proletariat in the imperialist world camp.

We have chosen here the different concept of proletariat and working class, whereby we understand by the term "proletariat" the not yet liberated part of the world proletariat and by the term "working class" the liberated part of the world proletariat. As a generic term we use "world proletariat" as long as it has not yet liberated itself globally, i.e. completely. In world socialism, we should then use a new term, such as "world working class", for the appropriate demarcation.

The necessity of the world socialist revolution remains until the complete liberation of the entire world proletariat. It is therefore not rendered superfluous by the socialist world

camp, because with this alone the world proletariat cannot and will not be able to liberate itself.

Our definition of the world socialist camp is that of a camp which emerges from the socialist revolution in the individual countries, i.e. a camp which expands through the victory of the socialist revolution in ever new countries which voluntarily join the world socialist camp. Outside the Soviet Union, where the October Revolution had already triumphed in 1917, only Albania emerged from comrade Stalin's world socialist camp, in the only country where the people's revolution was transformed into the Siegie socialist revolution. Accordingly, there were only two countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat prevailed, in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and in comrade Enver Hoxha's Albania. Thus, the communist parties represented in the Cominform were not parties that had led the socialist revolution to victory. There is no socialist revolution without leadership by the Bolshevik Party. And there were no Bolshevik parties (any more) after the 7th World Congress as there were before the 7th World Congress of the Comintern, with which the proletarians could have been led to the victory of the socialist revolution. The Red Army could not suspend the laws of the socialist revolution in the countries liberated from Hitler's fascism, could not transform the parties contaminated with the Dimitroff Line back into Bolshevik parties, but only the proletariat in the countries liberated from Hitler's fascism. The Red Army could only do one thing, namely, liberate countries from Hitler fascism, in order to facilitate the proletarians' path to the socialist revolution and create more favourable conditions for the restoration of the Bolshevik character of the parties there, in other words, to purge out the modern revisionists. And these external conditions were victoriously created by the Red Army thanks to Stalin. The Red Army could not and was not allowed to do more, because the socialist revolution must come from within, from the proletariat itself. Nevertheless, Stalin helped these countries a great deal by setting up the Cominform, just as he always helped the other countries and their Communist Parties selflessly and shared everything fraternally with them. The Cominform was not only a great gift of the great proletarian internationalist Stalin, but also of the creator of socialist internationalism, namely, the internationalism of Stalin's world camp. In the spirit of Stalin's socialist internationalism, we will build the world socialist republic and make a new contribution to the strengthening of Stalinism-Hoxhaism with the further development of the doctrine of socialist internationalism.

A communist party that has stood in the struggle against Hitler's fascism does not automatically make it a communist party that leads the socialist revolution and builds socialism. There is a big difference. The victory over Hitler's fascism was won primarily by

Stalin's Red Army and not primarily by the Communist Parties and their own liberation organisations. Thus, it came to popular front governments and fusion with bourgeois parties with which you can build capitalism but not socialism. Socialism can only be built under the sole leadership of Bolshevik parties, such as those created for this purpose in the Soviet Union and Albania.

Even if we start from the theoretical premise that the conditions of a socialist world camp would have been fulfilled, that is, that this camp at least emerged from the socialist revolution of the overwhelming majority of all the countries belonging to it, this does not change the indispensability of another Cominform in the imperialist world camp.

What should the second Cominform, the Cominform within the imperialist camp have looked like, or what should it look like in the future, when we are simultaneously rebuilding the Cominform of a newly restored socialist world camp?

Before we turn our gaze to the future, let us turn it back to the time of the first West European "Cominform", whose construction began after the First World Congress. This was the so-called "Western European Bureau" - "WEB" for short. At that time, the socialist world camp of 1947 did not yet exist, but Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union, which represented the interests of the liberated part of the world proletariat in the Comintern, formed its shock troops, so to speak. Apart from the "West Bureau", the Comintern also initiated the

#### [First Congress of the "Peoples of the East" \(Baku\)](#)

in September 1920, where there was also cooperation with representatives of the West Bureau (Holland) in order to unite the common struggle of the world proletariat with the oppressed peoples exploited by the imperialist camp. Unfortunately, the first congress was also the last one. It was led by Zinoviev, Radek and other traitors to the cause of the world proletariat. Later, the League Against Imperialism was created, which built on the experience of Baku and was dissolved again because of the growing dominance of the dissenting line of Münzenberg.

World imperialism has reached its highest and final stage under the present conditions of globalisation. All countries of the world have been transformed into capitalist countries with a more or less developed proletariat. The globalised army of the world proletariat is objectively ripe for the international revolutionary overthrow of world imperialism. In order to win in the world socialist revolution today, there is still no need for a Comintern as long as no new socialist camp has been formed. And there is no need for a League against Imperialism any more, because the class composition in the colonies and among the oppressed peoples has changed through globalisation in favour of a growing

proletariat. In all countries of the world, capitalist class society now exists, the contradiction between wage labour and capital is the basic contradiction, which, as is well known, can only be resolved by means of socialist revolution. Today, the world socialist revolution is on the agenda.

So, if at the beginning of the Comintern's activity there was a Western Bureau (to lead the then proletariat in the capitalist countries) and an anti-imperialist organisation for the oppressed peoples (Baku), which fought together under the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples - unite!", this slogan is no longer relevant under today's conditions of fully globalised capitalism and must therefore be discarded.

At that time, this slogan was correct and can be considered - although under different conditions today - as the precursor of two bureaux of the Comintern.

The WEB [West-European Bureau] was a lever of the Comintern for spreading the October Revolution towards the West, especially towards Germany, where the next victory of the socialist revolution was expected (1918, November Revolution, 1923; Hamburg Uprising, etc.). The First Congress of the Comintern did not yet elect an Executive Committee. It was to consist of delegates from the Communist Parties of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Balkan League, Switzerland and Scandinavia. In the first weeks of 1920, S. J. Rutgers and a small group of collaborators were commissioned by the Comintern to set up a West European office of the Comintern in Amsterdam. This, however, was in the hands of Wijnkoop and Henriette Roland-Holst, who were criticised by Lenin and Stalin for their right opportunism in the same way as we do with Dimitroff, who took over the leadership of the WEB in Berlin in 1929. Wijnkoop's Amsterdam office had issued a bulletin in three languages. His first action was to convene an international conference of groups belonging to the so-called "left camp" in Europe and America. Already on the second day of the conference, the meeting was broken up by the police. The Amsterdam office of the Comintern had to be closed in April 1920 by decision of the ECCI and was reopened in Berlin as a sham - where from now on the WEB was set up according to the conspiratorial rules of illegality. In the WEB, apart from Dimitroff, there were other figures who betrayed the Comintern and later became leaders of the modern revisionists (e.g. Otto Kuusinen).

With the coming to power of Hitler's fascism in 1933, the WEB was moved partly to Paris and partly to Copenhagen. With the turn of the 7th World Congress, the Comintern no longer needed a WEB, because since then the socialist revolution was no longer on the agenda in the Western capitalist countries.

In today's world of imperialism, the world proletariat is globally exploited and

oppressed, which is why the question of two Cominform in a world divided into two camps does not arise for the Comintern (SH) at present.

As for the time in the future world socialism, the Comintern (SH) has already prepared a

draft constitution for the WUdSSR

where a bicameral system is envisaged on the model of Stalin's constitution and the constitution of the SVR of Albania. In the new socialist world system, the old function of the Cominform as the leader of the socialist world camp will disappear, as well as the old function of the other Cominform, which was the leader of the proletariat in the imperialist world camp - but they could take over a new common function. Both former "camp" Cominform, which have become superfluous, could be merged into a united new class organisation of sections in the individual world socialist countries. Of course, in this new Cominform, with its new functions in the world socialist system, the sections would continue to be under the leadership of the Comintern, which remains unchallenged as the supreme class organisation of the entire world working class under world socialism, in order to lead it globally towards world communism. The relationship between the World Soviet Union and the individual world socialist Soviet republics thus corresponds to the relationship between the World Party and its individual world socialist sections, which have become the sole and leading parties in their country. We continue to use as a template the close relationship created by Stalin between the central CPSU (B) and the parties in the individual Soviet republics.

The Cominform of the sections and the Comintern thus do not form a contradiction in world socialism, but a meaningful combination of the highest class organisation, which will continue to exist until all the world socialist countries have merged with each other and, with the entry into the classless world society, the nations have ceased to exist, transforming themselves into voluntary associations as described in the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels.

After this brief sketch of our theoretical model of the two Cominform of the two world camps and their new function in world socialism, we return to some historical questions of comrade Stalin's Comintern.

The relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform is reflected, among other things, in the relationship of their counterrevolutionary infiltration.

Until the dissolution of the Comintern, it was mainly infiltrated by the Gestapo, while after the dissolution of the Comintern, the infiltration of the communist parties came from the secret services of the Anglo-American imperialists - at first more by the British secret

services and then increasingly by the American secret services. Thus, the delegates smuggled into the Comintern meetings were such agents and spies who had already worked for the Anglo-American imperialists or for the Titoists as their agency in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe at the end of the 1930s and then during the Second World War, which is documented in detail by the numerous and extensive trial files.

Both the agent activities in the Comintern and in the Cominform were primarily directed against Stalin and the Soviet Union. Through the Soviet Union, the danger of world socialist revolution emanated primarily from the Comintern, while through the Soviet victory over Hitler's fascism, the danger already emanated from a world socialist camp. In order to stop the spread of the world socialist camp, the Anglo-American imperialists were forced to infiltrate their agents into the Comintern.

One cannot rebuild the Comintern without exposing and avoiding the mistakes of the Cominform. And conversely, you cannot restore the Comintern without exposing and avoiding the mistakes of the Comintern.

The Comintern (SH) looks at the history of the Comintern from the point of view of the necessity of re-founding the Comintern on the principles of Marxism-Leninism - one cannot and must not take any other standpoint as a Stalinist-Hoxhaist towards the Comintern.

This is one of the most important criticisms of the Comintern (SH) against the Cominform.

### **The anti-Comintern position in Shdanov's report on the international situation delivered at the First Cominform Conference in Poland in September 1947.**

What we are about to read here may seem "plausible" at first glance, sounds "comprehensible", "reasonable" etc. But what is "Marxist-Leninist" about this, please? But what is supposed to be "Marxist-Leninist" about this, if Shdanov hangs up the Communist International founded by Lenin and its world revolutionary mission on the historical nail? The Comintern has "served its time" forever - that is what he wanted to express with his speech. Well, a Shdanov can "declare the Comintern dead" all he wants, it lives on and will live on!!!

That what is left of the old Bolshevik Shdanov when he speaks unctuously about the Comintern like an undertaker?

Enver Hoxha was right when he called the old guard of the Bolsheviks "Bolshevik corpses". This includes the "Bolshevik corpse" Shdanov, because he has renounced

Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern forever.

Shdanov justifies the betrayal of the dissolution of the Comintern as follows:

(longer quote:)

*"The dissolution of the Comintern, which corresponded to the demands of the development of the workers' movement under the new historical conditions, has played its positive role. The dissolution of the Comintern has put an end forever to the slanderous allegation put forward by the opponents of communism and the workers' movement that Moscow allegedly interferes in the internal life of other states and that the communist parties of the various countries allegedly act not in the interests of their people but on orders from outside.*

*The Comintern was created after the First World War, when the communist parties were still weak, a link between the working class in the various countries was almost non-existent and the communist parties did not yet have universally recognised leaders of the workers' movement. The merits of the Comintern are that it restored and strengthened the link between the working people of the different countries, worked out the theoretical questions of the workers' movement under the new conditions that arose after the First World War, established general norms for the propaganda and agitation of communist ideas and facilitated the training of leaders of the workers' movement. This created the conditions for the young communist parties to become mass parties of the workers. However, with the transformation of the communist parties into mass parties of the workers, the leadership of these parties from a centre became impossible and inexpedient. Thus, the Comintern began to transform itself from a factor that promoted the development of the communist parties into a factor that hindered this development. The new stage in the development of the communist parties required new forms of connection between the parties. These circumstances determined the need to dissolve the Comintern and create new forms of inter-party linkage.*

*In the four years that have passed since the dissolution of the Comintern, a significant consolidation of the communist parties took place, a strengthening of their influence in almost all countries of Europe and Asia. The influence of the communist parties grew not only in Eastern Europe, but also in almost all the countries of Europe where fascism prevailed, as well as in the countries which experienced the German-fascist occupation - in France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Finland, etc. The influence of the communists grew stronger in almost all the countries of Europe and Asia. The influence of the communists strengthened especially in the countries of the new democracy, where the communist parties are the most influential parties of the state.*



*However, the present situation of the communist parties has its shortcomings. Some comrades have taken the matter as if the dissolution of the Comintern meant the elimination of any connection, any contact between the communist brother parties. Experience has shown that such a separation of the communist parties from each other is incorrect, harmful and basically unnatural. The communist movement is developing within the national framework, but at the same time it has common tasks and interests for the parties of the different countries. A rather strange picture emerges: the socialists, who were literally gushing to prove that the Comintern was supposedly issuing Moscow's directives to the communists of all countries, have restored their International, while the communists, fearing the slander of the enemies concerning the "Hand of Moscow", are even refraining from meetings, let alone consultations on questions of common interest. Representatives of the most diverse circles of activity: Scholars, co-operators, trade unionists, youth and students, consider it possible to maintain an international contact, to exchange their experiences, to consult on questions of their work and to organise international conferences and consultations. The communists, on the other hand, even of countries that are allied with each other, are embarrassed to establish friendly relations among themselves. There is no doubt that such a situation would have extremely harmful consequences for the development of the work of the brother parties if it continued. This need for consultation and voluntary coordination of the activities of the various parties is particularly urgent now, when continued isolation can lead to a decline in mutual understanding and sometimes to serious mistakes."*

We have already set out all the bold assertions with which the futile attempt to justify the dissolution of the Comintern has been made, and continues to be made, even here in Shdanov, in our General Line in

[10 guiding principles in our General Line](#): Everyone can read this there.

- The dissolution of the Comintern can be justified by nothing and nobody, because the Communist International is the only party that can lead the world proletariat to world communism.

- For this reason alone, the dissolution of the Comintern was the worst betrayal of proletarian internationalism, of world socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- The dissolution of the Comintern was a stab in the back of our highest ideal - world communism.

- The dissolution of the Comintern was not for the abolition of class society, but for its maintenance through "peaceful coexistence" of two world camps.

- The dissolution of the Comintern was finally a declaration of war against the revolutionary teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, who have always stood up for the proletarian International and who have fought against those who harmed the proletarian International or even tried to liquidate it.

The existence of the Comintern (SH) has confirmed the truth that Lenin had pronounced in his famous sentence:

"The proletarian International has never fallen and will never fall!"

- The liquidation of the Comintern was a declaration of capitulation to the world imperialist camp and a disservice to all those who participated in the liquidation of the Cominform from outside as well as from within, which nothing can make up for. Whoever justifies the liquidation of the Comintern also justifies the liquidation of the Cominform, no matter in which high tones one praises the Comintern and the Cominform. The liquidators of the Comintern and the Cominform have one and the same name - the modern revisionists ! And today it is the neo-revisionists who justify the crimes of these liquidators against the world communist movement and its Communist International and Stalin's Cominform.

With the unanimous acceptance of Shdanov's report on the international situation, all the delegates of the Cominform without exception, without any previous discussion on this, declared both the justification of the dissolution of the Comintern and the rejection of its re-establishment or its replacement by the Cominform as a decided matter right at the founding conference. This decision of the Cominform on Shdanov's report meant at the same time its inevitable end with the first day of its existence.

The existence of a Communist International is dependent neither on the ups and downs of the world capitalist camp nor on the ups and downs of the world socialist camp. Consequently, it is never permissible to doubt, revoke, obstruct or even liquidate the indispensability of its existence before the achievement of classless world society.

Especially in the building of the socialist world camp, the Communist International is indispensable in the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist world camp. How else can a socialist world camp expand if not through the socialist revolutions in the countries of the imperialist camp ? For the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie, all tactical considerations must remain absolutely subordinate and must not be placed above principles. And the questions of the Comintern and the Cominform are first and foremost questions of principle. Those who evade these questions of principle or deny them for the sake of temporary advantage are opportunists, to put it bluntly. And it is these opportunists who

declare our defence of the Comintern and the Cominform to be pure "dogmatism". To adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the Comintern or to the Cominform is not dogmatic at all as long as these principles, like the Comintern or the Cominform, retain their valid justification under the changed world conditions. Dogmatism only begins where one refuses to throw such principles overboard, which under changed conditions must be replaced by correspondingly new principles. Thus, the Comintern must be discarded until there is a new socialist world camp. On the other hand, the Comintern retains its irrevocable right to exist as long as there is a world proletariat, whether in power or not in power.

Without a Communist International, the elimination of the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism cannot be guaranteed. In any case, a Cominform cannot guarantee the elimination of the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism in the world socialist camp, as history has shown. As long as the imperialist world camp exists, the "peaceful coexistence" between the two world camps does not offer any guarantee to eliminate forever the imminent danger of the restoration of capitalism.

The doctrine of Stalinism-Hoxhaism is that not only socialism in the Soviet Union is secured only by the victory of socialism on a world scale, but also the victory of socialism in the world socialist camp.

Countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat, committed to socialist internationalism, remain committed to proletarian internationalism. And one can only be committed to proletarian internationalism if one is committed to the Communist International. A Cominform that does not commit itself to the Communist International thus also leaves the ground of proletarian internationalism. If the Cominform had rejected the re-establishment of a degenerated Comintern under the leadership of Dimitroff, we would have been very much in agreement. But the Cominform never criticised or condemned Dimitroff. It has always defended this liquidator of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern from beginning to end, instead of reorganising Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. How can a Cominform be in favour of the cooperation and unification of the Communist Parties when at the same time the Cominform has justified their dissolution as sections of the Comintern ? Must not the sections under the leadership of the Comintern be the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat in the individual countries ?

The dissolution of the Comintern broke the internationalist bond which had brought all the sections together and kept them together to fight together for the world socialist revolution, consequently all those nationalist tendencies in the communist parties came to the fore ("own national road to socialism", see: Titoism, Browderism, etc.), which Stalin

had declared war on. But the Cominform could not and did not want to re-establish this internationalist bond, because it had refused to rebuild the Comintern from the beginning.

The transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist world camp to the dictatorship of the world proletariat is impossible without the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist world camp. And this overthrow of the imperialist world camp is in turn impossible without the world socialist revolution of the entire world proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International.

Any "justification" of a premature dissolution of the Comintern can therefore mean nothing other than the justification of the prolongation of the rule of the imperialist world camp, is thus the justification of the impossibility of the transition to world socialism and world communism.

It makes a big difference whether the Comintern dissolves itself, or its reconstruction is categorically rejected from the outset by the Cominform, or whether the Comintern is smashed by the international counterrevolution from outside. In the first case, it is a cowardly capitulation to the world bourgeoisie, but in the latter case, the Comintern will immediately embark on its reorganisation because this is what Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches.

Just because the October Revolution has NOT yet led to the victory of the world revolution, we Stalinists-Hoxhaists do not give up the struggle for the world revolution ! As long as the world proletariat has to fight for its liberation, the world bourgeoisie must also try to destroy our Communist International in order to maintain its power. And even if world imperialism succeeds in preventing the reconstruction of the Communist International for the hundredth time, then we will reconstruct the Communist International for the 101st time - and beyond that until the Communist International has victoriously completed its world proletarian mission. All "theories" that try to stop us Stalinist-Hoxhaists from building or rebuilding the Comintern (SH) serve the class enemy of the world proletariat. And this includes the justification of the Cominform's decision to reject the reconstruction of the Comintern, whatever "arguments" were and are used to maintain this justification.

If Dimitroff dissolved the Comintern, that is bad enough. But if Shdanov, as head of the CPSU (B) delegation, repeats the same reasons for dissolution four years later, this does not make them "right". To our knowledge, the CPSU (B) never and nowhere contradicted Shdanov's refusal to recognise its continued necessity, so we must assume that by convening the Comintern in 1947, the CPSU (B) lowered the coffin of the

Comintern even deeper into the ground. And who are the guards at the Comintern's grave? The guards at the Comintern's grave can only be renegades who have long forgotten the victory of the October Revolution, which heralded the beginning of the world revolution.

"Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. More precisely, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."

From whom did this definition of Leninism come? From Stalin, of course. And Stalin also teaches us why this definition is correct:

"Is this definition correct?

I believe that it is correct. It is correct, first, because it correctly points to the historical roots of Leninism, identifying it as the Marxism of the EPOCHE OF IMPERIALISM, in contrast to certain critics of Lenin who erroneously believe that Leninism arose after the imperialist war. It is correct, secondly, because it correctly emphasises the international character of Leninism, in contrast to Social-Democracy, which holds that Leninism is applicable only under Russian national conditions. It is correct, thirdly, because it correctly emphasises the organic connection of Leninism with Marx's teaching, marking it as the MARXISM of the epoch of imperialism, in contrast to certain critics of Leninism who do not consider it to be a further development of Marxism, but only a restoration of Marxism and its application to Russian reality."

With the world socialist camp and with the Cominform, has anything changed in the epoch of imperialism ? No.

Has anything changed in the international character of Leninism with the world socialist camp and the Cominform ? No.

Did the world socialist camp and the Cominform change anything about Leninism as Marxism in the epoch of imperialism ? No.

Has anything changed in the Leninist theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat through the world socialist camp and the Cominform ? No.

So, on the basis of the continued validity of Leninism at the time of the world socialist camp and the Cominform, can the Comintern, founded by Lenin, be thrown into the scrap heap ? No.

He who has buried the Comintern has also buried Leninism.

In a report most probably written by Traicho Kostoff, Stalin allegedly told the Bulgarian delegation in 1946 as follows:

"We will not restore the old style of the Communist International, and will not follow Marx's thesis that the revolution would take place in all countries simultaneously. This no longer corresponds to our present ideology. " Are these supposed to be arguments against the world socialist revolution and the Comintern?

If Stalin is supposed to have actually said this,

[which has not been documented anywhere with any certainty. Note: This quotation comes from a Bulgarian traitor who was executed with the approval of comrade Stalin on 16 December 1949 (i.e. exactly 1 month after the 3rd Conference of the Comintern, in the first two conferences of which he had still participated!) and rehabilitated by the modern revisionists on 6 November 1956!]

then Stalin here only did not want to restore the "old style" of the Comintern. Can one agree with this? Yes, one can without hesitation.

The Comintern (SH) has discarded the old model of the Comintern as a mere umbrella organisation of the federation of national communist parties. In the present conditions of globalisation of the world proletariat, we have replaced this outdated model with a globalised model, according to which there is only one communist party in the world, namely the World Party of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, with its own sections in each country of the world.

And then, moreover, this does not mean renouncing the world revolution, but only a modification, the way, the path of its realisation - precisely not in one fell swoop, not simultaneously in all countries ! Stalin did not take this stand only in 1946, but from the very beginning. Can one therefore also agree with it? One must agree with it, because everybody knows that the world revolutionary processes have developed on the whole globe in the course of 100 years. It is this hundred-year objective process of the maturing of the world socialist revolution that shatters every attempt to stick the false label of the so-called "simultaneous breaking loose" on the world socialist revolution. Neither Lenin and Stalin, nor Enver Hoxha ever propagated this "simultaneity" of revolution. On the contrary. They have always propagated the regularity of the unevenness of the development of capitalism in the different countries. But we also know why the enemies of the world revolution have given it this "simultaneous" bogus label. The intention behind it is easy to see through. The world proletariat should not waste any thought on the "illusion" of the world revolution. When this label was put on the world revolution before globalisation, it was already a 100% denial and falsification of the proletarian doctrine of the world socialist

revolution. But to want to put this label on world revolution again in the age of globalisation is an even greater crime against communism, because today's process of globalisation is an objective process of globalisation of imperialism and revolution.

In contrast to the time of Marx and Engels, when the world communist movement was still in its infancy, at the time of Stalin there was already a socialist world camp, within which the Soviet Union was even a world power and the imperialist world powers were extraordinarily decimated - and weakened as never before. These extremely favourable conditions opened new ways of liberation for the world proletariat, starting with the road to socialism in the People's Democracies.

Enver Hoxha also spoke of a "shift in the balance of forces in favour of socialism and [!] revolution" in the post-war period. So Enver Hoxha never separated the question of socialism and revolution, not even at the favourable post-war time, at the time of the Cominform. On the contrary, "These changes [in the post-war period]", writes Enver Hoxha, "put the question of revolution and [!] the victory of socialism on the agenda [!] not only in one or two countries, but in whole regions and continents [!] ." (Enver Hoxha, in: "Eurocommunism", page 17-18)

What else can comrade Enver Hoxha have meant by the question of revolution on "whole continents" than the world socialist revolution? And if Stalin is supposed to have said the opposite, then Enver Hoxha could not be Stalin's disciple. However, if someone separated socialism from revolution, it was not Stalin, but it was the revisionists, all of them as they were - inside and outside the Cominform!

So there should be no disagreement whatsoever that this extraordinarily favourable world situation created by the Red Army no longer exists today and will not arise again in the same way. Therefore, Stalin's old formula cannot be valid as the basis of the General Line of the Comintern (SH). Today, it is not only a question of conditions of the autocracy of world capital, but an international class struggle between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, a globalised counter-revolution against an already globalised world proletariat. Today, the globalised counterrevolution can only be defeated by a globalised revolution. Today, the world socialist revolution is inevitable. It therefore occupies the central place in the general line of the Comintern (SH). It would be a crime against the world proletariat, and a dogmatic error, to ignore or even lump together this historical inequality of conditions between now and then. Thus, one can only defend Stalinism today by replacing Stalinism under the conditions of then with Stalinism under the conditions of today. Stalin can no longer do this because he is dead. But we Stalinists, who are alive and not dogmatically ossified, can and must do this because it is our duty to adapt the

proletarian ideology - as Stalin did - to the latest conditions, in other words: the proletarian ideology dies if it is not further developed. This is precisely what distinguishes us from the neo-revisionists, who are either incapable or too cowardly to do so. They are content with the statement that we are supposedly "anti-Stalinists" only because we "presume" not to want to transfer the old Stalinism of that time to today's conditions. What kind of classics of Marxism-Leninism would they be if they did not dare to reject old slogans and replace them with new ones ? And what kind of students would we be if we did not dare to apply Marxism-Leninism to today's conditions, which is impossible without parting with old slogans that are no longer up-to-date and can no longer help us on the road to world socialist revolution. For this we have written in our

**"Platform"** (2009) in detail.

Just as Stalin did not adopt an "anti-Marxist" position when he rejected simultaneous revolution in all countries, neither do we adopt an "anti-Stalinist" position today when we reject the defunct conditions of the world socialist camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union and have instead set the globalised world socialist revolution as the general line.

And in the same way, we discard the old model of people's democracies that emerged under the conditions of Soviet power. Instead, we rely on newly emerging world socialist states in the course of the victory of the world socialist revolution.

## **4**

### **The revisionist "Shdanov thesis" of the two world camps**

Comrade Enver Hoxha was one of the first to fight the Truman Doctrine, with which the Greek monarcho-fascists militarily provoked Albania. Enver Hoxha was aware that the Truman Doctrine meant an imminent threat of war not only for Albania. He therefore adopted a Marxist-Leninist stance in his assessment of the two hostile world camps:

"The socialist camp (stands) opposite the imperialist camp (...)." (Enver Hoxha: 16 November 1960)

The Truman Doctrine of 12 March 1947 stated that the world was divided into two



camps. Quote from Truman:

"At the present moment in the history of the world almost every nation must choose between alternative forms of life. Too often the choice is not free. One way of life is based on the will of the majority and distinguished by free institutions, representative governments, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based on the will of a minority imposed by force on the majority. It is based on terror and repression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections and the suppression of personal liberties."

Translated into our words, the Truman Doctrine means of the alleged "free world" (by which capitalism is meant) on the one hand and the world of alleged "totalitarianism" (by which socialism is meant) on the other, that is, the division of the world into a capitalist and socialist world camp.

Truman's doctrine was the doctrine of American imperialism to play the role of world leader in order to save the world from communism.

In response, Zhdanov formulated his "theory of the two world camps" at the first Kominform conference on 22 September 1947 - half a year later. In his speech on the international situation, Zhdanov speaks of the

"Emergence of two camps, the imperialist and anti-democratic camp on the one hand and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp on the other."

In our opinion, this definition is a distortion of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism divides the two world camps into the capitalist and socialist world camps and not into a "democratic and anti-democratic" world camp.

This is and remains our opinion, even if it should be true that Stalin is said to have approved Zhdanov's report on the international situation on June 16, 1948 (according to the preface of the book on the 3 Cominform Conferences which we have published in Russian):



### Банда Тито

орудие американско-английских поджигателей войны.

Госполитиздат 1951 год.

Грибанов (Gribanov), 1951.

We consider the re-establishment of the world socialist camp, as it existed at the time after the Second World War until the death of Stalin, to be a dangerous illusion, because it is and remains a historical fact that it turned into a revisionist world camp which prevented the building of socialism. Instead, we fight for a world socialist camp, which comes into being through nothing other than the victory of the world socialist revolution, just as the Soviet Union came into being through the October Revolution. The emergence of two world camps is based on the victory of the socialist revolution, on the victory of the proletarian camp and on nothing else. Those who try to reconcile the old road of the world socialist camp with the new road of the world socialist camp adopt a centrist attitude towards us. Our line of demarcation against neo-revisionism consequently begins with the demarcation of centrist lines, which all lead in the same direction - into the camp of the world bourgeoisie.

In the Cominform's definition of the two world camps, one must not confuse tactics with principles. The scientific definition of the two world camps can only be made on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, we reject the accusation of the world imperialists that both the Comintern and subsequently the Cominform were allegedly "subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union". Is it not the other way round?

Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union had, from beginning to end (until Stalin's death), placed itself at the service of the world proletariat and the world socialist revolution, guided by the communist principle of proletarian internationalism.

And precisely this fact was a thorn in the side of the world imperialists, which is why their bought historians continue to denigrate the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

So what was so "reprehensible" about Lenin's and Stalin's world camp of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the oppressed and exploited classes?

Is it not clear that the world camp led by Stalin's Soviet Union could not be anything other than the socialist camp of the world proletariat, no matter what it might have called itself, whether "democratic", "anti-imperialist" or whatever? The Cominform, on the other hand, called the USSR only a "democratic country", while we Stalinist-Hoxhaists maintain

that the USSR was a socialist country.

As is well known, we communists do not hide behind a "democratic" veil but openly state our opinion, namely, that we overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Cominform was far from this definition, which is why we must criticise it.

It was not a capitalist world camp (whether democratic or fascist, capitalism always leads to fascism!), but a socialist world camp, the camp of proletarian and not bourgeois democracy. Those who do not keep this apart are deceiving the masses.

The Comintern (SH) defines the two world camps - just as at the time of the October Revolution, so also at the time of the Cominform - as the world camp of imperialism, opposed by the world camp of socialism.

This is the Leninist definition, the essence of which has not changed until today, even if today's "world socialist camp" as an international fighting front of the communist world movement no longer has the lever of a single socialist country, it continues to exist under the leadership of the Comintern (SH) and remains until the victory of world socialism.

Enver Hoxha defended the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the two world camps even at the time of the Cominform, when Shdanov issued his revisionist "two world camps" theory as a guideline for the general line of the world communist movement:

"Again, and with renewed vigour, its [the immortal theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin] vitality and correctness was confirmed in the greatest war that humanity has experienced to date, a war in which TWO WORLDS, THE SOCIALIST AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD, clashed." [Enver Hoxha, in "Eurocommunism", page 20 - emphasis added by Comintern (SH)]

In world socialism, there are no longer two world camps, and thus the peaceful coexistence of the two antagonistic social formations no longer exists. This is what distinguishes the first from the second period of socialism. The essence of world socialism differs from the essence of socialism "in one" country - and likewise of the socialist world camp - precisely in that the division of the world into two opposing social formations has been abolished.

The politics of the two world camps is subordinated to the politics of the world revolution, serves it and must not replace it, must not declare it superfluous. The communist character of the socialist world camp is decisive:

"The organisation of the forces of the world revolution is therefore only possible on the platform of communism" (Programme of the Comintern 1928).

The aim is first of all the destruction of world capitalism and this can only be done by the world proletariat, formed as an international class. As history has proven, the peaceful coexistence of the two world camps - taken alone and in isolation - is not sufficient for this; if the world proletariat does not come close to the world socialist revolution, the peaceful coexistence of Lenin and Stalin is transformed from a driving force to a stumbling block of the world revolution. Conclusion: With such a revisionist interpretation of the policy of the socialist world camp, with which the world revolution is in fact declared superfluous, one does not arrive at world socialism, but ends up straight in world capitalism. And these false conceptions of the two world camps were, in the final analysis, conceptions for the liquidation of the world socialist camp, were conceptions directed against the world revolution of the world proletariat - counter-revolutionary conceptions of modern revisionism, conceptions of the agencies of the world bourgeoisie for the restoration of world capitalism.

Thus, one must not raise the coexistence of the two social orders to an "iron law", but must understand it as an inevitable tactical stage on the road to world socialism, which must be left behind as soon as possible. If one absolutises peaceful coexistence, settles comfortably on it, loses sight of the world revolution, is content with what has been achieved, then this inevitably means the restoration of capitalism and turning away from Lenin's teaching on peaceful coexistence. The phase of two world camps is not yet a guarantee of the final victory of socialism, nor can it be. Anyone who says otherwise is a revisionist. The Communist Parties left the Stalinist course to turn to the revisionist course and to be guided by a bourgeois policy. They adapted themselves to the capitalist camp in order to later pander to it instead of overcoming it in a revolutionary way. The subjective factor failed in this world-historical moment of the imminent political takeover of the world proletariat insofar as it was removed from the agenda of the aims and principles of proletarian internationalism.

One has to look for the revolutionary, socialist class interests of the proletariat in Shdanov's Cominform speech like a needle in a haystack. The word "class struggle" does not appear once, let alone the word "world revolution", the world proletarian banner of the former Communist International, and there is also nothing - but absolutely nothing - of proletarian internationalism in Shdanov's speech. With its world politics, the proletariat is supposed to fight for anything but communism, except for its own revolutionary class interests. Stalin never forgot that all divisions into world camps, divisions into antagonistic class camps and not class conciliatory world camps, that the class of the world proletariat is hostile to the class of the world bourgeoisie in the international class struggle, that this

class struggle begins with the elimination of the world bourgeoisie and ends with the classless society, with the withering away of the class including the world proletariat in communism. Stalinism teaches that the two world camps are waging a struggle to the death, that the class struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie is the main driving force in this.

"Thus modern society splits into two great camps, each of these camps organises itself into a special class, the class struggle that has broken out between them grows deeper and stronger with every passing day, and around these two camps all the other groups rally together" (Stalin, Vol. 1, page 247).

Proletarian democracy has never developed in the camp of bourgeois democracy and never will be able to develop. Proletarian democracy can only be realised under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, only on the ruins of bourgeois democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat can only be established by the violent revolution of the proletariat, only by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie together with its bourgeois democracy. And only on this principled basis does the world socialist camp fight against the world capitalist camp. Here we come to Lenin's decisive argument against the so-called democratic world camp:

"But the Marxists know that democracy does not eliminate class oppression, but merely makes the class struggle purer, broader, more open, sharper, and this is what we need" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 68).

By "merely", however, Lenin did not mean "dispensable." On the contrary, Lenin stressed:

"Socialism is impossible in a twofold sense without democracy: 1. the proletariat will not be able to carry out the socialist revolution unless it prepares itself for the revolution by fighting for democracy; 2. without the complete realisation of democracy, victorious socialism cannot assert its victory and make the withering away of the state a reality for humanity" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 69).

This Lenin's doctrine is valid on a national as well as on an international scale and this can only mean:

Not the democratic, but the socialist world camp eliminates the class oppression of the world imperialist camp - World socialism is not possible without the complete realisation of world democracy. Only the two taken together will lead to the desired result. If the two are separated, the result will be the inevitable defeat of socialism, and this defeat has been historically confirmed.

Although the development of democracy under the conditions of world imperialism is narrowly limited and formal, although it can only be realised to a limited extent, we Marxist-Leninists therefore by no means proclaim the renunciation of the organisation of our democratic world front, because a renunciation of the democratic world front of the socialist world camp would mean renouncing the struggle for world socialism altogether, it would mean the impossibility of world socialism in Lenin's sense. And this indispensability of the democratic struggle imperiously applied to the particularly favourable situation after the Second World War, namely, that favourable situation of breaking up to a certain extent the otherwise narrowly limited framework of bourgeois democracy at the weakest moment of the world bourgeoisie and, with the defeat of fascism, opening the way to proletarian democracy for the world proletariat and making it easier for it to achieve the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Where the war had shaken and almost completely destroyed the economic basis of the rule of the bourgeoisie, the democratic will of the masses alone might have been sufficient to be able to take reconstruction into one's own hands without having to reckon with any significant resistance from the factory and land owners. With the fall of fascism, with the end of the war and the immediate beginning of the post-war period, there was indeed for a very short time such a peaceful and democratic phase as the last chance, after bestial war and fascism, to avoid again victims of an imminent world civil war and to take advantage of the peaceful development of the world revolution on the basis of the deep desire for peace and the overwhelming need for democracy among the masses of millions throughout the world. This was a similar situation (only this time on a world scale) to that between the February and October Revolutions, where Lenin worked to exploit the possibilities for a peaceful development of the revolution on the basis of the devastating situation at the outcome of the First World War, in order to prevent the threat of civil war in Russia (see Lenin, Vol. 26). Even with the slightest chance, this democratic tactic of the world revolution was not necessarily hopeless on the basis of the existing socialist world camp, on the basis of the mass base on the one hand and the weakened situation of the bourgeoisie on the other, if it were against the basic needs of the masses to renounce a tactical attempt at peace from the outset or to miss the moment of this attempt and let it pass uselessly.

To realise democratic principles of the post-war world, that's what the socialist world camp needed, so of course that was good. Even very good. We have nothing against that. On the contrary. There was perhaps for a short time after the Second World War a peaceful possibility of concessions, especially to the democratic petty bourgeoisie (not to the big bourgeoisie, in whose regeneration after the war Stalin could not of course be interested at all). However, Stalin also spoke of concrete conditions under which the "patriotic bourgeoisie" could be exploited, for example, in a conversation with Enver Hoxha - March/April 1949:

"Lenin teaches us that where the revolution is anti-imperialist in character, the communists can exploit the help of the patriotic bourgeoisie during the first phase of the revolution. This depends, of course, on the concrete conditions, on the attitude of this bourgeoisie itself to the most burning problems facing the country. In the People's Democratic countries, for example, the big bourgeoisie had got involved with the German occupiers and helped them. When the Soviet army liberated these countries, the bought bourgeoisie chose the road to emigration" [Stalin, quoted by Enver Hoxha, in: "Encounters with Stalin, page 94, KPD/ML, 1980]).

In addition, with the Great Patriotic War, the petty bourgeoisie had initially fully sided with Soviet patriotism under the ravages of Hitler's fascism. In the post-war period, Soviet patriotism again faded into the petty bourgeoisie. The intelligentsia in particular began to look to the "democratic" (as opposed to fascist) West. And the petty bourgeoisie, which had so vehemently sided with anti-fascism, began to take more interest in Western democracy than in the proletarian democracy of the East. All these changes increased

particularly from the moment when the world bourgeoisie regained its footing and quickly found itself on the road to regeneration, which it was able to do mainly with the wealthy position of American imperialism. If for a moment the democratic petty bourgeoisie wavered back and forth between the capitalist and socialist world camps, perhaps to take the peaceful democratic side of the socialist world camp, where [not only ] the [empty] hand should have been extended to it, this changed with the rapid regeneration and the increasingly aggressive attitude of the capitalist world camp, with the USA in the lead, towards the socialist world camp, the wavering, capitulant behaviour of the petty bourgeoisie quickly re-established itself. To take the side of the supposedly weaker in words in order to capitulate to the stronger in deeds, that is the pactiery of the petty bourgeoisie on a world scale.

Concessions to the petty bourgeoisie depend not only on one's own proletarian strength, but also on the weakness of the class enemy, and this is especially true in wartime situations, where the balance of power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can change from minute to minute. In times of crisis and war one must, of course, take advantage of these petty-bourgeois fluctuations which occur more frequently, but one must not burn one's fingers in the process. The proletariat must remain in control of the situation of its alliance policy in every rapidly changing situation. With the beginning of the Cold War, more and more forces of the democratic petty bourgeoisie again sided with the bourgeoisie, which is why Stalin did not renounce the continuation of his democratic world struggle, but the once still favourable conditions had quickly deteriorated again and this did not require the maintenance of tactics for concessions, but on the contrary demanded their tactical retreat (imposed by the changed conditions). The democratic world front is not static, it moves back and forth between the two world camps and struck out more strongly immediately after the war than in the further course of the post-war period. All these things have to be kept in mind tactically in order to be able to manoeuvre with them optimally. Sometimes things are exhausted and then you have to change your tactics if you don't want to suffer defeats on the democratic world front and keep your foot in the door. In any case, you cannot deal with the proletarian world front in the same way as with the democratic world front. There are essential (class) differences. Under no circumstances should one equate them or even allow the proletarian world front to be absorbed into the democratic world front. This is the decisive thing that Dimitroff had already failed to understand in the anti-fascist world front. Zhdanov had not learned any lessons from the betrayal of the Comintern leadership, which is why his "democratic" world front was bound to fail, to the delight of the capitalist world camp and to the detriment of the socialist world camp.

Has the nature of the imperialist USA changed one iota since the Second World War? Of course not. But why then was the imperialist USA defined as a "democratic, anti-fascist country" at the time of the struggle against Hitler's fascism? After the victory over Hitler fascism, the USA was the leader of the imperialist world camp, which was now facing a "democratic" world camp. Have we perhaps failed to grasp Marxism-Leninism correctly in this chameleon transformation of the American concept of "democracy"? Perhaps we should have consulted Earl Browder, who dissolved the C.P.U.S.A. because he believed that the America of imperialism would transform itself into an America of socialism. The fact is, however: The American imperialists fought Hitler's fascism only to hide their own fascism behind it. Browderism was the precursor of capitulation to American imperialism. That American imperialism also meant war and fascism from the very beginning, even when it was directed against Hitler's fascism at that time, is a historical truth that has been proved true with every passing day. The plan to solve the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat through class reconciliation in the post-war period and to unite the whole world through peaceful coexistence was an



anti-Marxist-Leninist conception that Stalin had already rejected during the Second World War. But it was only after the war that this conflict broke out. And it was, after all, none other in the world than Stalin who first opened world fire against American imperialism after Hitler's surrender, using the Cominform as a powerful weapon of the anti-imperialist united front. The American imperialists had not sided with Stalin in support of communism, but did so for purely imperialist reasons, namely, in the interests of their world domination. For this, with the help of Stalin, first Hitler had to be eliminated as a competitor and then Stalin had to be eliminated, i.e. strengthening of the imperialist world camp under American leadership with the aim of destroying communism and the world socialist revolution. This was and is the strategy of American imperialism up to the present day. After Stalin's victory over Hitler, the USA was forced not only to save itself but to prevent the imminent fall of the entire imperialist world camp through the worldwide expansion of the socialist world camp. If the newly published documents can be trusted, they also bring to light the position of Molotov, who - even before he drew up the Molotov Plan in 1947 - was one of the advocates of cooperation with the American imperialists when he proposed to participate in the implementation of the Marshall Plan.



In 1949, Stalin removed him as foreign minister. Even after Stalin's death, Molotov was one of those who collaborated with the American imperialists, especially with regard to the "peace negotiations" of the Soviet revisionists.

However one may assess the situation at the end of the war - and we do not deny that there may have been certain compromise solutions due to the temporarily favourable world situation following the collapse of Hitler's fascism, in which one gives in without harming the socialist world camp - but it always remains an iron law of Marxism-Leninism, irrespective of these particularities in history, that the democratic struggle in principle, i.e. also in practical-concrete terms, serves the socialist struggle, is subordinate to it and not vice versa. Only the opportunists limit their attitude to the "class struggle" to the creation, maintenance or re-establishment of bourgeois conditions. It is precisely a tactic which is

adopted only in a certain sphere of (socialist) politics and which arises for a brief moment as a result of the changed world situation, such a tactic which must be dropped again at the necessary moment as soon as conditions have changed, to elevate such a tactic inadmissibly to the rank of principle, To want to declare a tactic specifically tailored to the moment as a new "general line", in order in this way to replace Stalin's "obsolete" general line, to replace the violent road to socialism with the peaceful road to socialism, precisely this corresponds to the physiognomy of opportunism in the question of the "democratic world camp", which in principle should REPLACE the solution of the question of the socialist world camp.

And Malenkov? In his report to the XIXth Party Congress, he adopts the attitude of "peace, friendship, pancakes" in the field of the foreign policy of the USSR, instead of adhering to the Communist Manifesto like Lenin and Stalin, upholding the class struggle of the proletarians of all countries, the world revolution, and standing up for the smashing of capitalism and world imperialism. Comrade Stalin was quite different. In his account at the XVII Party Congress he said:

"But while the bourgeoisie chooses the road of war, the working class of the capitalist countries (...) takes the road of revolution" (Stalin, Vol. 13, page 265).

In the report to the XVIIIth Party Congress, however, Stalin no longer explicitly emphasised the question of war and revolution, which is a fact that must not be swept under the carpet when one looks at Malenkov's report.

It is the nature of imperialism to produce war and fascism again and again, and inevitably. And as we have seen in the revisionist countries, modern revisionism also showed its bloody social-fascist and people-murdering social-imperialist face, which can only be polished by the revolutionary working class - and Stalin would certainly agree with us if he were still alive.

The Comintern (SH) thus remains firmly on the revolutionary ground of Leninism with its world policy today:

"Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular" (Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism).

However, there was never any mention of this in the Cominform from beginning to end.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the world proletarian revolution in general and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the world proletariat in particular.

This is the answer of the Comintern (SH) to the Comintern traitors and all their present-day followers.

Lenin had divided the world into a capitalist camp and a socialist camp.

With Stalin we could cite a whole dozen quotes and we have already cited some of them. Let us take a quotation from Stalin's paper "On the Next Tasks of Communism in Georgia and Transcaucasia" of July 6, 1921:

"It hardly needs proof that with the beginning of the civil war the world has split into two opposing camps, the camp of imperialism with the Entente at its head and the camp of socialism with Soviet Russia at its head, that in the first camp there are all sorts of capitalist, 'democratic' [sic!!] and Menshevik states, while to the second camp belong the Soviet states, including Georgia (...)," (Stalin, Vol. 5, page 76).

Let us take the other quotation from Stalin. In 1924, in the same work 'On the Foundations of Leninism', he wrote:

'a) the world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilised nations which possess financial capital and which exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe, and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonies and dependent countries which constitute this majority' (Stalin, vol. 6, page 148, alb. edition). We have chosen this quotation deliberately: For it was from these two camps of exploiting and oppressing nations and the exploited and oppressed nations that Mao concocted his infamous "3 - World Theory".

And Stalin, not only in his "Early Writings", but even in 1952 in his last writing "The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", clearly defined what it was about, namely a "socialist camp opposed to capitalism" (Moscow, 1952, page 37, German edition). Thus there can be no question of a "democratic world camp" either with Lenin or with Stalin.

There is no socialist world camp in which there is room for revisionists. A socialist world camp which forms a united front with the revisionists exposes itself to the danger of the restoration of capitalism. And history has shown that after the death of Stalin, the socialist world camp did indeed turn into a revisionist world camp.

The concept of anti-imperialism is also a class concept. There is no "anti-imperialist" struggle that is above class society. There is the anti-imperialism of the different classes, whereby we Stalinist-Hoxhaists distinguish revisionist "anti-imperialism" from proletarian anti-imperialism, just as we distinguish revisionist "anti-fascism" and revisionist "democracy" from proletarian anti-fascism and proletarian democracy. These are antagonistic contradictions between revisionism and proletarian ideology, which can only be resolved by revolutionary means. Without defeating revisionist "anti-imperialism", one

cannot defeat imperialism. Without defeating revisionist "anti-fascism", one cannot defeat fascism either. And without defeating revisionist "democracy", one cannot defeat bourgeois democracy either.

For all the reasons we have given, we reject Shdanov's "theory of the two camps in world politics". In essence, Shdanov's "division of the world" is no different from Mao's "three worlds theory" = anti-Marxist. Both the one and the other "theory" deny the existence, the independence of socialism, whereas Shdanov's "theory" differs from Mao's "theory" only in that with him socialism is identified with the "democratic world camp" in order to disappear into it, whereas with Mao socialism is identified with the "Third World camp" in order to disappear into it. We reject both as revisionist divisions of the world. And once again: there is no "third way" (Third World) to socialism, just as there can be no "democratic world camp" that leads "peacefully" to world socialism. A democratic world camp can only be built by way of world socialist revolution. If one divides the world into an anti-democratic and a democratic camp, as Shdanov did, then there is no more room for a socialist camp ! And so it came to pass !

And Tito's "non-aligned world?" Tito copied this world policy, which was in the service of American imperialism, from Browder. And we don't know who copied everything from whom, but one thing is clear to us: between Shdanov's, Mao's, Tito's, Browder's, Dimitroff's etc. world politics, the spirit of the Second International and the common anti-Bolshevik course is the same throughout: abolition of the dividing line between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between socialism and capitalism. All these types of world politics worked hand in hand against Stalin's world politics, especially Shdanov's world politics and Tito's world politics ! They are identical in nature.

And today? After the last socialist bastion of Albania fell in 1990, world imperialism rules over all countries of the world. Today, the world is not only ripe for the re-establishment of a new socialist camp, but even for the establishment of world socialism. The Comintern (SH) is therefore fighting for the complete smashing of all world imperialism to create a new socialist world order. In this way we want to end the imperialist epoch and eliminate forever the inevitability of the division of the world into capitalist and socialist camps. The Comintern (SH) holds the theory of the political camp of the world proletariat and the political camp of the world bourgeoisie. The world revolutionary camp is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard party, the Comintern (SH). The Comintern (SH) represents the world politics of the proletariat, the conquest of the political power of the world proletariat by means of its proletarian world revolution, which consists in

overthrowing the world dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing the world dictatorship of the proletariat. Our definition of the two world camps today is:

The world today is divided into the camp of the world proletarian revolution and the camp of its opponents, the camp of imperialist counterrevolution.

Comrades, can the general line of the Comintern (SH), the line of the camp of the world proletarian revolution, be expressed more clearly and unambiguously ? We think not. Either one subordinates oneself to our Stalinist camp of the proletarian world revolution or one opposes our camp. A "revisionist in-between" à la Shdanov or à la Dimitroff cannot and will not exist again.

How did Stalin pose the question of the two world camps ?

Stalin saw the two world camps in such a way that "in the course of the further development of the international revolution and international reaction, two centres will emerge on a world scale: a socialist centre which will exert an attraction on the countries tending towards socialism, and a capitalist centre which will exert an attraction on the countries tending towards capitalism. The struggle of these two camps will decide the fate of capitalism and socialism in the whole world" (Stalin, Works, Vol. 10, page 118).

These two centres on a world scale, which Stalin names above, are today - under the class relations of globalisation - clearly defined: namely, the world centre of the world proletariat and the world centre of the world bourgeoisie.

The world revolutionary victory of the socialist world centre over the capitalist world centre - this is today the basis of Stalinism for the establishment of world socialism.

And Stalin has consistently led the struggle for the practical realisation of the establishment of world socialism on this theoretical basis with an overwhelming world-historical result. Stalin turned the "old balance" of the two world camps upside down. Stalin built the revolutionary world front to smash world imperialism - a world-historical deed that optimally expressed the interests of the world proletariat at that time. Stalin developed an ideological basis for a new, Marxist-Leninist, an active, offensive world proletarian policy which began to transform the previous isolation of socialism "in one" country into an isolation of capitalism in "two" countries, Anglo-American capitalism. It was the new Stalinist world policy of the encirclement of capitalism by socialism. The Cold War of the imperialists was the first war in the history of imperialism where the question had to be decided: which encirclement will win, capitalist or socialist ? Who will encircle whom ?

The Cominform was not the same as a reorganised old Comintern. It served to consolidate and spread Stalin's world socialist camp, served as an international instrument

of struggle to combat revisionist influence in the world communist movement, was a bulwark erected against this influence, especially against Titoism, which had succeeded in masquerading as a world stage of revisionism directed against Stalin's Soviet Union and the world socialist camp. The Cominform was an attempt to push back the revisionist influence in the revisionist parties and to strengthen the revolutionary forces in the world and thus also the Soviet Union and its socialist camp. A bourgeois democratic world camp is in essence a world camp for the rich and a fraud on the world camp of the workers . The world camp of proletarian democracy can only be the camp of the world dictatorship of the proletariat and not that of the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie. In between, there cannot and will not be a "world camp".

The democratic world camp model is a model of peaceful coexistence, a world camp of "maintaining the balance" of the international class forces between the two poles - world proletariat and world bourgeoisie , while the task of the socialist world camp is to eliminate the capitalist world camp. There is no democratic, peaceful road, but only the socialist, armed road to world socialism.

Enver Hoxha:

"Imperialism will not voluntarily give up its weapons. To believe such a thing is as much as to deceive oneself and others." (From his speech of 16 November 1960)

For us Marxist-Leninists, it is ultimately a matter of eliminating the inevitability of the two world camps, i.e. of smashing world capitalism and managing the transition to world socialism. The situation of the two world camps is, after all, only a temporary transitional situation in which it will be decided which path will win, the path to world socialism or the path to world capitalism. Neither can and will last forever. And this is what a Bolshevik world policy must be geared to, which is sadly lacking in Shdanov. In the end, the new world will defeat the old world and eliminate forever the divided world. There is no in-between, no need for an in-between stage. The perpetuation of the policy of the two world camps is revisionist because it always leads to the salvation of world capitalism. Thus, the world socialist camp is not the historical "end" of the development of socialism, but only a step towards the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the elimination of world capitalism.

## **5**

### **Cominform and the question of people's democracy as a "modern**

- "type" of the dictatorship of the proletariat**
- proletarian or bourgeois democracy?**
- the revisionist degeneration of people's democracies - causes.**

There is agreement that Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet democracy was based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, there is ambiguity and disagreement as to whether or not the "modern type" of people's democracy was actually built on the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us, this question has been clarified.

The Comintern (SH) defends only one type of people's democracy, the type of socialist people's democracy, that is, exclusively the socialist people's democracy of Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The only true people's democracy, that is the socialist people's democracy under the sole leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

With our standpoint, we distinguish ourselves in principle from the people's democracies of all other countries, which we classify as revisionist people's democracies under the rule of revisionist parties - except for their positive development in the initial period (during Stalin's lifetime). History has proved that all these people's democracies on the road to socialism had fallen victim to the treachery of this or that modern revisionist.

It follows from this:

We separate ourselves from the neo-revisionists who defend these revisionist people's democracies as "socialist" people's democracies.

And finally, we separate ourselves from the centrists who try to reconcile the socialist people's democracy with the revisionist people's democracy.

Between revisionist and socialist people's democracy there can be no common ground, no agreement, no mixed forms or intermediate stages of any kind. Between revisionist and socialist people's democracy there is an antagonistic, i.e., irreconcilable contradiction between the new bourgeoisie and the working class, which can only be solved by socialist revolution. This is what Hoxhaism teaches us, the anti-revisionist doctrine which showed the working class in the revisionist countries the way to socialist revolution.

A socialist people's democracy can only develop on the basis of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism, just as world socialist democracy can only develop on the basis of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and comrade Enver Hoxha's Albania - as we have

always repeated - were the only two socialist states in the world in which the dictatorship of the proletariat actually ruled. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement of the Comintern (SH), the communist world movement after the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, is guided by this historical truth. On the lessons of the Albanian and Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat we are building the dictatorship of the world proletariat, without which there cannot and will not be a world proletarian democracy.

What we criticised in Mao Zedong's so-called "new democracy", in the "democratic dictatorship of the people".

(see Part 2: Declaration of War on Maoism),

namely, the unification of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, we also criticise in all other revisionist forms of "democracy", including Dimitroff's People's Democracy as derived from his Popular Front politics in the Comintern period.

Democratism must not be used as a classless concept for us communists. Beyond proletarian and bourgeois democracy, there can be no superior democracy standing above the classes. We Stalinists-Hoxhaists take care to distinguish between bourgeois and proletarian democracy in principle, not to equate or even oppose the two concepts, after all, proletarian democracy arises from nothing other than the revolutionary overcoming of bourgeois democracy. Whereby it is clear that there can be no mixed democracy of proletarian and bourgeois democracy in between. The Cominform never addressed this in principle. Therefore, it would have been correct if the Cominform had only used the term world camp of proletarian democracy. As is well known, communists are not only against the fascist form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but also against its democratic form. We want to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and we cannot do that if we limit ourselves only to overthrowing the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. That would be opportunism. Bourgeois democracy, which is nothing but a form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, cannot be voted out of office, but must be overthrown by armed socialist revolution. The same applies to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution teach that we are not fighting for the restoration of bourgeois democracy, but for its revolutionary overthrow. Our goal is the dictatorship of the proletariat. An intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism (such as the Maoist "New Democracy") is opportunist and incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

Stalinism, that is the further development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of revolution, of the transition of the people's revolution to the socialist revolution under the



created conditions of the victory of the Great Patriotic War.

It was victoriously implemented by Enver Hoxha in Albania, further developed and thus practically confirmed. However, this form was based firstly fundamentally on the precondition of the strong dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet Union as the basis and lever of these people's democracies and secondly as a new form of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in those countries which the Soviet army had already liberated (or Albania as an exception, which was able to liberate itself from fascist subjugation without the invasion of the Soviet army. This is very important.) and had thus snatched them from the grasp of world imperialism. Without these preconditions, the people's democracies as they emerged would not exist.

The popular-democratic revolution of the proletariat does not replace its immediate continuation into the socialist revolution, but directly and immediately prepares the ground for the socialist revolution. These two revolutions are neither to be equated nor separated by an artificial intermediate stage, but are successive, merging forms of a unified process of permanent revolution (see the teachings of Hoxhaism on the people's revolution and its transition into the socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania: Revolutionary elimination of military and political oppression and ending of economic exploitation by the fascist occupation as a prerequisite for the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of the socialist economy). One must not stop halfway there. The socialist struggle is the indispensable and immediate continuation of the [!!] democratic, anti-fascist struggle led by the communists , in order to consolidate the people's revolution and ensure the victorious transition from the people's revolution to the socialist revolution, otherwise the people's revolution must fail. The modern revisionists preached to hold back in the class struggle, preached to stop the class struggle. Supposedly, attacking the bourgeoisie too sharply would harm the road to socialism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists teach just the opposite: any retreat from the class enemy encourages it to fight against the revolution and socialism. Without sharpening the class struggle of the proletariat, the road from popular revolution to socialist revolution remains an illusion. This is betrayal of the working class and that is why we fight this betrayal propagated by the neo-revisionists today.

Within the framework of a democratic world camp, one cannot permanently unite the masses of millions of toilers in class struggle on the basis of the capitalist conditions of a bourgeois democracy, because it cannot eliminate them itself. These millions of toilers remain as members of exploited classes as long as they belong to a democratic world

camp. Only in the socialist world camp can the labouring masses of millions unite under the leadership of the proletariat to form a lasting alliance, exploitation and oppression be eliminated, the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated and socialist economics built up, etc., etc..

A democratic world camp can perhaps loosen the fetters of fascism, can ease the situation and the struggle of the working class but can never eliminate the class fetters of capitalism.

A democratic world camp finds ready-made forms of capitalist relations. The socialist world camp must first create the new forms of socialist relations.

A democratic world camp must never replace the socialist world camp, because only the latter has a longer lever and a broader basis for triggering the world socialist revolution than socialism "in one" country. The rule of the world bourgeoisie cannot be broken in a peaceful way, with a democratic world camp. With a democratic world camp one cannot establish a dictatorship of the world proletariat.

A socialist world camp must not be confused with a petty-bourgeois "peace, friendship and egg-cake" world camp (cf. Mao's petty-bourgeois pacting: "good" capitalists / "bad" capitalists) and certainly not sold out to this petty-bourgeois pacting with the bourgeoisie. The proletarians have no principles to give away, neither to the bourgeoisie nor to the petty bourgeoisie. The tactics of the democratic world struggle must not be misused to disarm the world socialist camp, but must rather contribute to strengthening, enlarging and consolidating the world socialist camp. We criticise Shdanov not for advocating the exploitation of the possibility of the democratic world front, but for inadmissibly deriving from it in the Cominform a principled class line, namely, to replace the socialist world camp with the democratic world camp - and all this at a time when the peaceful "breathing space" was over and the Cold War was already in full swing, when one had to concentrate again on military questions of protecting the socialist world camp and continuing the world revolutionary war of liberation, and thus the democratic possibilities of changing class relations in the world immediately after the end of the war had long since been buried by the imperialists (1948 ! !!).

Stalinism is not exhausted in the building of a democratic world front. It is only a component of the united front tactics of Stalinism under the given momentary conditions of the changing political world situation.

A democratic world camp is by no means sufficient for the goal of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, does not alone fill the Stalinist foreign policy, for example, not only to defeat Hitler's fascism, but to abolish the inevitability of war and fascism in

general.

This struggle against the inevitability of fascism cannot be the democratic struggle, but only the socialist struggle. Only with the world dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitability of fascism eliminated - not before, that is, not through a "democratic world camp". In order to remove the inevitability from fascism, in order to consistently realise the democratic principles of the post-war period, Shdanov should have fought for the revolutionary annihilation of world imperialism through the world proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat:

"Not yet a single question of the class struggle [not even the class question of the democratic or anti-fascist struggle - note W.E.] has been decided in history otherwise than by force" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 459).

The question of the international class struggle cannot be decided otherwise than by revolutionary violence on a world scale, by the violent proletarian world revolution, while the democratic world front can only facilitate this struggle.

The essence of proletarian anti-fascism has never been to serve the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy, for fascism has arisen from none other than bourgeois democracy, and from it will always only inevitably arise new fascism, but never socialism. Therefore, whoever fights for the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie cannot belong to the camp of socialism and thus cannot be a fighter for proletarian democracy, cannot be a true anti-fascist. Only proletarian anti-fascism is true anti-fascism, is the only anti-fascism in the world that will eliminate the scourge of fascism from the globe forever through world socialism. The world bourgeoisie is primarily concerned with keeping its economic world power in its hands, the question of political form is subordinate to this; in this respect the world bourgeoisie is "flexible", it is even willing and able to make certain concessions to the proletariat in questions of democracy, which the proletariat in turn knows how to exploit for its socialist revolution.

"... under strong pressure 'from below' the bourgeoisie has always and everywhere 'resigned itself' to the republic if only it retained its economic domination" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 36). [or got it back - W.E.].

So, as far as the democratic questions are concerned, one must not create dangerous illusions; this is not a way of eliminating capitalist class society, as Lenin correctly pointed out. It is a question of eliminating the political power of the world bourgeoisie in order to be able to wrest world economic power from it in the first place - and this is a socialist, not a democratic question of the class struggle.

The most consistent anti-fascists can only be the proletarians as a revolutionary

class, can only be the communists, because they are the only anti-fascists who fight not only against this or that concrete, particular fascism, but beyond that against its inevitability, against fascism in general and in general, against social-democratic pactanship towards the bourgeoisie as the other side of the coin of fascism.

To want to force the world proletariat into a democratic camp at the cost - mind you: at the cost of the socialist camp - is thus revisionist, means to end up in the bourgeois camp of social-democratism on the tracks of Dimitroff's revisionist united front tactics.

The Mensheviks have never done anything but vacillate in the face of Stalinism. And the most violent fluctuations of Menshevism took place with the emergence of the class struggle between the world socialist and capitalist camps after the Great Patriotic War. The Mensheviks, disguised as "Stalinists", could not consistently decide for either camp. They took no independent stand whatsoever, but resorted to the phantom of the "democratic world camp". For Stalin, this did not at all mean that he was indifferent to this petty-bourgeois buffer zone between the bourgeois and the proletarian world camps. He masterfully knew how to transform these neutralising forces into forces against world imperialism, even if only within a limited framework and for a limited time.

The vacillating attitude between the camp of the bourgeoisie and the camp of the proletariat is far from the class standpoint of the world proletariat and always corresponded to the essence of Menshevism, indeed always expressed the class standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie especially when these two camps clashed irreconcilably and with gigantic forces. It is clear: at no time in the history of socialism did the two camps, bourgeoisie and proletariat, clash so violently as precisely in the period of the capitalist and socialist world camps, had the wavering attitude of Menshevism never become such a great stumbling block as with the entry into the transitional phase from the capitalist to the socialist world, that is, under the post-war conditions of Stalinism. Thus, in the whole history of the CPSU (B), there was no more comparable bitter struggle against Menshevism than just at this time.

The slogan of the "democratic world camp" is a class conciliatory slogan which leads away from socialism and back to capitalism, which paves the way for the restoration of capitalism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that capitalism must be smashed by socialist revolution, that the revolutionary smashing of fascism must be combined with the direct aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat - and this as the Albanians have demonstrated. It is to the credit of Stalin and Enver Hoxha that their Marxist-Leninist thesis of the revolutionary transition from fascism to socialism has been confirmed and proven in practice (and thus remains valid on a world scale !! ) and that this transition cannot

possibly be guaranteed by a reformist popular front policy or reformist world democracy policy, in whatever form. So what does it mean today, validity of this Marxist-Leninist thesis under the conditions of globalisation ?

The Stalinists of today, we World Bolsheviks, are fighting for the transition of world fascism into world socialism with the help of the democratic world struggle. Today's anti-fascist struggle is in essence a world revolutionary class struggle under the leadership of the world proletariat to crush world fascism and to establish the world dictatorship of the proletariat. This is our demarcation line, this is the basis of our alliance policy for our globalised united front against world fascism. For us, there is only one anti-world fascist united front, namely the one led by the revolutionary world proletariat and leading directly to the conquest of its political world domination over world imperialism.

Those who deny this and instead follow the revisionist "two-stage theory" of restoring more moderate, "still tolerable" forms of government to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in order to get "from there" on the peaceful road to world socialism, allow fascism to inevitably develop again from bourgeois democracy. To justify this with "Marxism-Leninism" is social fascism, namely socialism in words and fascism in deeds. We Marxist-Leninists are not only opponents of this "stage theory" of the peaceful way to socialism on a national scale, we are even more so as internationalists on a world scale. There is no peaceful way of a democratic world camp to a socialist world camp, there is no peaceful way to world socialism as long as world imperialism dominates the world.

The communist fights only for the one democracy, namely for proletarian democracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which does not exclude alliances and compromises on the way to it, but very much excludes such rotten alliances and compromises which lead away from the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the anti-fascist struggle, one can fight for true democracy only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and this means nothing other than fighting for proletarian democracy, for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and precisely not for the continuation or re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian democracy is not divisible with the bourgeoisie; they are mutually exclusive. The disintegration and eventual elimination of bourgeois democracy is not a Bolshevik invention, but an absolute historical necessity and as inevitable as the victory of proletarian democracy. This is an irrefutable lesson of history, a confirmation of the teaching of Marxism. This is a line of demarcation against revisionism, which tries to adapt the democracy of the proletariat to capitalism, to subordinate it to it, to save and restore bourgeois democracy in order to turn it against the world proletariat.

And to establish the democracy of the world proletariat, it must achieve victory in the world socialist revolution. To support and advance this is and can only be the purpose of the internationalist foreign policy of a Marxist-Leninist state. If the main danger came from the Anglo-American imperialists, the Cominform should have led the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution precisely in these countries. This would have been not only a great act of proletarian internationalism, but also a duty towards the world proletariat, and Shdanov should have supported this revolutionary struggle of the working class in the USA and England with all his strength, but he was silent about this. Instead, Shdanov propagated being content with the "realisation of democratic principles" in America and England, i.e., the main arsonists of the war, the anti-communist world centre (!!), instead of fighting for their overthrow under the victorious banner of communism (of course, not without exploiting the struggle for proletarian democracy - lest we be misunderstood here and placed in the sectarian dogmatic corner !).

People's democracy as a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat ?

Is people's democracy really identical in essence with the dictatorship of the proletariat ? We do not share this opinion for the following reasons:

The Cominform is based on the principle of people's democracy and not on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The social-fascist degeneration of the people's democracies in Eastern Europe shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be achieved by armed socialist revolution, as in Albania !

While Shdanov at the 1st Conference of the Cominform in his report on the international situation still correctly spoke of the People's Democracies "developing towards socialism", the revisionist Suslov at the 3rd Conference of the Cominform no longer speaks of socialism.

What is the revisionist conception of people's democracy?

The revisionist conception of people's democracies consists in defining them as a final goal, that is, in dropping their necessary further development as a transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The criticism of the Comintern (SH) against the modern revisionists is therefore not limited to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but necessarily includes the obstruction and eventual prevention of the construction of socialism in the countries of the People's Democracies. The modern revisionists already turned out to be traitors to Marxism-Leninism in the Cominform. The Cominform thesis of the "imperialist and democratic world camp" was nothing other than the restoration of the old Dimitroffian popular front thesis, only that this thesis was no longer used against German but

henceforth against American imperialism.

All these political stands fighting for socialism in favour of class collaboration were included in the final Cominform resolution on "The defence of peace and the struggle against the warmongers". As the other resolution on "Working Class Unity and the Tasks of Communists and Workers' Parties", this was unanimously approved on the basis of Togliatti's report on the subject: similar revisionist and right-wing things that "peace, bread and" demand democratic liberties "!" "The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the power of murderers and spies".

Stalin:

"It would be foolish to suppose that international capital will leave us alone. No, comrades, it is not like that. Classes exist, international capital exists, and it cannot sit back and watch the development of the country that is building socialism. In the past, international capital believed that it could overthrow Soviet power through direct military intervention. The attempt failed. Today it is striving, and will continue to strive, to weaken our economic power by an invisible, not always noticeable, but quite lasting economic intervention, organising pest labour, preparing all kinds of "crises" in this or that branch of industry, and thereby facilitating the possibility of future military intervention. Here everything is tied into a knot, the knot of the class struggle of international capital against Soviet power, and there can be no question of any coincidences at all. One of the two:

Either we shall continue to pursue a revolutionary policy and rally the proletarians and oppressed of all countries around the working class of the Soviet Union - and then international capital will seek by all means to disturb us in our advance; or we shall renounce our revolutionary policy, make a series of concessions in principle to international capital - and then international capital will probably not be averse to "helping" us in the transformation of our socialist country into a "good" bourgeois republic. (Stalin, Vol. 11, pp. 48-49)

This lesson of Stalin's was later taken to heart and successfully implemented in the world socialist camp only by the Albanians.

Enver Hoxha criticised the so-called "democratic" road to socialism". The modern revisionists trampled on the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the necessity of violent revolution and denied the revolutionary class content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In accordance with this "democratic road to socialism", there is also no propagation of armed socialist revolution, let alone world revolution, in the organ of the Kominform. The organ of the Cominform did not show the proletariat and the peoples of the world that the road to

victory over imperialism and capitalism cannot be achieved by the "democratic" road, but by the violent revolution.

## 6

### **The Cominform and the national question.**

#### **Struggle against the revisionist "*specific-national road to socialism*".**

At the Cominform conferences, the revisionist thesis of renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country was put forward on the grounds of the very existence of the Soviet Union.

The dissolution of the Comintern and the associated diversions to world socialist revolution were undoubtedly linked to the Second World War, into which the Soviet Union was drawn. This was the "Great Patriotic War". This designation clearly expresses that Soviet patriotism in defence of the first socialist state in the world was of great importance for the victory of Stalin's Soviet Union over Hitler's fascism. Since Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union still played the decisive role for the world communist movement, it concentrated on its main task, namely, to mobilise all forces in the worldwide struggle against Hitler's fascism, which was waging war against the Soviet Union in order to wipe out this "hotbed" of world communism and to annex the vast territory of the Soviet Union by force.

On the fertile soil of the national liberation movement against Hitler's fascism, modern revisionism flourished with its ideology of the so-called "national road to socialism", especially in the people's democracies that were under the protection of the Soviet Union. Bourgeois nationalism gained influence after the end of the war, of which Yugoslavia is the most striking example. Undoubtedly, this influence did not begin during the Second World War or at the time of the Cominform. This nationalist influence already began with the dissolution of the Comintern, which also left the individual sections, the communist parties, to their own fate, which made it easier for the inner-party enemies to strengthen their revisionist influence in them. Thus the hitherto close connection between the communist parties and the CPSU (B) was not dissolved, but it was severed to a considerable extent, which was to continue through the Second World War and then proved to be an intolerable stumbling block after the Second World War, prompting Stalin



to found the Cominform. This was bitterly necessary because the national road to socialism had also cleared the way for the dissolution of the communist party of a new type by means of unification with the social democratic party. With the resolution of the Cominform in 1948, which was mainly due to Stalin, a stop was put to the so-called "national road to socialism", which in essence was nothing other than the road of bourgeois socialism, i.e. the road of capitalism, and thus turning away from the Soviet Union. With this albeit heavy blow of the Cominform, however, the revisionist ideology of the "national road to socialism" was far from being eliminated. Some modern revisionists were arrested and sentenced to death, but most of them feigned "self-criticism" in order to hide their true intentions, namely to continue their "national road to socialism" secretly as long as Stalin was still alive.

As a hostile ideology to proletarian internationalism, nationalism fomented national discord among the people's democracies, especially against Stalin's Soviet Union, with the slogan of no longer being "patronised" by Stalin and instead choosing their own way - "as far as possible out of reach of Stalin's long arm" - which found its sharpest expression in Tito's bloc formation against Stalinism. In accordance with the aspirations of the modern revisionists, the building of socialism was to be confined to the individual people's democracy and the joint building of socialism under the leadership of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union was to be shunned. With this divisive nationalist line, the road to socialist internationalism was to be stopped and blocked. This hostile isolationist course was a serious crime against the Soviet Union, which had done everything for the building of socialism in the countries of the People's Democracy, although it itself suffered most from the great losses caused by the war. The theory of the "national road to socialism" was justified by the principle of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions in the various countries of the People's Democracy. But theory and practice were already diverging at the time of the Cominform, the mutual trust of the people's democracies was violated, and especially the trust in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union.

As for Tito's anti-Marxist-Leninist conception of the national question, Stalin had already criticised in the Comintern in June 1925 the wrong position of the Yugoslav Semich in the Yugoslav Commission, namely that one must not separate the national question from the question of revolution, whereby one must not equate the bourgeois-democratic revolution (before the October Revolution) with the socialist revolution (after the October Revolution) (see: Stalin, Vol. 7, pp. 186 – 195)

Earlier, in his speech to the Yugoslav Commission of the ECCI on 30 March 1925, Stalin also took a stand on the national question in Yugoslavia ( Stalin, Works Vol. 7, pp.

59 - 65). In it Stalin stated the principle,

"that without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the revolution, the national question cannot be solved even somewhat satisfactorily. So right to secession for those nationalities which will want to secede, and right to autonomy for those nationalities which will prefer to remain within the framework of the Yugoslav state."

After all the sorrowful events in Yugoslavia, it is more than obvious that Tito has always trampled on the principle established by Stalin from beginning to end.

Let us see what Shdanov assigned as a "special task" to the brother communist parties of France, Italy, England and the other countries:

"They must hold high the banner of defending the national independence and sovereignty of their countries [bourgeois, imperialist countries, mind you - editor's note] (...), then no plan for the enslavement of Europe will be able to be realised" (Shdanov, *ibid*, from: "Daily Review", 24 October 1947).

Fight for the national independence and sovereignty of the imperialists in order to free the world from the enslavement of imperialism ???? Very well ! The USA, the main enemy No. 1, where the Communist Party, where the working class had been given a particularly important task, Shdanov "strangely enough" does not mention at all. And why not ? Because the class struggle in the USA did not exist for him at all, because he had completely disregarded the importance of the main revolutionary driving force of the world proletariat in his "world politics" and replaced it instead with geopolitical points of view which determined his "world politics". And it was precisely on this that Mao's "Three Worlds Theory" was particularly based. And indeed, the slogan of liberating imperialist countries from the "enslavement" of the imperialist superpower USA, corresponds exactly to the revisionist world theory of uniting the 2nd with the 3rd world against the 1st world. The Leninist-Stalinist line of the world proletariat overthrowing world imperialism in alliance with the poor peasants in the world socialist revolution - has never been represented by the Cominform from beginning to end. This is a fact that is confirmed in every Cominform document.

Those who, like Shdanov and Mao, deny the class struggle as the basis and starting point for the theory of world politics, are practising class conciliation. With class reconciliation, however, neither Shdanov's "democratic world camp" nor Mao's "Third World camp" could lead to democracy, let alone socialism. Both "theories" distract from the main task of social liberation through socialist revolution, as Enver Hoxha pointed out:

"We are (...) against those revisionist theorists who preach that the whole revolutionary struggle must now be reduced to the struggle for national independence in order to win it and protect it from the aggression of the imperialist powers, thus denying the struggle for social liberation. The victory of this struggle alone also secures complete and true national freedom, independence and sovereignty" (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, page 318).

We see today where this "realisation of democratic principles", where the "defence of national independence and sovereignty" (mind you, in the countries of the main imperialist belligerents !!!! - not in the countries oppressed by imperialism) has led to - namely to the very enslavement of Europe which it was supposed to prevent !!! What has been realised is capitalist world enslavement, imperialist war and world fascism. Is this fact today not proof enough that one cannot bring world imperialism to its knees with Shdanov's Cominform tactics and that the proletariat cannot free itself from capitalist slavery with them at all ? If the proletariat is called upon to "defend national independence" and "sovereignty" in the countries of the war arsonists, then this is basically a betrayal of the revolutionary interests of the world proletariat, of the interests of the peoples oppressed by world imperialism. International of Lenin and Stalin.

Suslov at the 3rd Conference of the Cominform:

Instead of holding high the banner of revolution and socialism in the capitalist countries, he demands:

"The communist and workers' parties must hold high the banner of protecting the national independence and sovereignty of their countries."

In contrast, Stalin teaches:

"The Party assumes that the 'national' and the international tasks of the proletariat of the USSR merge with the common task of liberating the proletarians of all countries from capitalism, that the interests of building socialism in our country merge fully with the interests of the revolutionary movement of all countries into one common interest - victory of the socialist revolution in all countries. The proletarian revolution in one country is not an end in itself, but a means and an aid for the development and victory of the revolution in all countries." ( Stalin, Vol. 9, page 24)

Should not this have been the guiding principle of the Cominform as a matter of course ?

However, the Cominform had never wanted to tread this Stalinist internationalist path of revolution and in fact never did. The Cominform kept the people's democracies in the world socialist camps away from the goal of world socialist revolution.

And let us remember Trotsky. For him, socialist construction within the "national" framework of a state was impossible. Lenin and Stalin proved exactly the opposite in theory and practice. But with the new world socialist camp, it became possible for the first time to build socialism beyond the national framework, that is, in the international framework. And to make this very innovation "impossible", the Trotskyists dug up the "specific road" detached from and opposed to Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and extolled, for example, the Titoist "road to socialism" as a "road for all". This served the Trotskyists for the purpose of splitting and smashing Stalin's world socialist camp: "Better a specific bourgeois road to socialism than Stalin's internationalist road."

And what did Tito say ? (quoted from Savo Kerzovic, Dragan Markovic, "What is the Cominform Bureau?" Prishtina 1977, page 207) :

"We also had to free ourselves to the last from the Stalinist recipes, from the doctrine of socialism, the revolution - the state and the party, to all areas of creation".

What Tito had to do instead was clear: replace Marxist-Leninist principles with a specific "national Yugoslav Marxism", an eclectic anti-Marxist doctrine that suited his hegemonic and counterrevolutionary aims.

At the 5th Party Congress of the CPJ in 1948, Tito, under the slogan of the "creative application" of Marxism and the "revision of the works of the classics", cleared the way for bourgeois ideology in the form of a "specific", "independent socialism", and so on.

And finally, who all went Tito's "superior" Yugoslav way with the dissolution of the Cominform ? It was not only Khrushchev and Mao, but all the others - including all !!) delegates of the Cominform. Khrushchev did not even use the word "world socialist camp" during his visit to Tito.

In his pamphlet

"The Yugoslav Self-Government"

Enver Hoxha exposes the revisionist "theory" of the specific road to socialism:

"As anti-Marxists, the Yugoslav Titoists were and are not in favour of building socialism, but of perpetuating capitalism in various forms. They misuse and distort the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis on the creative application of the ideology of the working class in the particular conditions of each country when they insist that for the construction of socialism there are no universally valid laws for all countries, but rather that each country can build a 'socialism' different from the others according to its own desire and in its own way. Now, socialist construction must necessarily take into account the concrete conditions of each country, but socialism can be built in every country without exception only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the laws and principles common to

all countries, which cannot be circumvented. Without a theory of scientific socialism one cannot build a specific socialism." ( page 90)

## 7

### **The Cominform in the struggle against Tito's "Balkan Federation"**

The Balkan Federation was a form of bloc formation of states within the world socialist camp for the purpose of their incorporation by the world imperialist camp, for the smashing of the world socialist camp and its leadership by Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union.

Tito's plan was to annex the whole Balkans, to ruthlessly exploit and oppress it as his colony. This plan of forming a Titoist-capitalist bloc of states outside the world socialist camp of the Soviet Union was forged and pushed by the Anglo-American imperialists in order to stop the advance of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union. Stalin successfully derailed these plans, striking Tito and also Dimitroff on the head, who had played a decisive role in the formation of the Balkan federation, not for disinterested socialist reasons, but for Bulgarian nationalist-capitalist reasons.

[see:

a)

from a conversation of the meeting with Tito in the Kremlin on 27 May 1946 : Stalin: "Do you speak in favour of a federation with Bulgaria at the present moment? "Tito: "No. Not at this moment. Many things are still unresolved in Bulgaria - [according to the minutes of the CPJ delegation].

b)

Stalin's article in Pravda of 28 January 1948;

c)

"Self-criticism" of Dimitroff at the Party Congress of the Patriotic Front, on 2 February 1948; ]

ENVER HOXHA:

"All Tito's words and oaths were a bluff: he lied and deceived us about the truth of the idea of the 'Balkan Federation'. Tito, as facts and time have proved, was a vicious anti-Marxist, a nationalist, a chauvinist and an agent of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, he was a 'Trojan horse' in the camp of socialism, in the international communist movement

and even more so in the Balkans. Taking up the idea of the 'Balkan Federation', he fought for the goal of annexing the whole Balkans to Yugoslavia, and within this framework, Albania as well.

Stalin, who had smelled Tito's expansionist plans, drew Dimitroff's attention to this, and Dimitroff publicly declared in early 1948 that he had thought wrongly about the federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria." (Enver Hoxha, "The Titoists", pages 319 and 320)

"We do not interfere in each other's internal affairs, but if, as a result of the waning of the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, it comes to the point that in a friendly country like Bulgaria a Balkan map is printed showing Albania within the Yugoslav borders, then we cannot be quiet."

"Can one indulge the Bulgarian comrades when, without consulting the Albanian government, with which they are bound by a defence pact, they propose to the Greek government a pact of friendship and non-aggression, at a time when Greece is still in a state of war with Albania and is making territorial claims against our fatherland? It seems to us very dangerous to take such actions unilaterally."

(Enver Hoxha (16 November 1960)

It is essential to emphasise that Stalin had forced Dimitroff to "self-criticism" at the secret meeting with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in Moscow on 10 February 1948. It was only afterwards that Dimitroff publicly practised "self-criticism". One reads Stalin on this:

"Against the Vulgarisation of the Slogan of Self-Criticism", Stalin, Vol. 11 pp. 113-122 and pp. 26 - 35).

We are of the opinion that Dimitroff's "self-criticism" was hypocrisy.

Even if Dimitroff was not the main culprit in the anti-Stalin Balkan Federation, we cannot absolve him of his complicity. We consider Stalin's criticism of Dimitroff to be correct. Therefore, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists can defend comrade Stalin only if we defend Stalin's criticism of Dimitroff. The neo-revisionists have committed treason against Stalin by defending Dimitroff. Dimitroff was a collaborator of Titoism in word and deed. He used centrism, the reconciliation of Titoism with Stalinism, feigned self-criticism, swore loyalty only AFTER he had been criticised by Stalin, only to save his own head by doing so. But Dimitroff's role in the Comintern and Dimitroff's role in the Balkan Federation, these are not the only roles Dimitroff played as a pioneer of modern revisionism. He had also betrayed the working class of Bulgaria by setting the course there for the takeover of power by the modern revisionists. Stalinism in words, revisionism in deeds - this is the physiognomy of

Dimitroff's betrayal.

On 10 February 1948, at Stalin's invitation, a secret meeting took place in Moscow between the delegations of the Soviet Union (Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Zhdanov, Suslov and Sorin), Yugoslavia (Djilas , Kardelj and Vacaric) and Bulgaria Dimitroff, Kostoff and Kolaroff). ] Stalin condemned Tito's criminal plans. At this meeting, Stalin also contradicted Dimitroff's arguments on all points and criticised him in all severity of form.

The dialogue between Stalin and Dimitroff could have gone something like this:

Stalin: "You did not inform us about the announcement of the Balkan Federation. We only read about it in the newspapers. You did not think beforehand about the political consequences of such statements !" Dimitroff's "self-criticism": "Yes, that was harmful and fundamentally wrong. I will not repeat such statements in the future." Stalin retorts: "You are not a pre-school child, but an old politician. Your self-criticism is not about not having informed the Soviet Union. Such a Balkan federation is mercilessly used by the imperialists against us for their own advantage, that is the point." Dimitroff: "Yes, I admit I was wrong, but one learns from mistakes." Stalin then: "This is not about a mistake, but about your wrong policy. You've been a politician for 50 years and now you start trying to correct your mistakes?" Dimitroff blushes, admits defeat and is devastated .... (imaginable scene as it might have happened - by W. E.) .

After Stalin's death, the idea of the Balkan federation later gave rise to the Titoist union of "non-aligned countries". For the two superpowers this was to their mutual advantage - a certain buffer zone of their spheres of influence. And Tito could earn a few extra dollars and roubles with the "non-aligned zone". For the world communist movement, this meant weakening by splitting unity, by disintegrating the world socialist camp, by isolating Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and restoring capitalism.

The Titoist line of the Balkan Federation and later line of the "non-aligned countries" was a counter-revolutionary act, directed against the world revolution and world socialism in general and against the beacon of socialism - Albania - in particular.

The expression of Yugoslav expansionism was Tito's plan to annex Albania as the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. Republic of Yugoslavia - not through military occupation, but as an alleged Yugoslav "protective power" against the invasion of Albania by the Greek monarcho-fascists, through "diplomacy" (=bartering away Albania) in the international arena (secret treaty between Tito and the Greek monarcho-fascists for the dismemberment of Albania at the Paris Peace Conference in August 1946) as well as

through several coup attempts within the KPA by means of Yugoslav agent activity on Albanian territory. The Yugoslav annexationists were not defending Albania as a sovereign state, but as a territory of the Yugoslav "Greater State" - "defending" Albania de jure in order to swallow up Albania de facto. "Opponents" of annexationism in words and annexationists in deeds, this was the Yugoslav revisionists' chauvinist betrayal of Stalin's principled teaching on the national question and a crime against the Albanian people. Stalin and Enver Hoxha put a spoke in Tito's wheel.

While Tito hypocritically practised "self-criticism" at the secret meeting with Stalin on 10 February 1948, he simultaneously committed genocide in Kosova. In words, Tito was for the reunification of all Albanians in one state, but he did not even allow Enver Hoxha to visit his Albanian compatriots in Kosova, let alone allow the Albanian communists of Kosova to visit comrade Enver Hoxha's KPA. Instead, they were sent to Yugoslav internment camps. To depopulate Kosova, the Titoists forced hundreds of thousands of Albanians to emigrate to Turkey and elsewhere. So this is what Tito's Balkan Federation really looked like.

Tito's seizure of Macedonia and Tito's conquest of Istria and the cities of Zadar and Rijeka should also be mentioned. With this provocation, Tito not only violated the agreements between Stalin and the Western Allies, but also endangered world peace. Immediately after 1945, the continuation of the war against Hitler through a war against the USA would have had serious consequences for the Soviet Union, for the world socialist camp and for the entire world communist movement.

Tito also claimed Hungarian territories on the Croatian-Serbian border (for example, the town of Pecs) - ostensibly "for the protection of the Hungarian people." [according to the minutes of Blagoe Neshkovich, then leader in the CPJ].

Tito's Yugoslav expansionism did not stop at Greece. At a meeting between Stalin and Tito on 27 May 1946, Molotov is reported to have said: "Yes, Salonikki is an ancient Slavic state. You need access to the Aegean Sea." [!] [according to the minutes of Blagoe Neshkovich, then leader in the CPY.]

Tito was not disinterested as an abettor of the British and American imperialists in Greece. Collaboration with the Greek monarcho-fascists fitted into his expansionist plans (counterrevolutionary Athens-Belgrade-Rome axis of Anglo-American imperialism). Stalin, on the other hand, was opposed - in the immediate post-war conditions - to interference in the internal affairs of the Greek people by expansionist power interests from outside. Stalin was at first firmly convinced of victory in the Greek civil war. He sided with the anti-monarcho-fascist struggle, with the struggle against the Greek financial sharks who were



selling Greece to the capitalist foreign countries. But Stalin was honest enough to admit that it was quite possible that the forces might not be sufficient for victory and that the guerrilla war in Greece should therefore be broken off and continued one day under better conditions. Stalin demanded the unconditional withdrawal of British and American troops from Greece.

With his peace policy, Stalin fought against all provocateurs of a new world war - including Tito's provocations. On 27 May 1946, Stalin is reported to have said to Tito: "If the Slavs do not want to suffer another 10 million victims, then the Slavs must unite in a single front with the Soviet Union." [according to the minutes of Blagoe Neshkovich, then leader in the CPY]

In 1947, the Soviet Union was still united behind Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It was only a year later that there was an open break with Tito, and Bulgaria's cooperation with Tito was stopped and the military-expansionist attacks on Albania by the imperialist-revisionist alliance, which included the Italian neo-fascists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav and Bulgarian revisionists, were repulsed by Stalin. Stalin is accused of having bargained with Churchill for Greece (the so-called "percentage agreement"). We cite the following quotation from Stalin to refute this accusation:

"England, for example, demands that we join her in establishing spheres of influence somewhere, say in Persia, in Afghanistan or in Turkey, for the purpose of robbery, affirming her willingness to make 'friendship' with us if we agree to these concessions. But precisely because we cannot agree to these and similar concessions without giving ourselves up - precisely for this reason we must be prepared for international capital to continue to commit all kinds of meanness against us in the future." (Stalin, Works Vol. 11, pp. 49 and 50)

Breaking their word, the Western Allies violated the agreement with the Soviet Union to conclude peace treaties after the end of the war in all countries involved in the hostilities of the Second World War and then to withdraw all occupation troops.

Kostov at the 2nd Conference of the Cominform:

"The party made the following mistakes: underestimating the class struggle, illusions about the peaceful possibility of waging this struggle in the conditions of today's Bulgaria, failure to have a clear idea of the path and pace of development, to speak of the harmonious unification of the state, of private sectors in the economy, and so on. But all these mistakes were corrected in time, often thanks to consultation with the CPSU (B) and Comrade Stalin personally."

Chervenkoff criticised Kostoff a year later, who was now made the scapegoat for former Bulgarian attempts, together with Tito, to wrest the country from the socialist camp and prevent the Stalinist road to socialism in Bulgaria.

Kostoff was to be executed in December, while Dimitroff was said to have inexplicably "died of illness" in July. It was also widely known that they had coordinated Bulgarian policy towards the USSR and Yugoslavia during the 1940s. According to Chervenkoff, Bulgaria had been able to strengthen its socialist foundations and fight nationalist deviations thanks to the Soviet Communist Party and Stalin, who is described as the "direct teacher and leader" of the Bulgarian people. Not even a single reference to the person of Dimitroff is to be found in the whole of Chervenkoff's report. That is strange.

And in V. POPTOMOV's report, too, Dimitroff is not mentioned with a syllable in connection with Tito's Balkan Federation and is thus tacitly taken in defence. There was never any Marxist-Leninist criticism of Dimitroff in the Cominform, not even on the part of the Soviet delegates.

In the reports of the Bulgarian delegation to the Cominform, Dimitroff was completely spared. Instead, only Tito was pilloried. It is clear that the Comintern (SH) cannot justify this unprincipled attitude towards the Cominform. It is clear that behind the concealment of Dimitroff's anti-Stalinist path on the question of the Balkan Federation was the justification of the liquidation of the Comintern, which would not have existed in this way without Dimitroff.

Already at the party congress in Berat, November 1944, the Tito group Kochi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo tried to subjugate Albania to Yugoslavia and incorporate it into the Balkan Federation under Tito's leadership. That the Albanians heroically resisted their Yugoslav enslavement, we recall the Albanian uprising in Kosova in 1981. It was also Dimitroff's Popular Front policy that Tito tried to liquidate the Communist Party of Albania. Of course, today's defenders of Dimitroff do not want to know anything about this and keep quiet about these criminal plans against comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian people...

## What is Titoism ?

In general, Titoism is the most advanced post of the anti-communist bulwark of world imperialism, a variant of the ideology of modern revisionism against Stalinism for the purpose of isolating and weakening Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, breaking individual links out of the world socialist camp with the aim of its complete destruction; and in particular, Titoism is the revisionist ideology of the nationalist bourgeoisification of people's democracy, its adaptation to capitalism for the purpose of assimilation by the world imperialist camp. Titoism denies the international significance of the October Revolution and rejects the universal lessons of the October Revolution (not only for Yugoslavia) in order to drag the world communist movement instead on a path of Yugoslav "revolution" different from the October Revolution. Titoism poses as a "creative further development" of Marxism-Leninism, but is in fact an ideology of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism (definition of the Comintern [SH])

Stalin wrote in his letter of 27 MARCH 1948:

"Furthermore, it must be said that the Yugoslav state police are also monitoring the CPSU representative to the Cominform, Comrade Yudin.

As you know, anti-Soviet rumours are doing the rounds among the Yugoslav leaders: the CPSU is degenerating, great power chauvinism reigns in the USSR, the USSR wants to subjugate the new Yugoslavia economically, the Cominform is a means for the CPSU to bring the other parties under its rule, etc. ... These anti-Soviet statements are usually hidden under Leftist phrases such as, "Socialism has ceased to be revolutionary in the USSR," or "Only Yugoslavia is the true bearer of revolutionary socialism."

Stalin wrote in his letter of 4 May 1948:

"As it seems, the Yugoslav leaders intend to insist in the future on their anti-Soviet attitude; but the Yugoslav comrades should know even now that this is treading a path leading to the renunciation of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, a path of betrayal of friendship with the Soviet Union, of betrayal of the Socialist United Front, of the USSR and the People's Democracies.

It must be emphasised that the Yugoslav comrades who come to Moscow or otherwise to our country can freely visit the cities of the USSR and meet with our citizens. On the occasion of his last trip to the Soviet Union, comrade Djilas went to Leningrad for a few days after a stay in Moscow to talk with Soviet comrades there. We did not ask Djilas to give us an account of his meetings with the Leningrad organisations. We assume that

he did not gather information there for the Anglo-American or French intelligence services, but for the leading organs of Yugoslavia.

Shdanov died on 31 August 1948, i.e. shortly after the 2nd Kominform Conference in Romania in June 1948.

Shdanov is no longer present at the 3rd Kominform Conference.

Stalin wrote in his letter of 22 May 1948:

"Comrades Tito and Kardelj have often made promises to the CC of the CPSU without keeping them. Comrades Tito and Kardelj declare that the CC of the CPY refrains from appearing at the meeting of the Information Bureau and refuses to present the question of the situation within the CPY before this Bureau. If this is their final decision, it means that they have nothing to testify before the Information Bureau, that they realise their guilt and are afraid to appear before the brother parties. What is more, the refusal to appear before the Information Bureau means that the CC of the CPY is treading a path leading to disengagement from the united international front of the people's democracies and the USSR, and that it is now preparing its party and the Yugoslav people for betrayal of this united front. Since the Information Bureau is the basis of the united international front, this policy leads to the betrayal of the international solidarity work of the working class and forms the transition to an attitude of nationalism. It is a hostile act towards the working class.

Regardless of whether or not the representatives of the CC of the CPY will attend the next meeting of the Bureau of Information, the CC of the CPSU insists that at the next meeting of the Bureau of Information the situation within the CPY will be examined.

The CC of the CPSU agrees with the proposal of the Czech and Hungarian comrades that the Information Bureau should meet in the second half of June."

The criticism of the Cominform against the CPY was presented at the 2nd Cominform Conference by the representatives of the French and Italian Communist Parties, while conversely the criticism of the Cominform against the CP of France and Italy had been presented at the first Cominform Conference by the representatives of the CPY.  
(!)

a) Criticism of the Yugoslav policy of hostility towards the socialist Soviet Union. Questioning the leading role of the Soviet Union in the world communist movement. Equating the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers. "Degeneration" of the CPSU taken from the armoury of Trotskyism. The "capitalist states pose less of a threat to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union".

b) Criticism of the hegemony of the Yugoslav peasantry over the working class.

Criticism of the denial of the Leninist-Stalinist thesis that the class struggle becomes sharper during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Bukharin's theory of the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism.

c) Criticism of the fact that in Yugoslavia it is the Popular Front and not the Communist Party that plays the leading role, which ultimately amounts to the liquidation of the CP. Subordination of the communist party in the revisionist Popular Front and eventual liquidation of the communist party in the Popular Front.

[- in this direction the neo-revisionists today are also fighting against the Comintern (SH), in that the neo-revisionists are openly defending against us the popular front policy of Dimitroff]. (\*)

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(\*) On this, an important note from the Comintern (SH):

What do we learn for ourselves from this criticism (c) ?

We learn from it that the Comintern (SH) must always retain the undisputed leading role in the world Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement. If a "Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement" should develop outside the Comintern (SH), or if it occurs to a single section to want to build its "own" "Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement" , i.e. alongside, without or even against the Comintern (SH), then this means the liquidation of the Comintern (SH) . Then it also means the liquidation of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement, which can neither exist nor will exist without the leadership of the Comintern (SH).

In addition to this titoist method of liquidation of the Comintern (SH) [= method of decentralisation of the movement by pushing back and finally eliminating the determining influence of the centre], there is of course also the classical method of the revisionists, namely not to doubt the necessity of the Comintern (SH) in words, but in deeds to transform the Comintern (SH) into a revisionist world party in order to steer the world socialist revolution into the fairway of the bourgeoisie. (= method of smashing the movement through a revisionist change of leadership in the Comintern (SH)). Both also amount to the same thing: elimination of the leadership of the world proletariat.

Which of the two methods is more dangerous ? The more dangerous method is always the one that is not fought consistently enough.

d) Criticism of the Yugoslav Communist Party to leave the Cominform and to ignore the criticism of the Cominform.

e) Collaboration of the Yugoslav leadership with the imperialist world camp.

Pravda, 18-19 October 1947 (!) , dedicated on the occasion of the first issue of: "For a lasting peace, For a people's democracy in Belgrade", we read under the signature of M. Maritime: "The report of Edouard Kardelj presents a truly grandiose diagram, of the very significant historical reforms accomplished in Yugoslavia in recent years. " The author then goes on to fully endorse Kardelj's report on Yugoslavia and Kardelj's conclusion:

"Yugoslavia is no longer a capitalist country, nor is it a country with a dominant capitalist sector. But it is a typical country realising the transition from capitalism to socialism, a country where a socialist economy rules, as a result of the struggle of the working class and all toilers."

(!)

The question arises why the first conference of the Cominform was so friendly with Yugoslavia (for example, agreement with Yugoslavia's criticism of the CPs in France and Italy) and only one [!] year later Yugoslavia was excluded.

All of a sudden everyone is hypocritical about their "solidarity" with the Soviet Union against Tito. Yet they applauded Tito at their 7th World Congress, Tito collaborated with them in the liquidation of the Comintern ! Surely, these are the facts that one must not talk around!

The regimes of people's democracy could emerge, remain and develop only thanks to the support of the USSR. [revisionist! Lenin propagated the dictatorship of the proletariat - this is also the Stalinist definition of Leninism in the epoch of imperialism - The People's Republic of Albania continued to develop on its own after the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists] The physiognomy of the revisionist line in the Cominform can be illustrated by the example of Yugoslavia: Yugoslavia is removed from the Cominform not from the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist revolution, but because Yugoslavia did not place itself on the people's democracy according to Dimitroff's united front pattern with its revisionist thesis of the alleged "final" victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. One does not automatically arrive at socialism merely through the external existence of the Soviet Union. According to this liquidationist thesis, socialism would not be possible in any country without the Soviet Union. If a socialist country restores capitalism, one can still build socialism in one's own country. The Albanians have proved this for 40 years. Albania is the best proof of the untenability of the Kominform theses.

In the Cominform there were people who condemned Yugoslav revisionism in order to hide behind it revisionism in their own country.

It was common practice to summarily accuse the true Marxist-Leninists of

"Trotskyism" when they made justified criticisms of revisionist errors and deviations. This was also the way the CP of Greece dealt with Enver Hoxha when he presented his critical opinion on the wrong line of the CP of Greece. (See 4. Enver Hoxha's meeting with Stalin).

After his expulsion from the Cominform, Tito suppressed those who supported the Cominform. He insulted them as "Cominformists", as "enemies" of Yugoslavia, although Tito had still claimed to be the "most loyal" Cominformist in a letter to the Soviet Union on 13 April 1948, and because of this he should have been imprisoned and executed himself "on his own orders" only months later. From 1949 onwards, Tito dropped all masks and openly used the tools of the Trotskyists to insult and denigrate Stalin's Soviet Union. Tito had moved to openly attack Stalin's world socialist camp, to decompose it and turn it into a camp of Western imperialism. The first social-fascist Gestapo state in the world, the Titoist state, murdered thousands of communists in the Goli Otok concentration camp. Many Yugoslav communists were able to escape and fought from abroad to crush the fascist Tito regime. Thousands of Yugoslav miners refused to hand over the ore they mined to the imperialists and resisted exports to imperialist countries. The railway workers went on strike against the shipments. 50% of the workers stopped industrial production by sabotage, by leaving the workplace or by the resistance lung "works slowly". The Yugoslav peasants also sabotaged agricultural production and resisted enslavement by the Titoist kulakism. And it was comrade Enver Hoxha who propagated the only correct way out, the necessity of socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all revisionist countries.

#### The Letters of Stalin to Tito – 1948



[in German language]

J. W. Stalin:

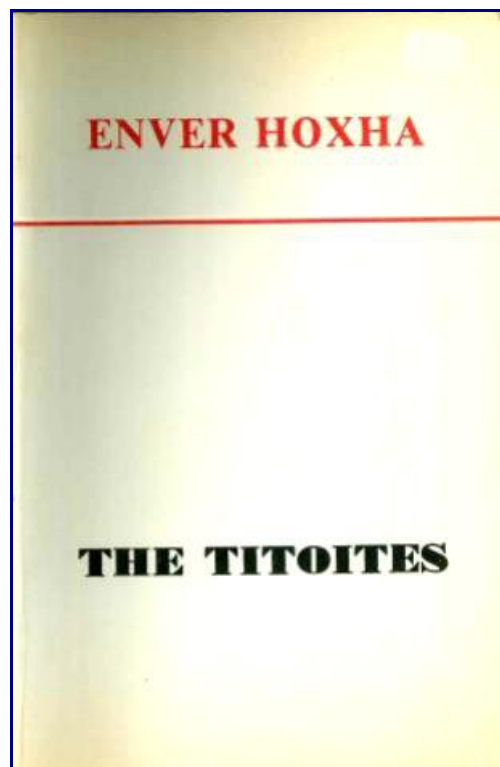
3 Schreiben

des ZK der KPdSU an das ZK der KP Jugoslawiens

27. März 1948

4. Mai 1948

22. Mai 1948



The Titoites

Excerpt from: Chapter 10

The struggle against Titoism - a historical necessity



1983



From the Book of the Comintern (SH):

**On the struggle against revisionism:**

**Excerpt: [On the Struggle Against Yugoslav Revisionism](#)**



**[The Tito clique - an agency of the war arsonists](#)**

**Kalinin**

**(From: 'Neue Welt', issue 19, October 1950, p. 54ff).**



## **Yugoslavia in the grip of the fascist clique**

**(From: 'Neue Welt', issue 12, June 1950, pp. 52ff)**





## **On the Degeneration of the Leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia**

**1948 (Training booklet of the SED)**

Note by the Comintern (SH):

This training booklet should be studied with a sufficiently critical eye. At that time, the SED did not dare to openly oppose Stalin and was forced to pretend to be halfway "loyal to Stalin". Because of a content correct in the main page, we have published this training booklet despite concerns about some existing deviations.

These documents from the first post-war years have not otherwise been published online anywhere - except by us.



From the first conference of the Cominform we find for the first time the Soviet Union's criticism of the popular front policy of the Western parties, without mentioning the name of the originator of this revisionist line - Dimitroff, who advocated and implemented his popular front policy even in the world socialist camp, while at the same time feigning his loyalty to Stalin !

The "parliamentary road to socialism" deviates from Marxism-Leninism and is revisionist. Togliatti. Criticism of the Yugoslavs at the 1st Cominform meeting A major political content of the first conference of the Cominform was a strong criticism of the revisionism of the French and Italian communist parties.

The conference served largely as a platform from which powerful, scathing criticisms of opportunism, legalism, bourgeois parliamentarism and other such grievances with which the French and Italian communist parties were plagued emerged. This criticism came officially from Yugoslavia and not from the Soviet Union - Pravda had still praised Yugoslavia until just before the founding of the Cominform - in September 1947. This was an excellent tactic by Stalin to play off the revisionism of the CP of France and Italy against Yugoslav Titoism. First against the former (1st Conference of the Cominform in 1947), then against the latter (2nd Conference of the Cominform in 1948 - previously threaded through Stalin's letters to the CP of Yugoslavia).

Later, Togliatti criticised the Moscow Declaration because it still condemned Titoism. He demanded that the condemnation of Titoism be withdrawn ! (Togliatti, 10 January 1963, "Let us return the discussion to its true limits" [article in: "L'Unità"])

On the third day of the 1st Cominform Conference, the Yugoslav revisionists presented their criticism against the Italian and French Communist Parties. They said that the Italian and French model of people's democracy should not be initiated under the leadership of a bourgeois government. The Yugoslav delegates also criticised the opportunist slogan of the CP of Italy: "Neither London, nor Washington, nor Moscow." They said that the defeats suffered by the two Western parties were mainly the fault of their leaders with their political and ideological liberalism. The Yugoslav delegates stressed that after the war, certain communists thought (for example, the Browderists) that a peaceful, parliamentary period of abatement of the class struggle had dawned - that there was a corresponding deviation of opportunism, especially on the question of parliamentarism, both in the French and Italian parties, as well as in other parties.

This criticism is a Marxist-Leninist criticism, even if it was put forward by the Yugoslavs with the intention of arming themselves against accusations of their own

revisionism! One must not try to invalidate the criticism of French and Italian revisionism by the fact that they were put forward by revisionist Yugoslavs who concealed their own revisionism behind them. One cannot side with one revisionist camp to fight another!!! This is nothing else than neo-revisionism, namely criticism of revisionism in words and defence of revisionism in deeds.

The transition of the CP of France to revisionism began at the 7th World Congress and finally came out openly only after the death of Stalin.

The 'Popular Front' in France formed on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille (14 July 1935) in Paris. In January 1936, the parties agreed to support each other and entered parliament. It was actually the bloc of a capitalist wing that gave itself an official name, the coalition thus formed, in January 1936 through the programme 'Rassemblement populaire' (Rally of the People). Blum ended the period of the Popular Front government with his resignation on 7 April 1938.

The leaders of the CP of France and Italy turned out to be traitors to the revolution and to socialism. Their sharp criticism against Titoism at the second conference of the Cominform does not change this. Behind their criticism of Titoism, they cleverly concealed their own revisionism. They only let their mask fall after Stalin's death and the Khrushchev revisionists came to power.

Enver Hoxha writes about France and Italy in his book "Eurocommunism is anti-communism" :

"In France and Italy, governments of the bourgeois type came to power. The participation of the communists in them did not change their character. Their propaganda and agitation, the demonstrations and strikes led by the CP of France were not in the line of wresting power from the bourgeoisie. (...) took the form of a struggle for reforms (...). It did not follow the Marxist-Leninist path. The French Communist Party failed (...) to transform the struggle for national liberation into a people's revolution, it evaded the struggle for the armed seizure of power. What should we call this conduct of the French Communist Party? Betrayal of the revolution.

"Whereas in Italy conditions were favourable for advancing the revolution (...) the party was in favour of a parliamentary solution within the legality of the bourgeois order. Its broadest aspiration was to participate in the government with two three ministers. In this way, the Italian Communist Party got caught up in the interplay of bourgeois politics and made one unprincipled concession after another. It voluntarily took up arms before the bourgeoisie. It abandoned the revolutionary road and took the parliamentary road,

gradually transforming itself from a party of revolution into a bourgeois party of social reform of the working class."

It was mainly under the Trotskyist influence of the Titoists that the world socialist camp first split, and from this, after the death of Stalin, the world revisionist camp split. One faction pursued the path of separation from the Soviet revisionists, while the other faction continued to lick their boots. Mao also took advantage of this division by trying to harness the faction of separation from the Soviet revisionists to his cart. This also included the factions that had formed, especially in Western Europe, which included the Maoist parties on one side and the Eurocommunists on the other. As a result of this process of disintegration of the revisionist world camp, innumerable currents of revisionism emerged, which more openly or covertly falsified Marxism-Leninism, betrayed it and gradually replaced it with bourgeois ideology. And we point out again that this development of betrayal of the world revolution was already emerging in the Cominform.

Enver Hoxha writes aptly in: "Eurocommunism = anti-communism:

"These innumerable anti-Marxist currents developing in today's capitalist and revisionist world are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution." (page 93)

## 10

### **The Cominform and the Revisionist Degeneration of the CPSU (B)**

The Soviet revisionist Suslov openly propagated at the 3rd session of the Cominform (1949) the renunciation of the transition to communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat. There was no more talk of socialism. (Enver Hoxha repeatedly exposed Suslov as a revisionist Soviet leader in his works).

The representatives of the Soviet Union in the Cominform fought Yugoslav revisionism not in the interests of the world proletariat, not in the interests of world proletarian revolution, not in the interests of creating the Stalinist world camp, but in their own interests. Their aim was to prevent the spread of revisionist kingdoms outside the Soviet Union in order to become a social-imperialist world power. The revisionists of the other countries were to be taken under the Soviet revisionist wing by means of pressure. The Soviet revisionists aimed to do this in particular by excluding Tito, using the cover of "Stalinism". The murder of Shdanov as head of the Cominform was carried out on behalf

of the modern Soviet revisionists. It was then such modern revisionists as Suslov who took the helm in the Kominform. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists do not regard these events in the Kominform as a coincidence.

A fierce struggle was waged in the Soviet Union against the rise of modern revisionism. Thus, in 1948, the once renowned economist Varga was convicted of revisionism on the fundamental questions of economic construction in the People's Democratic countries.

But there were also fierce battles between the Leningrad revisionist faction and the Moscow revisionist faction, in the course of which, for example, Zhdanov and Vosnessensky, who had worked closely with Zhdanov, were killed. Vosnessensky wanted to make Leningrad the capital of the Soviet Union and had, for example, held revisionist views on economic planning in the USSR.

In May 1955, Nikita Khrushchev held official talks in Belgrade to seal the reconciliation between the CPSU and the CPY. (see Enver Hoxha):

### **Khrushchev's kneeling before Tito**

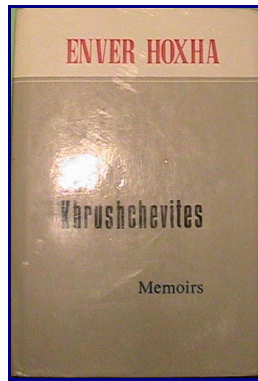
**13 September 1963**



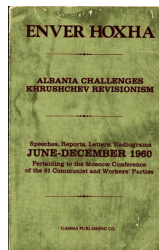
### **Enver Hoxha on Soviet Revisionism**

**(Collection of Enver Hoxha's writings and documents from the PLA)**





## THE KHRUSHCHEVITES



## Albania challenges Khrushchev revisionism

**Enver Hoxha, Volume 19**



The Soviet revisionist leaders swore stone and stone on their "loyalty" to proletarian internationalism, pledged their "help" to the revolutionary movements for the newly liberated countries and promised their "support" to the world communist movement after the war.

They use these oaths to disguise their expansionist and aggressive aims and to deceive the people. However, all their practical activity shows that the Soviet revisionists have long since jettisoned this great principle of the working class, just as they betrayed Marxist-Leninist doctrine.



In the time of the Cominform - until the death of comrade Stalin - the Soviet Union was the centre and base of the world revolution.

Today, the only revolutionary and internationalist is the one who fights not only Titoism but also the influence of the Soviet revisionists and the revisionist leaders of all other countries in the Cominform and exposes their treachery, which these traitors kept hidden there behind vows to Stalin.

## **11**

### **The Cominform and Maoism**

As for Maoism, Stalin not only condemned Titoism but rightly called Mao a "half Titoist".

Even in the critical Chinese paper, "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist State?" (dated 26 September 1963 - from Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement), the Cominform resolution against Titoism (1948) is not defended, let alone even mentioned. In this paper: "Is Yugoslavia a socialist state?" one looks in vain for the historical letters of Stalin to Tito, in which Stalin rejected the accusations made by Tito against the Soviet Union and for the first time strongly condemned Titoism. The Chinese revisionists were not concerned with Stalin, but only with playing themselves up to the Soviet revisionists who had fallen on Tito's knees as the "true defenders" of Marxism-Leninism, in order to hide their own revisionism behind it. In truth, the Chinese revisionists have not only adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Soviet revisionism, but also towards Titoism, as documented in various Chinese writings. They have also admitted that while they half-heartedly agreed with the Cominform resolution, they actually condemned it. Thus the Chinese revisionists have adopted the same opportunist attitude towards the Cominform as all the other revisionists from the countries of the People's Democracy.

In words for the Cominform - in deeds against the Cominform - this is the physiognomy of the revisionist betrayal of the Cominform.

Judin, the same Soviet revisionist who was editor-in-chief of the Kominform organ, was later appointed by Khrushchev as ambassador to China between 1953 and 1959. Until January 1955, China had no diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. From Judin's diaries we learn some interesting facts about Mao's true negative attitude towards the Cominform:

"Mao said:

We did not refuse our support to the Cominform decision of 1948, but we did not agree with the Cominform resolution of 1949. It put us all in a passive situation and Tito still reminds us of that resolution today. Stalin should not have taken such a rude attitude towards Yugoslavia." ( April 19, 1958, quoting from Judin's diary) . Surely Stalin's struggle against Titoism is not a question that can be resolved by the method of diplomatic politeness! Who discredited the Soviet Union in the crudest, most infamous way ? It was Tito. And whoever comes to Tito's defence is already "half Tito". And that was Mao. That is how Stalin saw it, that is how Enver Hoxha saw it, and that is how the Comintern (SH) sees it.

In his Works Volume V, Mao writes:

"When we won the war, Stalin conjectured that this was a victory in the manner of of Tito, and in 1949 and 1950 he put a lot of pressure on us." (Mao Zedong, Selected Works, Vol. V, p.328 - French. Edition).

Mao adopts in essence the united front policy of Dimitroff and the popular front policy of Yugoslavia in founding the PRC. Mao, the world bourgeoisie and the whole revisionist world camp always talk about the "socialist revolution in China". Yet, when the PRC was founded in 1949, not once was the word "socialism" mentioned, let alone the word "socialist revolution".

In the view of the Comintern (SH), there can be no question of any "socialist revolution" either in China or in all other people's democracies. To make the bourgeois-democratic Chinese revolution out to be a "higher development of the October Revolution" is not only a mockery of the Chinese proletariat, not only a mockery of the October Revolution, but also a frontal attack on world Bolshevism and the world socialist revolution.

Compare Mao's line with the general line of the Comintern (SH). One line is thousands of light years away from the other line:

Mao quote:

"At present we must not push the bourgeoisie away from us, but unite them around us. (6 September 1950; "DON'T LOSE YOUR WAY TO ALL DIRECTIONS", Mao, Vol. V, pp. 31-34).

On the monument to the "Heroes of the People" there are many inscriptions which were designed by Mao Zedong. If you read these inscriptions, the heroes sacrificed themselves for anything but communism. This is what the Comintern (SH) calls mockery of

the Chinese proletariat, mockery of the entire world proletariat, which has sacrificed its blood for the most precious thing in the world, namely communism.

Here we attach some quotes from Enver Hoxha in which he aptly expresses what he thought of Tito and Mao:

"Tito and Mao are of the same colour, though not red."

"If Mao Zedong assumes that Stalin made mistakes towards Tito, it means that he approves of the methods of 'self-management' of the Yugoslav economy, i.e., the methods of Titoist revisionist 'self-management'. Mao wants to progressively introduce this 'self-management' in China as well. He also does not fail to talk about the specifics. It is interesting what the Chinese say: they wanted to build a specific socialism. In this question, they meet with Tito, who has been prattling about building 'specific socialism' for a long time. Here it is not only a question of the term the Chinese use, but also of the content, of including in it the experience à la Tito." ("Reflections on China", December 1976, Vol. II, pp. 381-382, German edition).

"The Chinese are opposed to the line of our Party and our state. They have openly recommended that we enter into an alliance with Yugoslavia ( so said Chou En-lai to Beqir Balluku). In other words, they rehashed the old story, the Titoists' dream of making Albania the seventh republic of Yugoslavia. Every day, the Chinese newspapers carry news about Yugoslavia, defend its policies, openly praise Tito in effusive terms. Mao Zedong has not changed his view of Tito in the slightest since he said to me and Mehmet: 'Tito is not to blame, it is Stalin and the Comintern who are to blame'. But Stalin was and remains a great Marxist, Tito and Mao, on the other hand, are the same colour, but not red.

Let us suppose that Stalin 'was not vigilant' and 'did not take measures earlier'. But you, my Chinese comrades, who criticise Stalin, why did you not see through Khrushchev for 10-14 years, Tito for 18 years and the groups of Liu Shao-chi and Pengchen for at least 16 years? You had both the great revolutionary experience of Lenin and Stalin, and the bitter experience of Tito, Khrushchev, Gao Gang, Wang Ming, etc. (ENVER HOXHA)

Finally, we publish a lengthy extract from a recording of the conversation Mao had with the Yugoslav delegation in Peking ( September 1956):

"There were times when we dropped you. We had sought the opinion of the Information Bureau in the past. Although we did not participate directly in the work of the Cominform, it was difficult for us not to support it. In 1949, the Kominform condemned you

as "butchers" and "Hitler fascists", but we kept quiet about the resolution on Yugoslavia, although we published articles criticising you in 1948. With hindsight, we should not have done that. We should have discussed this issue with you. If some of your positions were wrong, you could have come to a self-criticism and there was no need to rush into it, as we did. The same is true for us: if you disagreed with us, you should do the same, that is, by the method of persuasion and consultation. There have not been so many successful cases of criticising foreign parties in newspapers. Your case offers a profound historical lesson for the international communist movement. Although you suffered from the criticism, the international communist movement has learnt lessons from this mistake. The international communist movement must fully understand this mistake.

However, there was another factor that prevented us from replying to you: the Soviet friends did not want us to establish diplomatic relations with you. Although China is an independent state, we followed their instructions. When the Soviet Union asked us to follow it, it was difficult for us to resist. At that time there were some people [by "some people" Mao probably means Stalin - note] who claimed that there were two Titos in the world: one in Yugoslavia, and another in China, even though there were no publications that this second Tito would be called Mao Zedong. I once pointed out to the Soviet comrades that they suspected I was a half-hearted Tito, but they refuse to confirm it. When did they remove the label of half-hearted Tito from my forehead?

The Soviet Party can criticise Stalin on its own; but it would be inappropriate for us to criticise him. We should maintain a good relationship with the Soviet Union. Perhaps we could make our criticism public sometime in the future. It must be so in today's world, because facts are facts.

The Comintern made many mistakes in the past. Its first and last periods were not so bad, but the middle period [by which Mao meant Stalin's line, in which all the anti-Stalinists fell over the "third period" without Mao mentioning Stalin's name - note]. It was all right when Lenin was alive and when Dimitroff was in charge.

[In other words, the Comintern led by Stalin after Lenin and before Dimitroff was supposedly "out of order"-note].

That was the first time we expected the worst from Stalin.

Only after the dissolution of the Comintern did we begin to enjoy more freedom.

There are two kinds of Chinese: some are dogmatists who accept Stalin's line completely; others oppose dogmatism and therefore refuse to follow Stalin's orders. Moscow regarded me as a half-hearted Tito or half-Titoist.

Your suffering, inflicted by Stalin, is known to the people and to the whole world.

Khrushchev has now removed my label of "half-hearted Tito". Thus we rejoice that both labels have been removed, that of Tito and that of half Tito."

So much for Mao's conversation with the Yugoslav delegation, in which Mao apologises for China's erstwhile hostile attitude towards Yugoslavia. In it he expresses his anti-Stalinism and states that he shares anti-Stalinism with the Titoists and thus follows their line.

It was Enver Hoxha who never thought of removing these two "labels" that Stalin had quite rightly given to Tito and Mao, as the revisionists have done.

The crimes of the Titoists and Maoists are indelible.

For us Stalinist-Hoxhaists, the resolution of the Cominform condemning Yugoslavia is still valid and we will defend the Cominform on all points where it acted correctly, even against the Maoists who can "criticise" Titoism as much as they like. In truth, the Maoists are anti-Stalinists, they are defenders of Titoism and they defend Dimitroff's treachery against Stalin.

## **PART III**

### **12**

#### **The Cominform, Enver Hoxha and the PSRA**

In April 1946, the Yugoslav revisionists had advised the CPA to accept and conclude treaties with the American imperialists. [!]

The minutes of the meeting between Tito and Stalin in Moscow on 27 May 1946, prepared by the CPY leadership, show that Tito concealed his hostile intentions towards Albania and posed to Stalin as a "promoter and protector" of Albania. In truth, Tito had long since decided to make Albania the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. He concealed this from Stalin, who only found out later from Enver Hoxha himself. When asked by Stalin, Tito gave a negative assessment of Enver Hoxha. In truth, Tito left no stone unturned to overthrow Enver Hoxha.

Shortly before the Cominform was formed, Enver Hoxha had his first meeting with Stalin on 16 July 1947 in Moscow, where Enver Hoxha had already reported on the conflicts with Tito. Enver Hoxha met Stalin for the second time on 21 March 1949, at a time when the Titoists had already been expelled from the Cominform. Enver Hoxha describes the period between the first and second meeting with Stalin as follows:

"The period from the beginning of November 1947 to March, April 1948 will go down in history as one of the most difficult and dangerous periods that our party and our people have ever gone through." (Enver Hoxha "The Titoists", page 393).

Tito wanted to annex Albania and liquidate the CPA. This victorious battle against Titoism was one of the most glorious battles of the CPA in the history of the struggle against modern revisionism.

At the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA and at the 1st Party Congress, the crimes of the Titoists were exposed and condemned [see for this the documents of Enver Hoxha and the PLA, which we have now published in Albanian and German].

**Enver Hoxha:**

**Paper delivered at the Tirana Party Conference, on the analysis and conclusions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania.**

**4 October 1948**

**(Excerpt from Volume 1 of the Selected Works - pages 702- 802)**



**Enver Hoxha:**

**Report at the 1st Party Congress of the PAA.**

**8 November 1948**

**(Excerpt: Selected Works, Volume 2; Chapter III THE PARTY - Struggle against Titoism, pages 106 - 122)**



**Enver Hoxha:**  
**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TITOISM AND THE DEVIATIONS**  
**FROM THE PARTY LINE**

**31 March 1952**

(Excerpt: Selected Works, Volume 2; Report to the 2nd Party Congress of the  
PLA, pages 239 -254)



In his second meeting with Stalin, Enver Hoxha said:

"In the light of these documents [Enver Hoxha meant Stalin's 3 letters to the CPJ as well as the resolution of the Cominform - adopted at the second conference]

, which appeared at a very critical moment for our Party and our people, the CC gained complete clarity about the character and aims of Yugoslav interference in Albania."

To this Stalin replied:

"Our letters to the Yugoslav leadership do not contain everything, for many things came to light only later. We did not know that the Yugoslavs, under the pretext of defending your country against an invasion by the Greek fascists, wanted to bring units of their army into the VRA. In doing so, they tried to proceed clandestinely. In reality, they had thoroughly hostile intentions, because they wanted to change the situation in Albania. The information you gave us about the matter was important, because otherwise we would not have known anything about the divisions they wanted to move into your territory. The Yugoslavs have made insinuations that the Soviet Union has allegedly approved this move! If you think that you should have been more vigilant, then it must be said that in reality not only you but also others lacked vigilance with regard to relations with Yugoslavia."

Enver Hoxha met with Stalin for the third time in Sukhumi in November 1949.

On the way there, Enver Hoxha visited Rakosi in Budapest, where the third conference of the Cominform was being held at the same time.

In Sukhumi, Enver Hoxha announced that Tito had denounced the Yugoslav-Albanian Friendship Treaty on 2 November.

Albania, meanwhile, was developing its principled anti-revisionist line in the struggle

against Titoism.

"From the first direct clash with the Titoist variant of modern revisionism we were to emerge victorious. And when in April 1948 the letters of the CC of the CPSU to the Yugoslav revisionist leadership fell into our hands, our satisfaction would be great and justified. In the principal content of these letters we saw, among others, the affirmation of the correctness of the struggle in which we had thrown ourselves. This happened when we were unaware that the CPSU leadership, with Stalin at its head, had long been waging the same struggle against the Belgrade renegades". (Enver Hoxha, "The Titoists", pages 395-396)

This quotation from Enver Hoxha expresses not only the isolation of the CP of Albania by the CPJ at that time, but also that of all other communist parties, the cause of which can ultimately already be sought in the dissolution of the Comintern, in which Tito and Dimitroff had participated. To overcome this isolation, that was Stalin's will, that was one of his reasons for creating the Cominform. With the Cominform, Stalin tried to overcome the isolation within the entire communist world movement, with great success, as can be seen from the example of Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the Titoists in his historical notes, "The Titoists", page 414:

" Their main aim was to make our country a seventh republic of Yugoslavia, to put it under the command of Belgrade and turn it into a colony of Yugoslavia; our independence was to be formal, camouflaged and disguised with the forms of bourgeois pseudo-independence. This charge [Tito's accusation about Albania's alleged "anti-Yugoslavism" - note W.E.] was aimed at detaching Albania from the socialist camp, dividing it with the Soviet Union and dragging our party along the anti-Marxist road. Albania was to be for the Yugoslav Trotskyists that small state of the socialist camp in which they would carry out the first experiment for the realisation of their treacherous line against socialism."

One cannot deny membership of the Cominform to one people's democracy only to be able to exclude another better ?!!! What has this undemocratic arbitrary measure to do with Marxism-Leninism? Nothing! We Stalinists-Hoxhaists criticise the Cominform for refusing the Albanian People's Democracy membership in the Cominform.

On 13 December 1947, Stalin informed Tito of the Albanian government's request for a delivery of 5 thousand tons of oats from the USSR, and inquired whether Yugoslavia had any objections.

Two days later Tito replied to the ambassador that the supplies from the USSR were not necessary: Albania would receive the oats from Yugoslavia. But the oats promised by



Yugoslavia never arrived in Albania. Even after the meeting in Moscow, in the second half of February 1948, Lavrent'ev tried to find out in a conversation with Kardej why no oats had been delivered. Kardelj explained this with a misunderstanding and lack of cooperation between the corresponding government agencies in Yugoslavia.

At the meeting between the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on 10 February 1948, Stalin condemned Tito's attempts to invade Albania with a Yugoslav division.

"Our People's Republic is (...) surrounded by capitalist states and by the Yugoslav revisionists" (Enver Hoxha, 16 November 1960).

Later, Albania was surrounded by the entire bourgeois-revisionist world and was the last and only socialist state in which the ideology of Hoxhaism prevailed.

It should not be forgotten that the Cominform excluded not only Yugoslavia but also Albania's membership. Even after studying Enver Hoxha's records of his meetings with Stalin, which took place, among other things, at the very time when Albania's application to join the Cominform was rejected, no answer can be found to the question of whether and how Stalin and Enver Hoxha did or did not talk about this. However, we cannot exclude and suspect that the Cominform and Albania's rejected application for admission were discussed.

We must also remember that the Cominform resolution against Titoism ends with the sentence of a conciliatory gesture:

"The Information Bureau has no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia can fulfil this honourable task [of self-criticism and correction of its wrong course - W.E.]."

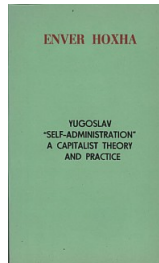
We contrast this conciliatory attitude in this Cominform resolution with the Marxist-Leninist attitude of comrade Enver Hoxha:

"Are there not worrying manifestations of modern revisionism in the other parties? Those who deny this are closing their eyes to this danger. Our Party is of the opinion that the failure to completely expose the Tito revisionist group and the deceptive "hopes" for an alleged "improvement" and positive "turn" of this group of traitors are due to the versöhnler inclinations, the wrong stand and the wrong assessment of the dangerous Titoist revisionist group by Khrushchev and several other Soviet leaders. We will fight against modern revisionism, especially against Yugoslav titoist revisionism non-stop, in all severity and without any compromise." (Enver Hoxha's speech of 16 November 1960 in Moscow)

further leading documents of comrade Enver Hoxha:



Speech, delivered at the meeting of 81 Communist and Worker's Parties  
in Moscow on November 16, 1960



## **YUGOSLAV "SELF-ADMINISTRATION" - A CAPITALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE**

Looking back on the Cominform period, especially after the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU, comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his memoirs:

It is a well-known fact that Khrushchev, especially in the aftermath of the 20th Party Congress of February 1956, in collaboration with Tito, pulled out all the stops to overturn the situation in all the then People's Democratic countries. As I have written above, among the first measures undertaken by Khrushchev was the rehabilitation of those convicted in the Kominform period and their promotion to the party and state leaderships of the then People's Democracies. In turn, the following were rehabilitated: Rajk in Hungary, Gomulka in Poland, Kostoff in Bulgaria; the so-called "movement for democratisation", for the "review of the decisions taken under the influence of Stalin and the Kominform Bureau", etc. broke out. In numerous countries, the "new line" of reconciliation with the enemies of the time, of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, etc., became... law. Neither the other formerly people's democratic countries of Europe nor Mao Zedong's China were left

behind in this whole gallop.

Tito viewed this process with satisfaction and left no stone unturned to give it new impetus and push it forward in his interest. Hoping that the time had come to take up the banner, he not only once declared that the socialist order was "itself to blame" for everything that had happened, consequently "dogmatic", "Stalinist" socialism would have to be overthrown and the Yugoslav order, "vital", "humane self-government" would have to be established.

Many were deceived or could hardly wait for this betrayal, which now became codified and official ideology. Only our party and our country have steadfastly held to the former line." (Enver Hoxha: "The Titoists", pages 657-658)

## **13**

### **The Cominform and its Firm Place in the Epoch of World Socialism**

The longer one deals with the criticism of the Cominform, the deeper one goes into detail, the clearer and more distinct our line of demarcation must be, especially after the historical experience of the betrayal of the modern revisionists and the social-fascist developments within the world communist movement.

We reject the criticism of the neo-revisionists that the Comintern (SH) takes a Trotskyist line vis-à-vis the Cominform. The reverse is true: Neo-revisionists are at best defenders of the anti-revisionism of the Cominform in words, but in deeds they continue the treachery of the modern revisionists under the guise of Marxism-Leninism.

It was the Trotskyists who collaborated with the Titoists in the Spanish Civil War, in the Yugoslav partisan struggle under the guidance of British intelligence, in the struggle against the Soviet Union and against the world socialist camp - and today in the struggle against the construction of a Stalinist-Hoxhaist world camp.

The Trotskyists praise Tito's "anti-Stalinism" and at the same time criticise Tito's nationalism. Above all, the Trotskyists criticise Tito for not having made an open break with Stalinism earlier, thus not overcoming the "Stalinist remnants". But in essence, Titoists and Trotskyists remain united in the struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism to this day. Just as Tito was then a splitter of the world socialist camp, the Trotskyists continue to be splitters of the world communist movement.

Titoism and Trotskyism are closely related branches of the imperialist ideology to split and decompose the proletarian ideology in order to adapt to the ideology of the bourgeoisie.

We Stalinists-Hoxhaists lead the struggle against both Trotskyism and Titoism on the ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. When the neo-revisionists call us "Trotskyists", they do so in the service of counterrevolution, they make themselves accomplices of world imperialism, they are enemies of world socialist revolution, world socialism and world communism.

With the liquidation of the Cominform, the world socialist camp was liquidated and with it the whole world communist movement. But through the operation of the dialectical principle of negation of negation, the Marxist-Leninist World Movement with the Party of Labour of Albania at its head developed in the struggle against the betrayal of the modern revisionists against the Cominform and the world socialist camp. And from the neo-revisionist betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement led by the Party of Labour of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement led by the Comintern (SH) developed.

Who were the enemies of the Cominform ?

The enemies of the Cominform were enemies of the international Stalin front.

They were enemies of the international doctrine of world proletarian organisation.

They were enemies of the international doctrine of world proletarian ideology.

They were enemies of the international doctrine of the world communist movement.

Without Stalinism, there would have been no Cominform.

And without Cominform there would be no leadership of the world socialist camp, which would perish without leadership.

This interrelation corresponds to the dialectical unity of ideology, organisation and movement.

Without the development of proletarian ideology there is no development of proletarian world organisation.

And without proletarian world organisation there is no development of the communist world movement.

1. Stalinism-Hoxhaism illuminates the road to world socialist revolution.

2. the Comintern (SH) shows the way to the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement to mobilise the masses to lead them to the world socialist revolution.

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement is treading the path of the world socialist revolution as the conscious revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and its allied

classes.

## 1

### **What determines the development of the world proletarian organisation?**

The development of the world proletarian organisation as the highest form of organisation of the world proletariat is determined by how far it succeeds in raising the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement to the highest level of development of proletarian ideology in order to enable the world proletariat in the class struggle to bring about the victory of the world socialist revolution. The Comintern (SH) is the captain of the proletarian ship which it steers safely into the harbour of world socialism with the help of the compass of the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

## 2

### **What determines the development of proletarian ideology ?**

The development of proletarian ideology is determined by the degree of its conformity with the objective development of class society and the class struggle objectively going on in it in general, and by the degree of conformity of the development of the world proletarian organisation with the development of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement in particular. It is the proletarian world organisation that drives the development of the proletarian ideology and with it constantly expands and deepens the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement. In the initial period, the bourgeois intelligentsia had elaborated scientific socialism. In contrast, today scientific socialism is being further developed under the leadership of the Comintern (SH). It is quite in accordance with the laws of dialectical materialism that bringing socialism to the working class must in turn enable the working class to master and develop socialist science without and against the bourgeois intelligentsia, as the working class in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and the working class in socialist Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha have so impressively and convincingly demonstrated. The world proletariat is the carrier of the proletarian ideology and determines its development itself, not spontaneously, but through the Comintern (SH). The carrier of the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism today is the Comintern (SH). Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the compass of the ship with which the world proletariat reaches the shore of world socialism.

### **What determines the development of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement ?**

The development of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is generally determined by how far it succeeds in giving a Stalinist-Hoxhaist character to the class struggle of the workers' movement. In particular, the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is determined by the degree to which the development of proletarian ideology coincides with the development of the Communist International, which sets the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement in motion and directs it in the right direction. By means of the proletarian world organisation, the proletarian ideology is not adapted to the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement, but vice versa. The consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is adapted to the more developed proletarian ideology by means of the proletarian world organisation. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement is the decisive force that propels the ship of the world proletariat to enter the port of world socialism.

\* \* \*

### **Stalin defined the Information Bureau as the "base of the united international front."**

What did Stalin mean by this ?

Stalinism teaches that the Cominform was the organisational form of the political-ideological superstructure of the economic base of the world socialist camp. Under the leadership of Stalin's Soviet Union, the Cominform was at the head of that international front which was hostile (and not peaceful!) to the imperialist camp in the post-war period. The Cominform under Stalin's leadership was destined to create a basis for an international anti-imperialist front with the aim of smashing the imperialist world camp, which can never be and will never be eliminated without revolutionary violence, i.e. by peaceful means. The victory of the world socialist camp over the world imperialist camp means the end of the age of world capitalism and thus the beginning of the transition to world socialism, which will be built on the ruins of world imperialism. Under the conditions prevailing at the time, the world socialist camp was the extension of the already existing world revolutionary lever formed by Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union. In the view of the Comintern (SH), Stalin's Cominform was a great victory of the world socialist revolution because, by extending the already existing lever, it got new impetus and more leverage to "unhinge(l)" the world imperialist camp.

Stalinism teaches:

The more we succeed in lengthening the lever of the world socialist revolution, the more we thereby increase its leverage.

This is the Comintern's (SH) definition of the essence of the Cominform and its international significance as an extended lever of the world socialist revolution.

Today - without a world socialist camp - the Comintern (SH) is the only basis and lever of the world socialist revolution. According to the teachings of Stalinism, the leverage of the Comintern (SH) is increasing through the extension of its arms, and especially through the creation of new sections. It is above all the sections that are currently the extended arms of the Comintern (SH) - in more and more countries. The lesson of the creation of the Cominform, applied to today's conditions, is the lesson of strengthening the Comintern (SH) through the creation of new sections.

The Cominform teaches that the world socialist camp cannot be built without a leading common and democratic-centralised class organisation.

Without a communist world movement there is no world organisation and vice versa, the communist world movement cannot develop further without its world organisation.

The proletarian International has never gone down and will never go down. It is and remains the guiding force in the entire history of the development of the communist world movement up to the time of world communism.

Its importance has grown steadily despite the setbacks - starting from the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, to the First and Second Internationals, from the Comintern to the Cominform, to the Comintern (SH).

The doctrine of the indispensability of the continuation and further development of the leading role of the proletarian International in the transition to world socialism and world communism is one of the most important doctrines of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The Cominform is the organisational form for leading the world socialist camp and thus forms a certain stage of development of the organisational form of leadership in the history of the world communist movement. With every further development of the communist world movement, the organisational form of its leadership also developed further - and vice versa.

If we trace the origins of the international forms of organisation of the proletariat, it is generally accepted that the Communist Manifesto played a key role in this. It was first the programme of the Communist League in Germany and later became the programmatic guide of every Marxist movement in the world. The truth is that the Communist Manifesto

could not be applied in practice other than through the leadership of the communists, who were initially the driving force in the existing proletarian parties. With the founding of the First International, the Communist Manifesto became the programmatic basis of the world communist movement and has remained so to this day. Thus, no communist today can doubt that the Communist Manifesto could not be anything other than the most original and general basis of the Cominform, which is of course denied by the bourgeois-revisionist historians and their neo-revisionist followers.

The Communist Manifesto states that the communists "in the various national struggles of the proletarians emphasise and bring to bear the common interests of the whole proletariat, independent of nationality, on the other hand, by always representing the interest of the whole movement in the various stages of development through which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie passes."

How did Stalin apply the Communist Manifesto with the method of historical and dialectical materialism to the conditions of the post-war period more unsurpassed than anyone else ?

At that time, the proletarians in the countries liberated from Hitler's fascism. conducted their struggle for the construction of socialism within the given national framework, but in its significance a work that reached far beyond the national framework. After the deep shocks of war and all its millions of victims, this was a heroic work of world historical significance. It is high time that we finally pay due tribute to the magnificent efforts of the working class and the poor peasants in building the world socialist camp. They prove to us today that the working class and the poor peasants, despite the greatest privations and losses due to the war, were able to muster so infinite strength and enthusiasm that today we are all the more firmly convinced that we ourselves, despite the greatest difficulties, can muster the same proletarian strength and the same enthusiasm of proletarian internationalism to build a new world socialist camp under the leadership of our Stalinist-Hoxhaist Cominform. The working class has proved in Stalin's world socialist camp that they have won all their gains not by the modern revisionists but by their own sweat and blood - and that in spite of the betrayal of the modern revisionists !

Stalin acted in the spirit of the Communist Manifesto when, on the one hand, with the foundation of the Cominform, he emphasised and brought to bear the common interests of the proletariat in the whole socialist camp, independent of the national framework of the construction of socialism. On the other hand, in the various struggles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, that is, both his struggles against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the world socialist camp, Stalin always represented the interests of the



entire world proletariat and the world communist movement.

No one else could solve this greatest task in the history of communism as brilliantly as the great Stalin, the true leader of the world proletariat, the world socialist revolution and the socialist camp !

And what did the editor-in-chief of Kominform, the "red professor" Judin, write in the Kominform organ on the 100th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto ? The following quotation needs no comment. In it the antagonistic contradiction between the Stalinist and revisionist conceptions of the Communist Manifesto is more than clear:

"The concrete embodiment of Marxism's ideas about the unity of the working class with the majority of working people can be seen today in the new democracies. This idea of the united front was consistently developed in Yugoslavia [!!!]." (February 1948 issue of the Cominform organ.

- Only 4 months [!!] later the same Judin condemns Titoism in the Yugoslavia resolution of the Kominform! An opportunism not to be surpassed! A document of self-exposure of the modern revisionists. A document of the betrayal of the modern revisionists of comrade Stalin's Cominform !

The Cominform failed not because of Stalin's correct line, but because of the modern revisionists who steered the Cominform into revisionist waters in order to sink it to the bottom of the sea.

The lessons about the Cominform, about building and defending the world socialist camp in the struggle against modern revisionism - these are important lessons of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, which are fundamental for the building of the future world revolutionary camp or its transformation into the World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Let us raise the banner of Stalin's Cominform and cleanse it with Hoxhaism from the rust of the modern revisionists.

With the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, let us remove the fresh "red" paint with which the neo-revisionists whitewash the modern revisionists' betrayal of Stalin's Cominform!

Forward with the world socialist revolution !

Long live the newly emerging world socialist camp !

Let us crown it by the establishment of the World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics - on the ruins of the shattered imperialist world camp !

Long live the dictatorship of the world proletariat !

Forward on the road to world socialism and world communism !

Long live the Comintern (SH) and the sections as its extended arms of the world socialist revolution in all countries of the world !

Long live Stalinism-Hoxhaism !

LONG LIVE THE STALINIST-HOXHAIST COMINFORM !

Once we have led the socialist revolution to victory with our sections in several countries, we will create the new Cominform (SH) there as a federation of all victorious sections, which will lead the new world socialist camp.

The Comintern (SH) will always remain the leading world party, which will then also create another Cominform as a union of the sections of all countries where the socialist revolution has not yet won.

This will then be two parallel Cominform led by the Comintern (SH).

With the support of the two Cominform ...

(one Cominform within the new world socialist camp and the other Cominform within the old world imperialist camp).

... the Comintern (SH) will then lead the entire world proletariat to the victory of the world socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

## **The Declaration of the Moscow Conferences of the Communist World Movement in the years from 1957 to 1960**

The 1957 Declaration was undoubtedly a purely revisionist statement in regard of “peaceful transition to socialism” - namely the renouncement of the revolutionary violence

and consequently abandonment of the armed dictatorship of the proletariat. The Declaration of 1957 was heavily influenced by the revisionist XX Congress of the "C"PSU (1956). And every Marxist-Leninist knows that the XX "C"PSU Congress had abandoned the path of Marxism-Leninism and had embraced the path of capitalist restoration and social-imperialist policy. The Declaration of 1957 dropped completely the unavoidability of the violent socialist revolution - thus one of the indispensable pillars of the proletarian ideology.

Khrushchev's kneeling before Tito was an open violation against the decisions of the Cominform - namely to unite the Communist World Movement against Yugoslav revisionism in first line. This betrayal happened already in 1955, thus during a time when the decision of the Cominform on Yugoslavia was still in force. This proves that - since the death of comrade Stalin - the Cominform degenerated obviously into an instrument of the Soviet revisionists - directed against the Communist World Movement. The PLA was the only communist party all over the world which struggled resolutely against this betrayal. That's why the Comintern (SH) states:

The PLA was the most courageous force which defended the Stalinist spirit of the Cominform particularly after the death of comrade Stalin, and this, although the PLA was at no time admitted as member of the Cominform. From all these facts of revisionist betrayal at the Cominform we can draw our conclusions, both in regard of

- (a) the weakened Communist World Movement, and
- (b) of cherishing reasonable hopes for regaining strength of the movement by the initiative of comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the 50ies began the process of the formation of the world camp of the modern revisionists against the Communist World Movement with the goal to organize its disintegration. For this purpose the Soviet revisionists misused the traditional leading position of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and caused distrust among the communists all over the world. The true communists observed this revisionist development with growing distancing - up to the point as disappointment turned into suspicion and defensive stance. A process of detachment from the Soviet-revisionist leaders was unavoidably. And with the beginning of the 60ies the process of separation turned into an active process of open confrontation and the Communist World Movement found its own way by its self-actualization and strenghtening in the course of its struggle against the world camp of the modern revisionists. At first, Albania became the most consequent defender in Stalin's struggle against Titoism and then the PLA, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the top, defended the whole Communist World against the revisionist world. The result was the split of the Communist world movement into the camp of the modern revisionists and the camp of the Marxist-Leninists.

Only four years later, after Krushchev had high-handed dissolved the Cominform in 1956, the PLA took over the lead of the Communist World Movement by defending its Marxist-Leninist principles. The Comintern (SH) considers particularly the Speech of comrade Enver Hoxha on the Conference in Moscow, which took place in 1960, as the beginning of the historical period of the anti-revisionist, Marxist-Leninist World Movement under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha. This great period of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement ended after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha. It was liquidated by the neo-revisionist traitors within Albania and within the Hoxhaist Parties all over the World (since 1992 affiliated in the CIPOML).

In his speech, delivered at the Conference of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha made an all-round analysis of the main problems that were concerning the international communist movement and firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism. This speech is one of the most important phases of the principled fight which the Party of Labor of Albania has waged to expose modern

revisionism. The battle the Party of Labor of Albania has waged against the revisionist views of the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership began immediately after the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although this battle was not waged directly and openly at the beginning, the Party of Labor of Albania had made known all its reservations and objections to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Party of Labor of Albania tried in every way to avoid publicising its differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lest that would put weapons into the hands of the enemies of communism. On the other hand, it was not yet cognizant of Khrushchev's real intentions, therefore it tried to settle the differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit. While maintaining a principled stand, it strove and hoped to make the Soviet leaders realize their mistakes and take the right path. The real treacherous features of the Soviet revisionists became more and more evident to the Party of Labor of Albania. The more their treachery was revealed, the harsher and more irreconcilable became the battle the Party of Labor of Albania waged against Khrushchevite revisionism in order to expose and crush it completely.

At the June 1960 Bucharest meeting the Party of Labor of Albania came out in the open in defense of Marxist-Leninist principles and cried "Halt!" to the Khrushchevite revisionists who attempted to hatch up a dangerous plot against the entire international communist movement. After the Bucharest meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders launched a savage attack against the Party of Labor of Albania in order to force it into line with them and their deeds. Under these conditions, the Party of Labor of Albania became more thoroughly convinced that its principled stand on all the basic issues of the international communist movement should be maintained with the utmost courage and determination. It did this at the 1960 November Conference in Moscow.

In his speech at the Conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha, openly, frankly and with Marxist-Leninist courage, submitted the principled views of the Party of Labor of Albania on the main issues of the international communist movement about which differences had arisen and sharply criticized N. Khrushchev's revisionist group, both for its erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions as well as for its brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labor of Albania and the savage attacks it had launched against it.

The Party of Labor of Albania launched this absolutely principled criticism against the Soviet leaders in order to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, because unity cannot be preserved without exposing faults and alien manifestations, without condemning them forthrightly and without correcting them on Marxist-Leninist lines.

At the Moscow meeting, the Khrushchevites did their utmost to refute the criticism against their revisionist views and divisive acts. Their attempt was in vain. The Khrushchevite revisionists were obliged to back down. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech was a major contribution to the successful outcome of the Moscow Conference. Included in the Declaration were certain incorrect conclusions and erroneous theses. On these assessments and theses, the Party of Labor of Albania entertained quite contrary views which it had also expressed openly at the Conference. The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania signed the Declaration considering its content correct in general. While making concessions on partial matters for the sake of unity, the Party of Labor of Albania made no concessions whatsoever on the main issues which were connected with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labor of Albania was of the opinion that unity in the international communist movement could be established if every party carried out the Declaration in good faith, and that the differences could be settled only by observing the norms governing the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties without making public these differences to the enemies of socialism. This is why the Party of Labor of Albania refrained from publishing Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference at that time, but

persisted in carrying out the Declaration which was approved there.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference clearly shows that from that time onward, the Party of Labor of Albania would wage an open battle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Nevertheless, this battle had not yet assumed that breadth and depth which it assumed later as a logical consequence of the embitterment of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and of the degeneration of the Soviet revisionist leaders into a gang of renegades from and traitors to socialism. (Excerpt of the introduction to the historical speech of comrade Enver Hoxha which was published in 1971)

Of course, we defend the condemnation of Tito-revisionism which was subject of the Moscow Declaration. However we can not ignore the fact that in practice, the majority within the Communist World Movement had already begun to tread the path of reconciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists. Otherwise the Communist World Movement could have never condoned the dissolution of the Cominform, including all its important and indispensable decisions against the Yugoslav revisionism.

The Comintern (SH) points to the historical fact that the Moscow Declarations were created AFTER the revisionist XX Congress of the CPSU, and that the revisionist ideology was already (both hiddenly and openly) introduced in the Moscow Declarations. The Moscow Declarations concealed the merits of Stalinism and the name of comrade Stalin was not even mentioned.

We only take another single example to prove the revisionist trend:

The Moscow Declaration of 1960 stated: *"The possibilities of restoration of capitalism is **eliminated** both in the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries"*. This was total revisionism. Thus, the simultaneously declared so called *"struggle against the main danger of revisionism within the communist world movement"* was nothing more than a lip service and a deceptive maneuver to distract from the revisionist content of the Moscow Declaration. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) declares expressively that the historical Moscow Declarations can not be considered as the today's guide-line of the Communist World Movement because it was an eclectic mixture of Marxist-Leninist principles and revisionist betrayal.

In contrast, the Comintern (SH) considers the program (1928) of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin still as the major guideline of the general line of the Comintern (SH) because it is directly geared to the world socialist revolution, to the dictatorship of the world proletariat, to the socialist world republic, to world socialism and world communism and, last not least, the approval of the indispensable role of the Comintern in itself. The Comintern program can therefore not be replaced by the general line of the Moscow Declarations, which had abandoned the main goals of the Comintern program. The Moscow Declaration did not waste one word on the necessity of the reconstruction of the Comintern. Also the dissolution of the Cominform was not at all worth to be mentioned. As the successor of the Comintern, we criticize the Moscow Declaration mainly because it totally ignored the crucial significance of the global Bolshevik organisation of the world proletariat.

Regarding the main danger in the international communist movement, our general policy is ultimately subjected to historical changes of the international class struggle. Therefore the Comintern program had to be modified. Thus, it was totally correct that comrade Enver Hoxha declared the modern revisionism to be the new main danger in the international communist movement (and not any more the social democratism which was the main danger in the time of the Comintern).

Today's revisionism can only survive by shedding its skin - thus when it no longer hides behind the 4 Classics, as previously, but behind the mask of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism ! Disguised "Hoxhaism" is the main danger within the current communist world

movement, and its demasking is the priority assignment.

.The dialectic of the history of the world communist movement indicates that the theoretical victory of Stalinism-Hoxhaism will force the neo-revisionists, to penetrate into the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement - namely for the purpose of its liquidation.

Is the modern revisionism still the main danger in the Communist Movement ? We say: not any more.

In the course of our struggle against modern revisionism, in the course of the decaying revisionist countries, the danger of the neo-revisionism has emerged. Who caused the collapse of the Marxist-Leninist world movement ? The modern revisionists or the neo-revisionists ? The neo- revisionists ! ( albeit more or less support by some "leftist" elements of the remainders of the modern revisionists). And today, mainly the neo-revisionists struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism within the Communist World Movement. All this is reason enough to modify the previous definition when modern revisionism was the main danger. The general-line of the Comintern (SH) defines neo-revisionism as the main danger within the international communist movement of today.

And how do we Stalinist - Hoxhaists define the historical development of the main danger in the international communist movement?

(1) The battle of the First International under the leadership of Marx and Engels against anarchism,

(2) the battle against reformism of the Second International - first led by Engels and then continued under the leadership of Lenin, the battle of the Communist International against the Social Democratism ( more precisely: in the mean time mainly "left"-opportunism in the period before the main struggle against the right danger had begun) under the leadership first of Lenin and then of Stalin,

(3) the battle of the Cominform against modern revisionism under the leadership of Stalin continued by the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist world movement under the leadership of Enver Hoxha,

(4) and finally the battle of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement against neo-revisionism under the leadership of the Comintern (SH);

- These are the historical stages of the battles against the main danger within the international communist movement. Hence the change of the general-line against the respective chief danger of the agency in the world bourgeoisie within the communist movement.

1. The *character* of the main danger of the bourgeois influence within the world communist movement, therefore, is to adapt any further development of the ideology of the proletariat back to the bourgeois ideology. Our blow against the main danger must therefore always be redefined once the Marxism has adapted its line to fundamental changes in the development of class struggle against capitalism. Thus the world bourgeoisie is always forced to combat Marxism-Leninism on the formal ground of "Marxism-Leninism" - that is: always and in principle to fight Marxism-Leninism with the *most advanced weapons of Marxism-Leninism.*

2. The *tactics* of the main danger of the bourgeoisie within the communist movement is to force a false general-line on us, or even to maintain the unmodified general-line, although its modification has become inevitable. In general, the main threat is always provoked through such a deviation, by which the world bourgeoisie crusades against our general-line, namely to adapt it on the most successful way to the bourgeois ideology. With other words: the agencies of the bourgeoisie prefer precisely the mask which is most difficult to be unmasked.

For the transition from the flood of world socialist revolution until its ebb, during the phase of regeneration of the international class struggle and before the revolutionary crisis, the world bourgeoisie preferred mainly the Right opportunism ("Sensing the crisis and fearing it, the Right-wing elements are raising their head and trying to drag the Party back" -

Stalin: Speech Delivered at the French Commission of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. ; March 6, 1926, Works, Volume 8, page 95, German edition, KPD/ML 1971).

And vice versa: at the peak of the world socialist revolution, ie, in the phase of the raging international class struggle, the agency of the world bourgeoisie prefers mainly the "Left" opportunism (see upswing of world socialist revolution in the initial period of the Comintern).

The interchange of the most dangerous agency of the bourgeoisie within the communist world movement is facilitated - respectively implemented - with the help of centrism.

The general line of the international communist party is always particularly vulnerable for the adaption to the bourgeois ideology if it reacts on the interchange of main danger either too late or too early. It is then fatal if this interchange of the main danger remains unnoticed and thus the general-line unadjusted. The correct or false definition of the main danger in a given situation of international class struggle decides unavoidably over the victory or defeat of the communist world movement. Therefore Stalin taught us : The most dangerous agency of the bourgeoisie within the revolutionary proletarian world movement is always the one which had been ignored, overestimated or underestimated.

The Bucharest Meeting which was followed by the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow meant the definitive separation between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchev revisionists and the beginning of the open polemics between them. While the Party of Labour of Albania fought against Khrushchev revisionism principled, resolutely and courageously, the Chinese leadership, in contrast, showed waverings as against the Khrushchevites.

The Chinese revisionists took up a conciliatory stance and withdrew their polemics because they were convinced that all revisionists should be integrated into the anti-imperialist world camp. The Chinese have, in fact, developed their centrist course of reconciliation on the basis of the Declarations of 1957 and 1960, namely for the purpose to prepare the changing of the guard at the top of the Communist World Movement. So this was a haggling with Marxist-Leninist principles in the power struggle between the two major social-imperialist camps for supremacy in the world communist movement in general, and in particular for the influence on the only socialist country - Albania - that took over the leadership position in defense of Stalin and the communist movement. The Chinese revisionists were caught between a rock and a hard place, between the position of the modern revisionists, led by the Soviet revisionists, and the Marxist-Leninist position of Albania. After the replacement of Khrushchev and with the beginning of the Brezhnev era, the Chinese tried to stop their "polemics", whereas, in 1956, Mao had openly defended Khrushchev's condemnation of comrade Stalin. And while Enver Hoxha and the PLA began to liberate the world communist movement from the dominating influence of the Soviet revisionism on the Moscow conference in 1960, Maoism entered the world stage for the purpose to rescue modern revisionism on behalf of world imperialism. This was the reason why the Chinese revisionists worked out a new revisionist general-line.

*"Only after the dissolution of the Comintern we enjoyed more freedom."*

(Mao Zedong)

## **Critique of the Comintern (SH) at the Chinese, so-called**

### ***"Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" [1963]***

This Chinese revisionist "Polemics" served to subjugate the communist movement of the auspices of Maoism. So far, the world communist movement was in the claws of the Soviet revisionists, and the Chinese revisionists were determined to get it in the own claws. This was not possible without the guise of fighting "against Soviet revisionism". The Chinese revisionists availed themselves preferably of the Marxist-Leninist criticism of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA. The "Polemics" is thus not - as it claims - a general line of the international communist movement, but a general line of Maoism to misuse the world communist movement for the interests of the social-imperialist world domination of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

This "Polemics" was especially an attack against the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. Dimitrov was not the only one who had trampled the old decisions of the Comintern under foot. Thus, Mao also defied the general-line of the Comintern and refused to implement the correct policies of the Comintern in his own country. Mao sabotaged the Comintern. Mao never followed the path of proletarian internationalism, but served the imperialist aspirations of the Chinese bourgeoisie. In 1931 Wang Ming was sent to China to lead the struggle against Mao's rightist opportunism. It was Wang Ming, who represented the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Comintern. He was the deputy secretary general of the Comintern. Wang Ming was the first Stalinist Chinese comrade, who debunked Mao Tse Tung's theory of the "encircling the cities by the village". Before 1935, Wang Ming was some years leader of the Communist Party of China, a courageous opponent of Maoism. Mao put Wang Ming away by means of accusations of "dogmatism" and the Comintern-line was replaced by the bourgeois line of Mao Zedong. Mao fought against the Leninist-Stalinist course Wang Ming as "foreign dogmatism" and treated him as a "puppet of Moscow in China." (Wang Ming came later under revisionist influence, so we have to criticize this).

Like all other revisionists, Mao praised Dimitrov and denounced Stalin in the same breath. Mao said:

"The line of Wang Ming was in fact the line of Stalin. The Comintern made countless mistakes in the past. The early and late phase of the Comintern was quite ok, but the mean phase was not as good [ of course, Mao had the Stalinist phase in mind - remark of the Comintern (SH)]. When Lenin was still alive, and the Comintern was fine when Georgi Dimitrov was responsible. The first Wang Ming line dominated our party for four years and the Chinese Revolution suffered the greatest losses. Only after the dissolution of the Comintern we enjoyed more freedom. There are two types of Chinese: one is a dogmatist, who fully accepts the line of Stalin , and the other is against dogmatism and therefore the one who refuses to follow Stalin's instructions. The Comintern has never practiced self-criticism because of this error. "(Mao Tsetung, from the protocols of his conversation with a Yugoslav delegation in Beijing, September 1956).

*"The Chinese revolution won victories so because it defied the will of Stalin"* (Mao, March 1958; "Debate of March 10," Selected Works).

It is necessary to underline and defend the determined criticism of Stalin which he had written in a letter to Molotov on July 9, 1927. Stalin wrote in this letter:

"... unfortunately we don't have a real or, if you like, an actual Communist Party in



China. . . . What is the current Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)? Nothing but an 'amalgamation' of general phrases gathered here and there, not linked to one another with any line or guiding idea. I don't want to be very demanding toward the Central Committee of the CCP. I know that one can't be too demanding toward it. But here is a simple demand: fulfil the directives of the Comintern. Has it fulfilled these directives? No.

There is not a single Marxist mind in the Central Committee capable of understanding . . . the social underpinning of the events now occurring. . . . The CCP sometimes babbles about the hegemony of the proletariat.

But . . . the CCP does not have a clue (literally, not a clue) about hegemony.

That's the reason why the Comintern's directives are not fulfilled.

That is why I now believe the question of the Party is the main question of the Chinese revolution".

(Josef V. Stalin: Letter to Molotov on July 9, 1927 , in *ibid* , pp. 140f ) .

In the "Polemics" (1963), the Chinese revisionists had not withdrawn their hostile attitude to the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. On the contrary. In the "Polemics" (1963) the appraisal of the significance of the Comintern is completely missing, and no single thought was wasted about the necessity of a re-foundation of the Comintern.

We condemn Mao not only because he was active at the time of the Comintern as a splitter of the communist world movement, but also as splitter of the Marxist-Leninist world movement at the time of Comrade Enver Hoxha, namely as a splitter in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Mao continued his anti-Marxist-Leninist way steadily. He did not only inflict damage on the matter of the world revolution, but also the Chinese revolution, which he pretended to "protect" against alleged "sectarianism" and against the "dogmatism" - thus Stalinism. Mao did not stop at physical destruction of Marxist-Leninist leaders of the Communist Party of China. It is said that Mao had also tried to poison Wang Ming - the deputy secretary of the Comintern !! Others sided with the Maoist camp under his massive pressure. (Wang Ming - later on - "criticized" Maoism on the basis of Soviet revisionism and not on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.)

It can not be regarded as a coincidence that the crystallization of the "Mao Zedong Ideas" as a new branch of revisionism began even before the World War II. In 1935, his struggle against "dogmatism" and "sectarianism" started simultaneously (!) with that of the VII World Congress of the Comintern. The only difference was that the VII World Congress waged the struggle hiddenly while Mao openly confessed that he waged his struggle against Stalinism. Mao, in 1935, secured its leading power in the Communist Party of China, namely in the same year, as the VII World Congress had enforced the power of the rightist leaders.

The rightist development of the Chinese Section of the Comintern was not an isolated case but similar phenomena happened in all the other Sections. This rightist influence of the VII World Congress spread all over the whole Communist World Movement, lasting until today. Dimitrov's line and Mao's line were exactly on the same wavelength. As long as the Comintern had followed the line of Stalin, it hindered Mao's bourgeois line. But thanks to Dimitrov's line of pacts with the bourgeoisie, the Maoism was strengthened.

With the dissolution of the Comintern Dimitrov paved the way for the emergence of various revisionist ideologies, not only for the Mao Zedong Ideas , but also for the Khrushchevism, Titoism, Euro-communism, etc., etc. And this manifold anti-Stalinist trend is also reflected in the "Polemics". It should not be surprising that the idea of the communist International was buried in the "Polemics".

Observing the different revisionist camps (such the international interconnections of the

Belgian Labour Party, the organisations which signed jointly the "Pjöngyang Declaration", and also the "Quito Declaration, the international supporters of the social-fascists in Cuba)", etc., etc., we register all the futile attempts to save the rotten national branches of revisionism through their eclectic "globalization" after they have already ruined their own country.

The so-called "national Marxism" is anti-Marxism, is bourgeois "Marxism", which is in antagonistic contradiction to the internationalist, proletarian Marxism. A global mixture of all revisionist ideas can therefore never replace the monolithic world-proletarian ideology. There is the only unity among all varieties of national "Marxisms", namely, the unity in the fight against the internationalist Marxism. But this "unit" is doomed to failure, because the internationalist Marxism is invincible! This has proven the history over and over again. Of course, nothing can be found in China's "general line" about the necessity and inevitability of the socialist world revolution and even less under the leadership of the Communist International.

With the XX. Congress of the CPSU, thus with Khrushchev's *"possibility of different paths to socialism"*, the Chinese revisionists were essentially in accordance with the Khrushchevites and consequently also against the Comintern and its reconstruction. They agreed in all, to betray the line of Stalin, the path to communism. They were only in disagreement on the distribution of their power. To topple the Soviet revisionists from their pedestal, the Chinese disguised their own revisionism behind the anti-revisionism in general and behind the struggle against Soviet revisionism in particular.

Anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deeds - that is the physiognomy of Maoism. The more openly Khrushchev betrayed communism, the more resistance was produced, and the easier Mao could replace the Soviet revisionism through Chinese revisionism. The Chinese leaders tried to collect and organize all Anti-Khrushchevites to mislead the anti-revisionist forces all over the world. The atmosphere of change in the end of the 60's and beginning 70's determined not only the new Marxist-Leninist movement in many countries but also all strata during the globally upcoming crises of the capitalist society. In this atmosphere of revolutionary changes - in alleged "demarcation" to the new capitalist-revisionist world camp, Mao played the role of the new "leader of the world revolution" for the purpose to deceive, paralyze, split and liquidate the Communist World Movement which was not in the service of the world proletariat but in the service of the world bourgeoisie. The period of criticism at modern revisionism was an excellent alibi to criticize correct Marxist-Leninist principles as putative "revisionist" positions (primarily criticism of the "left" opportunists). All this served to the tactics of the international counter-revolutionary ideologues to create "revolutionary alternatives" of modern revisionism. This was the ideological breeding grounds for molting a new revisionism (neo-revisionism) under the guise of alleged "anti-revisionism". And for this purpose the Chinese revisionists delivered promptly the "revolutionary alternative" by means of their *"Polemics"* (1963) - as the bait was called.

Logically, the rocksteady Stalinist Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head was a thorn in the Chinese side. For tactical reasons the Chinese Cliques feigned a concordant Marxist-Leninist line for the purpose to deceive Albania and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. Once the Marxist-Leninist World Movement was ripe enough for the splitting, the Chinese revisionists prepared their coming into power and the elimination of the Albanians. The Chinese leaders considered the year 1978 as the best time to attack Albania from behind. Now, comrade Enver Hoxha started the open criticism against Maoism, especially against the so-called "Theory of the 3 Worlds" - for the defense of the whole Marxist-Leninist World Movement. By the way, the seed of the so-called "Theory of the Three Worlds" was already planted in the "Polemics" (1963).

Finally the influence of the "Polemics" was pushed back, but not completely destroyed. A comprehensive criticism at the "Polemics", worked out on solid ground of Stalinism-

Hoxhaism, was not yet published. The criticism of the Comintern (SH) at the "Polemics" is therefore overdue for the longest time. Maoism is thus still a dangerous ideology of bourgeois influence within the Marxist-Leninist world movement. Therefore, it is the task of the Comintern (SH), to struggle against the revisionist "Polemics" as an important contribution to the anti-Maoist struggle of comrade Enver Hoxha - namely until this international disguised revisionism is finally destroyed.

Revisionism survived with its ability to "retransform itself" by replacing its old "Marxist-Leninist" mask of the "four heads" through a new one, including the mask of "Hoxhaism" (neo-revisionism). At the international level this happened unavoidably after the Soviet revisionism had lost its international leadership. A new revisionist ideology had to be installed, to maintain the international influence of revisionism, thus more suitable to paralyze the advanced development of the Communist World Movement. And the growing influence of Maoism appeared in the form of the apposition of the portrait of Mao in the rank of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism. This demonstrates the dangerous influence of Maoism in the initial phase of the development of the new Marxist-Leninist parties in many countries of the world. This molting of revisionism succeeded mainly in the form of Maoism. And the struggle for the elimination of the Mao portrait and its exchange through the portrait of comrade Enver Hoxha (as the only genuine 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism) reflects the essence of the further development of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement towards our new Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement.

If we look at the leading influence of Maoism and other revisionist international influences (eg, in Russia today), it is clear that the Soviet revisionism, even if it was already eliminated as a leading international center, was revived by means of Maoism. The restoration of Soviet revisionism is thus realized by the process of its molting (revival of Bolshevism in words and restoration of Soviet revisionism in deeds (this time hidden behind Stalinism)). Such groupings like that around Nina Andrejewna [AUCPB - "All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks"] and all the other neo-revisionist groupings appeared on the Russian stage exactly after the collapse of the REVISIONIST Soviet Union - for preparing the restoration of Soviet revisionism and Soviet social imperialism. And as in Russia, Maoism proved to be able to resurrect revisionism globally.

As comrade Enver Hoxha said:

"The Chinese leadership has become a standard-bearer of right opportunism, revisionism." (Enver Hoxha: *"Imperialism and Revolution"*, German edition, page 322) After having prepared and paved the way for capitalism, the Albanian revisionism was forced to molt itself again, namely for the purpose to get control over the growing danger of the restoration of socialism. Once capitalism is seriously threatened in Albania, the revisionists must prepare their coming into power to prevent the socialist revolution and the restoration of socialism. To achieve this goal, the Albanian bourgeoisie needs to create her agencies within the growing Albanian communist movement. These bourgeois agencies resort to centrism and reconciliation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism - under the guise of alleged "united defense" of Enver Hoxha. But the Albanian communists can not defend comrade Enver Hoxha "together with" the revisionists, but only in the principled struggle against the revisionist traitors !

Coming back to

### ***"THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"***

Before we come to the content, let's have a simple look at the heading.

General Line of the international communist *movement* is not identical with the general line of the Communist *International*. There are worlds in between !

There is no general-line of the international communist movement which is not worked out by the Communist International. There is no communist movement without its leading communist party. This principle is valid both on a national and international scale.

With the term "movement" the Chinese revisionists - strictly speaking - replace the foundation stone of the Communist International through the old revisionist foundation stone of the renegade Bernstein and moreover that of Confucius: *"The way is the goal."* Derived: *"The international communist movement is everything - the Communist International is nothing!"*

An international communist movement without Communist International, without an international goal without an international program without an international strategy and tactics, is sooner or later, doomed to remain in a persistent vegetative state, to wither away or even to transform itself into a bourgeois movement.

Such a "general line guides" the world communist movement towards revisionism spontaneism, adventurism, circle spirit, nationalism - into every direction but not into the direction of socialist world revolution. The Chinese revisionists represented a conception of communist movement in their "Polemics" that completely contradicts the teachings of the Bolshevik Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

With their "Polemics" the Chinese revisionists tried to take all critics of modern revisionism under the wings of Maoism ( = newly disguised revisionism). But Maoism was by far not the only ideology which crept under the cloak of "anti-revisionism".

The agencies of the world bourgeoisie tried to recapture the anti-revisionist comrades (those who distanced themselves from modern revisionism) and kept them away from Marxism-Leninism by means of hundreds of "leftist" ideologies: namely for the purpose to refill the dangerous gap which was caused by the ideological collapse of the Soviet revisionism.

The result was a fractious world communist movement, which had long suffered from deepest disunity. The weakness of the modern revisionism did not lead automatically to the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, which was now simultaneously confronted with disputes of diverse "left" tendencies, schools, ideological currents and movements.

Several revisionist tendencies turned up within the international communist movement, more or less simultaneously and from all directions. There was a variety of small groups and organizations in many countries, who competed as "the only true Communist" parties against each other. The collapse of modern revisionism caused confusion and disorientation in the world communist movement, making the creation of new genuine Marxist-Leninist parties more difficult, and all the more difficult the refoundation of the Communist International.

The Chinese "Polemics" was originally expression of the struggle for predominance among the leading "communist" parties. Only later, when the class struggle began to globalize, due to the growing world capitalist crises, the "Polemics" then influenced the new Marxist-Leninist movements in almost all countries of the world outside the sphere of influence of the revisionist states.

Our critique about the "Polemics" in detail:

1. Stalin is not protected against the Anti-Stalinists. Stalin is not at all mentioned in the "Polemics". What a shame !

In our view, a general-line which is not based on Stalinism is an anti-Stalinist general-line, thus nothing more than a bourgeois-revisionist line.

2. The Comintern is not at all mentioned in the "Polemics". That's a shame.

Communists can neither talk about the international communist movement nor about a global general-line, without mentioning the indispensable role of the Communist International.

3. The "Polemics" defined both the Moscow Declarations as "the program of the international communist movement." Thus, the Chinese revisionists jettisoned the program of the Comintern - namely without even mentioning it.

4. The "Polemics" deny the hegemony of the world proletariat as the only revolutionary

global class.

5. The "Polemics" propagate the "revolution of the peoples" in place of the socialist proletarian revolution.

6. The "Polemics" ignore the struggle for the dictatorship of the world proletariat.

7. One of the fundamental contradictions (as defined in the Chinese "Polemics"), was the contradiction "between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp." This is false.

However under closer scrutiny, at the time of publication of the "Polemics", thus in 1963, the socialist camp definitely was not existent any more. In 1963 remained only one genuine socialist country and that was socialist Albania. In contrast to Albania, China has never been a socialist country. This means that the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp was no longer part of the other fundamental contradictions in the world. According to the "Polemics", the socialist world revolution could only be realized "stepwise" by the "strengthening of the socialist camp" and not by the whole revolutionary world proletariat. The Chinese revisionists created thus a general-line which included unity with the revisionist countries of the former socialist world camp. In the "Polemics" were those "who violate this unity" with the revisionists condemned to be "splitters". The socialist world revolution cannot be victorious if the world proletariat does not destroy the revisionist world camp. And indeed, the PLA had never amended its own general-line in favour of the Chinese general-line which included the revisionist camp.

8. Enver Hoxha also criticized the Chinese "Polemics" in the following way (concerning the "Three-World-Theory"):

"In the past, the Communist Party of China has also quoted well-known Marxist-Leninist principles and theses in regard to the contradictions. For example, in the known document entitled, '*A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*', published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1963, the Chinese wrote: '*These or those necessary compromises between socialist and imperialist countries do not require that the oppressed peoples and nations also make compromises with imperialism and its stooges*'. And they added: '*Never should anybody under the pretext of peaceful coexistence, demand that the oppressed peoples and nations renounce the revolutionary struggle*'. The Chinese leadership was talking in this way then, because at that time it was the Khrushchevite leadership who wanted the peoples and the communist parties to agree that American imperialism and its chiefs had become peaceful and to submit to the Soviet policy of rapprochement with American imperialism. Now it is the leadership of the Communist Party of China which is preaching to the peoples, the revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the proletariat of the whole world, that they must enter into alliance with the imperialist or capitalist countries, and unite with the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries against Soviet social-imperialism. And the Chinese do not express these ideas in disguised phrases, but openly. Such vacillations and 180 degree turns have nothing to do with the principled Marxist-Leninist policy. They are characteristic of the pragmatic policy followed by all revisionists, who subordinate principles to their bourgeois and imperialist interests" (Enver Hoxha: "*Imperialism and Revolution*", German edition, page 353)

China still has many years after the XX. Congress defended the Soviet Union as a so called "socialist" country. China practiced conciliatory cooperation with other revisionist countries like Yugoslavia, and the Maoists like to suppress this fact today.

The molting process of Maoist centrism was mainly necessary because of the growing Marxist-Leninist world movement under the leadership of Enver Hoxha.

9. In the "Polemics", imperialism is blamed unilaterally for the splitting of the communist movement. But primarily this splitting goes to the account of the revisionist leaders in the Soviet Union and China, whereas imperialism and other revisionist countries, such as Yugoslavia, have undoubtedly made also their contributions to the degeneration of the communist world movement.

10. The necessary lessons of the struggle against social-imperialism and social-fascism are missing in the "Polemics". It is therefore no surprise that China became a social-fascist state and a social-imperialist super power.

The Chinese centrism was the only means to create the necessary demarcation between Marxism-Leninism (represented by Stalin and later on by Albania) on the one hand, and the foreign revisionist currents on the other hand ( within the camp of the Soviet revisionists). The goal of social-imperialist world domination could only be implemented by the bourgeois ideology of Maoism.

All those who define the centrism as immanent part of anti-revisionism;

who tolerate revisionism next to Marxism-Leninism;

who reconcile both these ideologies of antagonistic classes;

who shake hands both with the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists;

who hide their own revisionism behind the mask of "anti-revisionism";

- they all can never be genuine anti-revisionists. They are the main danger in the anti-revisionist Communist World Movement. They are all "anti-revisionists" only in words and revisionists in deeds and, consequently, they end up sooner or later as revisionists in the lap of imperialism, thus as enemies of the socialist world revolution.

The "Polemics" talked a lot of hot air, but has indeed protected revisionism by the back door. The "Polemics" merely served as a tactical ploy, but not as a guide-line for real. As it turned out some years later, the "Polemics" - from the beginning - was conceptualized to revoke it to appropriate time. In the end, the "Polemics" led to nothing. Has there ever been any international conferences, meetings, agreements or decisions by the communist world movement ? No single one ! And why not? China has not convened a single international conference because the leaders had not the slightest interest of it.

With the subsequent pulping of the "Polemics" the Chinese wanted to make it appear (after the fall of Khrushchev) that the victory over the modern revisionism would be the "final " victory. The slogan of the "final victory over revisionism," but it is a disservice to the entire bourgeois-revisionist world that will never stop fighting, as long as the Marxism-Leninism exists. This slogan is so dangerous because he actually preaches the capitulation to revisionism. Therefore, the theory of the "final victory over revisionism" must be bitterly fought. This fight is an important part of the general line of the Comintern (SH). As long as the Comintern (SH) exists, it will never capitulate to revisionism - no matter all the masks behind which the revisionists seek shelter.

The way to the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement had not been treaded by the revisionist "Polemics" of the Chinese, but by Comrade Enver Hoxha. In his *"Theses on the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement"* Enver Hoxha deliberately avoided the Chinese concept of "Polemics."

He spoke only of the *"25 points of the CPC."* This explains that Enver Hoxha never approved the Chinese "Polemics" equivalent with the general line of the international communist movement.

### **What were the antitheses of Enver Hoxha about the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement?**

"MONDAY

OCTOBER 10, 1966

THESES ON THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

Following the split, unity is required.

The struggle against modern revisionism cannot be waged without Marxist-Leninist unity.

The 1st and 3rd Internationals.

There are two concepts about unity:

- 1) Revisionist «unity» (with its variants).
- 2) Marxist-Leninist unity.

We must expose the former and consolidate the latter.

Does complete Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action exist in the international Marxist-Leninist movement? Yes and no, but not to the extent and in the way it should, because of the growth of this movement and the lack of experience, because of the isolated positions of each Marxist-Leninist party or revolutionary group, and because there is not complete identity of views on many capital common problems, as well as because of the organized and combined struggle which revisionism and imperialism are waging against Marxism-Leninism.

Hence, it is necessary to find the forms and methods to overcome these obstacles.

The international communist movement must be guided by Marxism-Leninism interpreted and applied correctly in the present general conditions, and in the specific positions of each Marxist-Leninist party or group.

Hence, there is a need for an analysis of the current situation, which cannot be done by one party alone, the view of which would be the guiding light for the others.

It is necessary also to have consultations among Marxist-Leninist parties or groups from which correct guidelines will emerge for the struggle in the overall and specific conditions.

Capital problems which should have a common definition, which tempers unity and boosts the struggle against modern revisionism:

- 1) The definite break with the revisionists requires a special meeting.
- 2) The birth of revisionism, its causes, etc., etc.
- 3) The question of Stalin.
- 4) The stand towards the Soviet Union, in the first place, and the other countries where the revisionists are ruling.
- 5) A more studied stand about more organized political, ideological, technical and material aid to the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, the national liberation struggle, about alliances with the progressive anti-imperialist bourgeoisie, and many other problems of this type of great importance to our common struggle.

All these and other things are known and applied in general, but not in a co-ordinated way. On the question of Stalin and the causes of the birth of revisionism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere there are many ideas which are compatible, but also those which are not. If these things are not cleared up and a more or less identical opinion is achieved, contradictions may arise, and the beginning of the contradiction, a thing which is hindering the strengthening of our unity, exists.

The strategy and tactics of our struggle. The former must be the same for all, the tactics may be different, but must serve the former and be developed for the correct application of Marxism-Leninism.

— Why were the twenty-five points of the Communist Party of China issued and what is their fate?

— The tactics of the People's Republic of China and of the People's Republic of Albania. The tactics of all Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which operate in the opposition or illegality. (...)

The Communist Party of China is avoiding general meetings.

- a) It proposed the meeting of our nine parties. When we accepted, the CP of China cancelled it.
- b) Without holding a meeting, it proposed the creation of an «anti-imperialist front even with the revisionists», and then retracted it.
- c) It holds meetings with other parties, one at a time, which it is entitled to do, and after such meetings these parties come out with statements and articles which defend

everything which China says and does.

d) Now the entire concern of the Communist Party of China is that the Marxist-Leninist communist movement should accept that the ideas of Mao Tsetung lead the world, accept the cult of Mao, the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the entire line of the Communist Party of China with its good points and its mistakes.

All these things pose many threats to unity.

We must be clear and must not be afraid to look the truth in the eye. Even with us, the Chinese comrades have begun to have silent differences, internally, but there is the danger that these differences will be enlarged.

Therefore, we must anticipate events. This we have done and must do. But how are we to explain things openly between our two parties? If these discussions are held on a completely Marxist course, the problems will be solved, otherwise they will get worse; this is how it began with the Soviets and we did not solve anything. They were solved at the Bucharest Meeting and the Moscow Meeting. Things must not reach this point with the Chinese, but it might come to this against our will. Just as the opinions of one party cannot be accepted en bloc, neither can those of two parties be accepted en bloc. All must state their opinion. Therefore, the joint meeting and the taking of joint decisions is important. The meeting will be informed of and study the forms of the work and organization and set tasks for each individual party.

Up till now China has avoided this kind of meetings.

Why?

a) To avoid being accused of seeking hegemony, an opinion which is not correct.

b) Lest we, the others, take a wrong view of its stand about these meetings. (We have demonstrated our internationalism.)

c) It doesn't want partners in its decisions. Such a view and stand is dangerous.

d) It is avoiding this because it still lacks internal unity. Then it should tell us this.

In view of all these things:

Is it right and necessary for us to present this idea in broad outlines at our Congress? I think it is. This is normal, one of the forms of our struggle.

There is no one to oppose the idea in principle; the most they can do is to leave it to melt away from lack of action. But it is they who will be wrong, and not us. In these situations, we cannot hold such meetings without China. China might continue not to want them.

Then it bears the responsibility for this. But even though it is not going to find this idea opportune, since we considered it correct from every aspect, we must put it forward. Let the meeting be held when the conditions are ripe; let the struggle decide its organizational forms, etc. We have fulfilled any obligation to China on this issue once, and again on a second occasion. It is China that has postponed the carrying out of this idea.

I think the problems which I put forward above and others like these are very important at present for strengthening the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement, and cannot be solved apart from joint meetings of the parties. Apparently China does not see it this way and thinks that it is sufficient if we all unanimously approve what is going on in China today, and that our unity is strengthened with this. A further controversy is being added to the others, and judging by the way the Chinese are operating tête-à-tête, we have to envisage that one fine day we might find ourselves isolated from them, although we are on the right road. Therefore, we must foresee all the clanger. What I propose are legal, correct forms."

(Enver Hoxha, »*Reflections on China*«, Vol. I, pages 287 - 292), Tirana 1979, English edition).

The Chinese revisionists were not willing to subordinate neither under the Comintern nor under the international communist movement - namely to serve to the overall revolutionary



interests of the world proletariat. The Maoists bowed only down to the dictates of their own bourgeoisie. According to revisionism in general, and to the "Polemics", in particular, the world proletariat is allegedly not able to create its own internationalist ideology, its own world-party and its own world power. Thus, the Chinese revisionists have most scrupulously avoided the question of the Bolshevik organization of the world proletariat in their "Polemics". They have always denied the leading role of the world party.

The Comintern (SH) and its Sections represent the only correct position of the absolute indispensability of the centralized leadership of the world proletariat by its Bolshevik world-party. We are basically for the Communist International, that leads the world communist movement centralistically. We reject a leaderless, spontaneous, de-centralized world communist movement, as well as a world communist movement, which replaces the Communist International and its Sections through a revisionist "mother party" and its "daughter parties" relationship. We defend the leading role of the CPSU (B) of Lenin and Stalin, as well as the leading role of the PLA with comrade Enver Hoxha at the top. In contrast, we are opponents of the conception of a leading revisionist party and its lackey parties. The concept of "Mother- and Daughter parties" can by no means be equated with the concept of the Communist International and its Sections. We are opponents of every global, national or regional leadership which is not guided by the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

If we acknowledge the leading role of a Bolshevik Section in the own country, then this means simultaneously the acknowledgement of the superordinated world-Bolshevik leadership by the Communist International. That's the whole point! Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of proletarian internationalism, which the Chinese revisionists have always ignored, undermined or even combated.

Those who criticize basically the leading role of the CPSU (B) within the Comintern, those who replace the leading role through a poly-centristic position of "independence, equality" etc.. They are neither Leninists nor Stalinists.

And who denies the leading role of the PLA in the Marxist-Leninist world movement, is not a Hoxhaist. We neither acknowledge the "leading role" of Mao Zedong, nor do we share the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha with Mao Zedong.

The victory of a global revolution without the leadership of the world proletarian party, that is guided solely by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, will never happen. In reality, the "Polemics" was not directed against the Soviet revisionist concept of "Mother-Party / Daughter-Parties" but basically against the concept of the Communist International. On a world scale revisionism can ultimately only be fought victoriously and imperialism will be defeated only if all anti-revisionists of the world unite in the Communist International. It is the experience of the history of the Communist World Movement that imperialism survives only by the destruction of the organized, centralized unification of the proletarians of all countries - namely by the hindrance or destruction of the Communist International.

The isolation of the CPSU (B) from its brother-parties, the isolation of the PLA from its brother-parties - the isolation of the Sections from the Communist International, this was always the strategy and tactics of the international counter-revolution to paralyze the international communist movement.

The world imperialism managed this only with the help of international cooperation with the revisionists. And so it was at first the Yugoslav revisionists, then the Soviet revisionists and finally the Chinese revisionists who tried to lead the PLA astray. Ultimately led the capitalist-revisionist encirclement only through the treachery of the Albanian revisionists after the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha to success.

## **The split of the Communist World Movement in the mid-60s**

it is impossible to bring about the victory of the socialist world revolution and to fulfil the tasks of world socialism, it is impossible to strengthen the internationalist unity of the world proletariat, it is impossible to fulfil its world-historical mission without the complete break with Maoism, without explaining to the masses the inevitability of drawing a principled demarcation-line towards the revisionist Mao Zedong Ideas. We defeated the Soviet revisionism and we shall defeat Chinese revisionism as well. There cannot be any unification between the ideology of the Maoists and Marxism-Leninism! There cannot be any unification between the proletarian and the bourgeois ideology! Down with all currents of reconciliation between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism! So called "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" is neo-revisionism, is anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deeds! Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism - this is definitely the genuine world-proletarian ideology of today. Anything else is bourgeois ideology and has to be defeated. The Comintern (SH) is sticking to the old correct line of the world communist movement: Revisionism was, is and still remains as the main danger in the world communist movement. Essence of revisionism is nothing but bourgeois ideology.

### **The so-called "Sino-Soviet split"**

The so-called "Sino-Soviet split" was neither a split between two socialist countries, nor a split between a revisionist and a socialist country. It was the split of the two leading revisionist countries of the world. It was highest expression of a struggle between the CPSU - who wanted to maintain its dominance in the communist world movement - , and the CP China who wanted to establish its own dominance in the communist world movement - on the costs of the CPSU. According to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the split of true socialist countries is impossible because the relationship of socialist countries is based on the same proletarian ideology which teaches unity instead of split. Both Chinese revisionist bourgeoisie and Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie had plans of becoming imperialist superpowers that would exploit and oppress the world peoples even more this time under "socialist", "Leninist" and even "Stalinist" masks and slogans ("socialists" in words, imperialists in deeds).

The true reason behind Soviet revisionists' false "anti-Maoism" was not simply the necessity of discrediting a rival whose imperialist ambitions represented a danger to their dominance over the revisionist world. Rather over the entire world - especially over the revolutionary, socialist world – led by socialist Albania. The true reason was this: splitting and liquidating the communist world movement, isolation of socialist Albania and transforming Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism into a bourgeois ideology – namely in cooperation with the Chinese revisionists, especially by means of initiating the so-called "Sino-Soviet Split".

- The tactics of "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists was indispensable for hiding their social-fascism inwards and social-imperialism outwards.

- And the tactics of the Chinese revisionists against the Soviet-revisionists was indispensable for hiding as well their social-fascism inwards and their social-imperialism outwards.

Both revisionist camps used the opponent camp first, as a shield to protect their own revisionism and secondly to dominate the communist world movement, inclusively the only socialist country in the world – Albania , for the common purpose to eliminate the danger of Stalinism, the danger of the regeneration of the socialist camp, the danger of the socialist world revolution and global spreading of world communism, and the danger of the anti-imperialist wars of the oppressed and exploited peoples.

Of course, both these international revisionist camps did not need to hide their revisionism behind the imperialists with which they both cooperated, however behind the revolutionary

communist and workers' movement, especially behind socialist Albania. This meant that all these counter-revolutionary maneuvers were supported and in the interest of the whole world-imperialist system. The so-called false "Sino-Soviet Split" was thus totally in the service of anti-communism and is therefore unmasked and combated by the Comintern (SH).

It is clear that the death of Stalin led to the split of the world communist movement. The murder of Stalin was the clearest proof of this. The world bourgeoisie understood that the world communist movement would fall under the influence of modern revisionism. To prevent success of the struggle against modern revisionism by the world communist movement, the world bourgeoisie supported not only the Soviet imperialists, but also the Maoists. Chinese revisionism had the task of liquidating the world communist movement again if it would ever liberated from the domination of modern revisionism. But finally it became clear that the Maoist activities in this division could not be carried out openly. Maoism was therefore difficult to unmask for the world communist movement, as over 15 years it was hidden behind the struggle against modern revisionism before being unmasked in 1978 by the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The world communist movement was freed from the influence of modern revisionism during the period from 1978 (China's rupture with Albania) to the death of comrade Enver Hoxha in 1985.

Since 1985, it was under the influence of neo-revisionism - up to 2000. Since the year of the founding of the Communist International (SH), the world communist movement has started to liberate from the influence of neo-revisionism.

"It is a crime to attack the great work of the Comintern and the Marxist-Leninist authority of Stalin, which played a major role in the creation and in the organizational, political and ideological consolidation of the communist and workers' parties of the world. For its part, the Bolshevik Party was a powerful aid for those parties, and the Soviet Union, with Stalin at the head, was a great potential in support of the revolution in the international arena." (Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites*, Tirana, 1980)

The accusation of cult of personality against Comrade Stalin was only a pretext for the annihilation of Stalinism. "De-Stalinization" means the removal of Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of eliminating the so-called "cult of personality". The cult of personality was a weapon of propaganda cooperation between revisionists and imperialists. The fight against so-called "cult of personality" was not only the mask used by modern revisionists, but also one of the main causes of the split in the world communist movement, whose leader was Stalin, in order to promote "de-Stalinization" of the world communist movement and its replacement first by Titoism, then by Soviet revisionism and finally by Maoism. The revisionists used not only their criticism on "cult of personality" for the purpose of de-stalinization but also criticism of so called "dogmatism".

With the revisionist slogan of "dogmatism as the main danger in the communist world movement", the modern revisionists intended to attack all that which was the main danger for the restoration of capitalism – namely Marxism-Leninism. "Anti-dogmatism" was always the weapon of the revisionists in the fight against Marxism-Leninism, behind which they hide their own revisionism.

Contrary to what the Soviet revisionists affirm, the Stalinist period was not an era of "terror and dogmatism". Indeed, it was the exact opposite to this. It was an era in which the Soviet working classes enjoyed the greatest freedom, they were living in a genuine proletarian democracy and they were successfully building socialism. Indeed, by the time comrade Stalin passed away, all the necessary premises and basic conditions to the advancement from socialism to communism were ready. To have prevented the advancement from socialism to communism in the Soviet Union and to have destroyed socialism there are undoubtedly among revisionists' greatest crimes for which they will answer in the future. The criticism directed by Soviet revisionism against Chinese revisionism and vice-versa try

to evade and refuse the issue of building communism under the conditions of imperialist encirclement. Both the Chinese and the Soviet revisionists have betrayed the doctrines of Stalinism on the construction of communism. Both the Maoists and the Soviet revisionists were and are opponents of Stalinism in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists have betrayed the transition to communism, declaring the dictatorship of the proletariat as superfluous and propagating the "state of the whole people." Comrade Stalin teaches, however: while the transition to communism in one country is carried out under the conditions of imperialist encirclement, the class struggle against external and internal enemies of the country will be exacerbated. And that class struggle can only be performed by the working class and its Bolshevik vanguard party. Comrade Stalin teaches, therefore, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable in the period of transition to communism, namely in a country that is surrounded by imperialist powers. Instead, the Soviet revisionists have ceased the class struggle against imperialism. In the question of the transition to communism, the Chinese revisionists found it impossible to build communism in the conditions of imperialism. In contrast to Stalinism, they affirm that the transition to communism would be an obstacle for the destruction of imperialism on a world scale, claiming that the construction of communism would be opposed to internationalism. Allegedly, the transition to communism in "one" country would "discriminate" against other socialist countries which would be still not ripe for a transition to communism. These Chinese arguments attest to the fact that their entire way of thinking was largely effected by Trotskyism, which mistook the internal conditions of building socialism with international conditions. The Maoists denied the Stalinist theory of building communism in "one" country as a powerful lever of the socialist world revolution. And moreover, the Maoist denied even the Leninist theory of the possibility of the construction of socialism in "one" country. With other words, the Chinese revisionists did neither understand nor implement the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist world revolution which relies on the construction of socialism and its transition to communism in "one" country – namely as a basis and lever of the socialist world revolution.

The Soviet revisionists rightly criticize the Maoists that the "theory of the impossibility of building communism in one country" is Trotskyist ideology and is borrowed from the "impossibility of building socialism in one country".

The only difference between Maoism and Soviet revisionism on the issue of transition to communism is that the Maoists deny this openly while the Soviet revisionists, in words they say "yes" to the transition to communism, but had abandoned it in deeds, not only the Stalinist road of communism, but socialism through capitalist restoration.

The Maoists, on their side, affirm rightly that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union. But both use their "criticisms" with the sole purpose of better hiding their own revisionism. Therefore, both Maoism and Soviet revisionism denied in deeds the necessary transition to communism according to the teachings of Stalinism.

It is true that socialism had been fully accomplished, and that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union under the cloak of the "transition to communism" (- see: program of the CPSU on the XXII Congress). On the contrary, capitalism had never been eliminated in China. To deny this would be one of the false arguments of the Maoists in 1964, for example. To firmly stress this is inevitable: without full development of socialism in the Soviet Union, Stalin would not have initiated the transformation to communism. Socialism in the Soviet Union WAS already fully developed and thus ripe for transition to communism – as Stalin teaches. Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the victory of communism in "one" country cannot be guaranteed without the dictatorship of the world proletariat and world socialism. Communism can be performed in "one" country but not guaranteed as long as the imperialist encirclement exists. Communism in "one" country can only be guaranteed in the period of world socialism. Full development of world socialism is required for the transition to world communism – thus expressively in all

countries of the world. This is the only way how to change “one” communist country into one communist country (without quotation marks). The transition to world communism begins with the abolition of classes on a global scale which develops during the whole world-historical period of world socialism - between world capitalism and world communism. In the Soviet Union, all the objective and subjective conditions for the transition to communism had matured. Stalinism teaches that the transition of communism in “one” country is possible even under conditions of world imperialism as demonstrated by the Soviet Union which had fully developed the stage of socialism. Therefore, we can derive the thesis that communism in “one” country is doubtlessly not only possible but unavoidable during the period of world socialism. Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that Communism - on a world scale - does not mean that a country will achieve its transition to communism at the same time as all the other countries. Even in world socialism the law of unequal development of socialist countries is valid. And even in world communism certain differences will remain in the development of single communist countries until the complete development of world communism – namely when all nations have merged and finally disappeared.

The revisionist influence of the CPSU in the world communist movement was based mainly on open anti-Stalinism. The revisionist influence of the CP China in the communist world movement was based mainly on hidden anti-Stalinism. Open and hidden anti-Stalinism, this complementary tactical double play was the ideological base of the world bourgeoisie for the purpose to split the communist world movement.

In the history of the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the communist world movement one of the main attempts was discrediting its leaders, first Marx and Engels, then Lenin and Stalin, and today Enver Hoxha.

These methods, discrediting the leaders for the purpose to split and liquidate the communist world movement, were perfected by Trotsky, the leader of the 5<sup>th</sup> Colonne of the bourgeoisie within the communist world movement.

The Soviet and Chinese leaders accuse each other of Trotskyism, but they all are united in applying methods of Trotskyists to annihilate the Marxist-Leninist world movement. They always penetrate within Marxist-Leninist parties to promote faction and division and to liquidate them. And the supposed “anti-Trotskyism” of Soviet and Chinese revisionists is only intended to keep proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes away from the authentic anti-Trotskyist struggle waged by Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. The 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism never considered division as “law of development of the world communist movement.” The division of the world proletariat is an instrument of the world bourgeoisie to maintain its rule. Cleavage is not a fatal law of nature of the class struggle. To base ourselves on the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism is the most effective way to prevent cleavage by the bourgeoisie and to protect the unity of the world communist movement and to strengthen it. The history of the further advancement of the world communist movement was always connected with its purification from all the blisters and dividers in its ranks. That's the right world Bolshevik attitude that Chinese leaders never practiced. The “theory” of Maoist “division as a law of development of the unity of the world communist movement” is the “theory” of the Maoist so-called “struggle between two lines” and of the Maoist “theory” of the “hundred schools”. This is nothing but a bourgeois-revisionist “theory” - directed against the communist world movement.

The crimes of the Soviet revisionists was that they divided the world communist movement behind the so-called “fight against Maoism”. The unity of the Soviet revisionists was based on the anti-Stalinism unity. Anti-Stalinists were never defenders of the world communist movement's unity, but its dividers and annihilators. Both Soviet revisionists and Maoists were divisors of the world communist movement, the Soviet revisionists hide this behind Leninism, while the Maoists hiding this behind Stalinism.

In the history of the communist world movement, there were situations when division was

justified if the Marxist-Leninist line was irreversibly replaced by a revisionist line. Is the party is completely degenerated, then it is indeed the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to start a new Marxist-Leninist party and to fight against the old degenerated party. So proletarian and bourgeois divisions depend on the political line. Unavoidable divisions in the interest of the unity of the proletariat for the purpose to get rid of the opportunists, is justified. This serves to the strengthening of the communist world movement. Divisions which weaken the unity of the communist world movement, are only in the interest of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, cleavage in defense of Marxism-Leninism can not be equated with anti-Marxist-Leninist cleavage. Concerning cleavages within the communist world movement, the decisive historical question was always: "What class benefits and what class suffers damages because of the cleavage?" The revisionist parties pretend to "defend Marxist-Leninist unity". But in deeds they have always misused it as a mask, behind which they have hidden their struggle against the unity of the communist world movement. The struggle among the different revisionist camps was always a struggle for the predominance within the communist world movement.

Of course, the Maoists kept the cloak of "Marxism-Leninism" to dominate the communist world movement. In truth the Maoists had no interest in supporting Marxist-Leninist parties. In the contrary, their tactics was the support of various "Marxist-Leninist" parties in the same country. With this tactics the international unification of the Marxist-Leninist Parties was made more difficult. There is only one working class, and can therefore be only a communist party. Maoists deny this and therefore are lackeys of the bourgeoisie, weakening the Marxist-Leninist movement to strengthen their positions.

The strength of the communist world movement required such Marxist-Leninist parties who are able to form the communist world movement by their international unification.

History proved that the communist world movement is weak without the leadership of the proletarian International. And vice-versa, the communist world movement was always strong under leadership of the proletarian International.

All revisionists have in common that they deny the historical mission of the world proletariat, that they deny the necessity of the Communist International as the leading party of the communist world movement. The so called "split between the CPSU and the CP of China" was the tactics in the mids 60s for the purpose to weaken and split the communist world movement.

The split of the revisionist camp hindered and replaced consciously the debate between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism by a mock fight between two types of revisionism whose aims, purposes and even their positions were basically of the same nature – namely the struggle against Marxism-Leninism as the only ideology on which unity of the communist world movement is based.

The Soviet revisionists regarded China as a "socialist" country. Fact is that China was at no time socialist. The "People's Republic of China" was "socialist" in words and capitalist in deeds – thus a revisionist state led by a revisionist party. That is exactly the main point in what the so called "anti-Maoism" of Soviet revisionists fundamentally differed from the authentic anti-Maoism of comrade Enver Hoxha and of the Marxist-Leninist world movement!

There is not a "peaceful way" towards socialism or communism road while imperialism prevails in the world. However, the Soviet revisionists were of the opinion that they could build communism in "peaceful competition" between the two systems in the world (whereas the socialist camp ceased to exist after the death of comrade Stalin). The Soviet revisionists unarmed not only the working class in their own country, but also disabled the Soviet Union as a lever and base of the world socialist revolution of the world proletariat. Thus, the "communist" Program of the XXII. Congress of the "C"PSU served in fact only world imperialism and not world communism. There can be no peaceful competition - neither between capitalist states, neither between capitalist and socialist countries. As long

as world imperialism exists, it never "irrevocably" loses its dominance. The world today demonstrates the core of this revisionist "theory of irrevocable victory of socialism" - which was defended at the VII World Congress of the Communist International. In 1964 there was no socialist camp anymore. There was only competition between capitalist states. In other words, Russian imperialists were trying to safeguard their domain against Chinese imperialism and so they depicted Maoists as being engaged in "separatist activities of the division." This was the division that existed between revisionist states. In the meantime, American imperialism has maintained its hegemony, while China had to break this control to gain supremacy.

With their adoption of the opportunist theories of "peaceful transition", Soviet revisionists and Chinese revisionists aimed at accomplishing two purposes.

The first purpose was to keep world proletarians, workers and the other exploited and oppressed classes away from armed anti-imperialist struggle. This objective was crucial to Soviet and Chinese revisionists because of their plans of becoming themselves imperialist superpowers.

The second purpose they try to fulfill is to use the "necessity of peaceful coexistence" as a justification to their obvious allowance of Western imperialist penetration in their respective countries. This because both Soviet and Chinese revisionists believed they could use the willingness of their Western imperialist rivals to penetrate their countries as something that could foster their objectives of becoming imperialist superpowers.

When the anti-communist program of the Soviet revisionists was decided on the XXII Congress of the "C"PSU, there were heavy simultaneous attacks against comrade Enver Hoxha and PLA released on the same XXII. Congress - on one side - and reconciliation with the Chinese revisionists - on the other side. This proves that the PLA was the first and only party then communist world movement that criticized modern revisionism on the correct basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, whereas the Chinese revisionists always continued with their opportunist reconciliationist positions between Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and anti-Stalinism of the Soviet revisionists. Chinese revisionism never really struggled against Soviet revisionism on genuine basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. In other words, the Chinese revisionists never supported the correct line of the PLA. The Maoists and the Soviet revisionists spread the lie that Albania had allegedly "parroted" Maoism. The truth is that the PLA never deviated from Marxism-Leninism until the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, whereas the Maoists tried to enslave Albania to revisionist and social-imperialist China. But this attempt failed completely - just like before them the Soviet revisionists also failed to enslave Albania to revisionist and social-imperialist Russia. And also Titoite enslavement of Albania failed thanks to comrade Enver Hoxha.

The false "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists, social-imperialists and social-fascists was to hide their own betrayal of proletarian internationalism behind the "defence" of comrade Lenin. The "anti-Soviet revisionism" of the Chinese revisionists, social-imperialists and social-fascists was to hide their own betrayal of proletarian internationalism behind the "defence" of comrade Stalin. Proponents of proletarian internationalism were only the Albanian communists, against which the Soviet revisionists and Maoists acted together.

After the death of comrade Stalin, the international tactics of the modern revisionists was mainly based on this sham maneuver between the Soviet revisionist and Chinese revisionist camp as the two, open and hidden, anti-Stalinist world camps. Both the Soviet and Chinese camps were revisionist camps. They did not only serve the interests of the national bourgeoisie in Russia and China, but moreover, they served the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against the communist world movement. The so called "Sino-Soviet-Split" was as a bulwark against the socialist world revolution and the international spreading of

world communism, in general, and against comrade Enver Hoxha, the PLA and the single socialist Albania, in particular. However, Hoxhaism teaches that the communist world movement must smash *all* the revisionist camps without exception. We can never share our principles with revisionists, and we can not defend the one revisionist camp for the purpose to struggle against another revisionist camp. It is impossible to defeat Soviet revisionism without the defeat of Chinese revisionism, and vice versa, it is also impossible to defeat Maoism without defeat of Soviet revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism is simultaneously a differentiated and manifold task: firstly we unmask the single camps of revisionism (in particular), and secondly we unmask their interactions against the international unity of the communist world movement; or with other words: we must analyze, unmask and smash the interdependence of both, national and international actions and "theories" of the revisionists, and both the open and hidden actions and "theories" of the revisionists. The revisionists are both, lackeys of the national bourgeoisie and lackeys of the world bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletariat in the single countries (in particular), and against the world proletariat on a global scale (in general). Hoxhaism teaches that the unity of the communist world movement can be defended not other than by smashing the *concerted action* of hidden and open revisionism. This concerted action was disguised with the so called "Sino-Soviet-Conflict", namely for the only purpose to dupe and liquidate the communist world movement with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Thus, the so-called "Sino-Soviet-Split" was a feigned "controversy" in the struggle against the unity of the communist world movement with comrade Stalin at the head.

The term "SINO-SOVIET SPLIT" was only a "pseudo-split", a mock battle, for deceiving the communist world movement and the world proletariat. **The so-called false "Sino-Soviet split" was the revisionist double play of splitting the communist world movement.** The split of the revisionist camp was necessary for the splitting and liquidation of the Stalinist movement. The so called "Sino-Soviet split" was a double play of the world bourgeoisie to split and liquidate the world communist world movement by forcing the true communists to support either the Soviet or Chinese revisionist world camp. However, the Stalinist-Hoxhaists decided neither to take side of the *hidden* anti-Stalinist Maoists nor to take side of the *open* anti-Stalinist Soviet revisionists and unmasked and combated this revisionist maneuver victoriously on the basis of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The world bourgeoisie wanted always to "prove" that "the communist world movement will degenerate by itself and that it would be allegedly "too weak" of coming to power (see: liquidationism of Trotsky: "self-fulfillment of the law of communist self-destruction"; or Mao: "law of destruction-construction-destruction" - "split-unity-split"). These are all "theories" of so called "self-liquidationism" of communism and its movement. The communist world movement can only lose its danger for the world bourgeoisie if it is completely in the hands of the revisionist, no matter if the different revisionist branches share this leadership or not.

In truth, both Soviet and Maoist revisionisms and revisionists are liquidationist and capitulationist "theories" which aimed to replace the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism by bourgeois ideology. All these liquidationist "theories" were already created since the 7<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the Comintern – namely to dispense of our own communist organizations and ideology in favor of the unity front with the bourgeoisie. The liquidators of today categorically deny the existence of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, because it is the main hindrance for them to liquidate Marxism-Leninism. The neo-revisionists are still unable to liquidate the weapon of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, and that's why they call it helplessly "a figment of imaginations". However! Earlier or later the neo-revisionist liquidators will try to succeed with the implementation of the old example of the Sino-Soviet double play



between open anti-Stalinism and hidden anti-Stalinism. They will learn to master the double play of open anti-Hoxhaism and hidden anti-Hoxhaism (neo-revisionism hidden behind alleged "Hoxhaism"). Therefore, we must prepare our ideological struggle against possible future splittings of our Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement by learning from the historical experiences of the so called "Sino-Soviet-Split". Never unification with the open and hidden revisionists! No matter how loud the revisionists will call us "splitters" and sectarians! We will always defend Hoxhaism as bravely as comrade Enver Hoxha had defended Stalinism – no matter what kind of double play will appear between *open* Anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism and *hidden* Anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism (neo-revisionism - hidden behind alleged "Stalinism-Hoxhaism").

In truth it was a sham of the common struggle of ALL the revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, against Stalinism, against the socialist revolution of the world proletariat. The so called "Sino-Soviet Split" is expression of anti-communism and a counter-revolutionary act of liquidating the Stalinist world movement.

Alleged "Anti-Maoism" of the Soviet-revisionists was guided by the aim of Anti-Stalinism. And alleged "pro-Stalinism" of the Maoists was guided by the same aim – Anti-Stalinism. The coinciding nature of Chinese and Soviet revisionism was - anti-Stalinism. They differed only in its tactical form – thus *open* anti-Stalinism on the Russian side and *hidden* anti-Stalinism on the Chinese side. Both forms are complementary forms to serve the same aim – thus anti-Stalinism. The Soviet-revisionists wanted to eliminate Stalinism as a "foreign body" which "contradicts" with Marxism-Leninism [struggle against Stalinism was masked behind the accusations of so called "personal cult"]. The Maoists wanted (at first) to eliminate Stalinism just by supporting the revisionist line of Khrushchev. However, as they noticed that Khrushchevism was already discredited by its open anti-Stalinism and profoundly criticized by the PLA, the Maoists made a tactical 180 degree turn and aimed for replacing Stalinism through Maoism [namely the ideology of "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" (MLM) emanated from this anti-Stalinist goal. The one struggled against Marxism-Leninism behind the mask of "Leninism". And the other struggled against Marxism-Leninism behind the mask of "Stalinism". That is not the crucial point. The crucial point is:

The so called "SINO-SOVIET SPLIT" must be considered as a double play of the world bourgeoisie – namely serving her aim to prevent the downfall of world capitalism by the socialist world revolution, and last not least, to stop the establishment of world socialism through implementation of Stalinism.

The so called "SINO-SOVIET SPLIT" was the adequate tactics and inevitable answer to the then existing confusing situation within the communist world movement after the death of comrade Stalin. Together with the death body of comrade Stalin, the Soviet revisionist wanted simultaneously to bury Stalinism.

### **What was the confusing situation of the communist world movement?**

The communist world movement had lost its greatest leader, comrade Stalin. This meant in fact that the communist world movement was set back for decades. Especially the weakness of the leaderless communist world movement was like a vacuum which could not be filled by a new leader of the world proletariat comparable with the great comrade Stalin. Unfortunately, there was no new Stalin. The crime of the Soviet-revisionists was thus not only the murder of Stalin but moreover the liquidation of all the other Stalinist leaders of the CPSU (B). With the elimination of the Stalinist leaders of the CPSU the Soviet-revisionists paved the way for filling the gap of leadership of the communist world movement with their own revisionist leaders. This way, the Soviet revisionists emerged as

lackeys of the world bourgeoisie by weakening, splitting and liquidating the communist world movement. However, all these treacherous and counter-revolutionary acts were unmasked by the Stalinists with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. And because of this victory of the Stalinists over Soviet revisionism, Maoism became the significance as an allegedly "anti-revisionist", "pro-Stalinist" ideology. This sham maneuver within the communist world movement was the tactics of the so called "Sino-Soviet Split" for the purpose to deepen the split of the communist world movement, to push it away from Stalinist principles and to complete its liquidation.

At latest with the XX. Congress of the CPSU, the communist world movement was overwhelmed by increasing influence by the open anti-Stalinism of the modern revisionists. And it was the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Comintern which paved the way for this revisionist deviation within the communist world movement in general and within the single communist parties in particular. Since the death of comrade Stalin it was more and more difficult for the Stalinists within the communist world movement to criticize and unmask the revisionist position of anti-Stalinism namely to follow the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. This task was all the more difficult to fulfill, after the Maoists had tried to take the lead of anti-Sovietism. It is known from history of class struggle that the reformists and revisionists have always tried to seize, monopolize and take over the lead of class-struggle, uprisings and revolutions, for the purpose to break away the revolutionary leadership, to redirect class-struggle in peaceful waters, thus to protect the bourgeoisie from attacks of the revolutionary workers. For the purpose to prevent the socialist world revolution, the world bourgeoisie needs to take over the lead of the communist world movement – namely from inside. And because the Soviet revisionists were unable to completely take over the lead of the Stalinist world movement, the world bourgeoisie resorted to the Maoists to take over the leadership of the anti-Soviet-revisionist front within the communist world movement.

It was therefore inevitable for the world bourgeoisie to influence particularly the defenders of the Stalinist camp. Logically, this could not be mastered by the Soviet Revisionists themselves because they were more and more discredited. Therefore the Soviet-revisionists needed a counterpart – and this were the Chinese revisionists. "Anti-Soviet-revisionism" and "Anti-Maoism" - this was the ping-pong tactics between the Soviet-Revisionists and the Maoists. The true Stalinists should be split, and grinded down through a pincer movement between the Soviet revisionist and Maoist camp. The liquidation of the communist world movement was not possible by only one force of revisionism. It was only possible by means of two revisionist camps – the Soviet/Russian and the Chinese camp. The purpose was clear: the members of the communist world movement were forced to take sides either with Russia or China and NOT to take sides with the Albanian comrades as the only true leaders of the Stalinist world movement.

If we want to give a correct scientific answer to the question of the true intentions of the feigned "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists, we must at first basically distinguish the development of Soviet social-imperialism from that of the Maoist social-imperialism; and secondly we must analyze both the rivalry of the Russian and Chinese bourgeoisie within the system of world imperialism and their co-operation for defending the system of world imperialism against the communist world movement and the socialist world revolution of the proletariat. The teachings of Leninism on the nature of imperialism are valid for both the Russian and Chinese social-imperialism. One of the main features of Hoxhaism is the enrichment of the Leninist-Stalinist lessons on the theory of imperialism: **Social-imperialism is scientific expression of the highest stage of restoration of capitalism.** This was typical for the social-imperialist Soviet Union.

**But not typical for Chinese social-imperialism.**

In contrast, Chinese social-imperialism emanated from a **former semi-colonial country** [ also other former colonial and semi-colonial countries formed a new type of emerging imperialism such as India, Brazil, South-Africa etc.].

Both kinds of social-imperialism have similar historical roots: The Soviet social-imperialism is expression of the restoration of the **Tsarist Empire** while the Chinese social-imperialism is expression of the restoration of the **Chinese Empire** which is, by the way, older and with far more significance in world history. These similar historical roots are doubtlessly reflected in the restoration of hegemonic ideology of Russia and China, and thus strong enough to influence and dominate the ideological development of all the other countries in the world.

According to our scientific dialectical method of "unity and conflict of opposites" we analyze the contrast and consequently the conflict of Russian and Chinese social imperialism and its ideology. Both social-imperialist systems developed after the death of comrade Stalin and in contrast to Stalinism – however in different ways. Decisive is the fact that the Soviet social-imperialism and its development towards a superpower occurred **after** the Stalinist phase of the transformation of socialism to communism in the Soviet Union and **after** the creation of the Stalinist world camp. The Stalinist leadership of the socialist world system was misused for the development of Russian social-imperialism.

In contrast, the Chinese social-imperialism emanated from the struggle against the pre-dominance of the Soviet social-imperialism within the revisionist world camp. According to our Stalinist-Hoxhaist scientific point of view, and in the strict sense, the Chinese imperialism did not emanate from the ground of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country, in comparison with the revisionist and social-imperialist Soviet Union. The Chinese economy had even not reached the first stage of the Leninist NEP which was expressively **based on the dictatorship of the proletariat** and which in contrast, **never** existed in China.

China developed to an imperialist superpower without having been a socialist country, thus firstly by means of the support of the Stalinist world camp, especially by the economical aid of comrade Stalin and the Soviet Union. And after the revisionists had seized power, China received economical support by the revisionist world camp and additionally by the world imperialists, primarily by the USA which were interested in strengthening own hegemonic position through weakening the communist world movement and supporting cleavage in its ranks, in general, and through taking advantage of the conflict between the Russian and Chinese social-imperialists, in particular. The world imperialist system supported both the Soviet-revisionists and the Maoists, firstly for the purpose to control and balancing the deepening of their contradictions; and secondly, financial aid of the world imperialist system was only provided under the precondition that the Maoists and Soviet revisionists would strengthen their struggle against further global spreading of communism and against the danger of the socialist world revolution.

Last not least, the revisionist "Three-World-Theory" played a decisive role for the development of Chinese imperialism, especially its strengthening through Chinese neo-colonialism- namely through exploitation and oppression of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America. And all this utilization and **combination of different sources** (in addition to the utilization of the **historical sources of the old Chinese Empire** and its ideologists) of the development of Chinese social-imperialism is expression of the eclectic "amalgam", the special feature of Maoism. It was the "merit" of Mao Tsetung to transform a semi-colonial country into a colonial world power. More than that: Mao Tsetung paved the way for the restoration of a former hegemonic Empire – namely unparalleled and thus for the first time in world history. And this was spirit and purpose of Maoism. The capitalist-revisionist world answered with "anti-Maoism" – namely to "kill two birds with one stone":

**Firstly**, to roll back the hegemonic character of Maoism and **secondly** to roll back the

communist world movement (in combination and with help of Maoism).

Neo-revisionism is that kind of revisionism which has changed its skin relatively to modern revisionism. It is the veiled form of revisionism with which the bourgeoisie makes transition from avoiding the stage of socialism in "one" country to avoid the stage of socialism in all countries.

Under the banner of "struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism" (sectarianism, in particular, is the organizational expression of dogmatism), the Soviet revisionists struggled against Marxism-Leninism as the main danger.

The communist world movement cannot struggle against revisionism on the basis of the revisionist ideology.

The communist world movement can only struggle against modern revisionism and all other kinds of revisionism and neo-revisionism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

When the Soviet-revisionists attacked Maoism, they simultaneously called China a "socialist" country and exchanged niceties and congratulations.

The Soviet revisionists created their agencies in China and the Chinese revisionists created their agencies in the Soviet Union, and both China and the Soviet Union created their own agencies within Socialist Albania and within the Albanian Marxist-Leninist World Movement.

The false struggles "against" Maoism on the one side and "against" Soviet revisionism on the other side are both expression of mutual rivalry for domination in the communist world movement. The one revisionist camp struggled for the maintenance of its domination and the other revisionist camp struggled for its removal and ran thus for its own domination. It was a battle for supremacy in between the revisionist Soviet Union and the revisionist China.

This shows that they are both counter-revolutionary camps which hide their own revisionism behind the alleged "struggle against revisionism" in the other countries. This dangerous tactic was unmasked by comrade Enver Hoxha.

There have been both Soviet agents in China and in the Maoist parties in the world [to decompose], and also spies from the Maoist parties who operated with their agents in the Soviet revisionist parties. Both agencies were simultaneously encouraging subversive acts in the Marxist-Leninist parties, not only in the PLA, but also in the fraternal parties.

The decisions of 1957 and 1960 were a compromise. They contained both Marxist-Leninist and revisionist objectives (Eclecticism paves the way to revisionism).

The discussions of 1957 and 1960 were a ticking time bomb between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

The whole later conflict, the escalation through to cleavage it was only a matter of time.

This resulted in the formation of the Maoist line, with the REQUIRED split between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism being systematically undermined.

Basically Maoism should bring the anti-Communist work to a successful end, accomplishing that which Titoism and Soviet revisionism had failed, namely to keep the world proletariat away from the world socialist revolution, to renounce Marxism-Leninism, and to prevent the reorganization of the Communist International.

It is striking and significant, therefore, the positions of the PLA and of Enver Hoxha are almost silent throughout the "debate" between the Soviet-revisionist and Maoist camp !!! This is the crux of the whole discussion and conflict between the Chinese and Soviet revisionists.

The only correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint of Albania was virtually avoided!!! Even in the Chinese documents Albania is hardly mentioned. China has the Albanian public position hardly represented!

The whole study of the arguments used by the Soviet revisionists as capitalists against their Chinese capitalist competitors (on one hand) and their Chinese allied counterparts

against Marxism-Leninism (on the other hand - together against socialist Albania and Hoxhaism), serves the communist world movement to continue our war against Maoism. The weak point of the communist world movement was the temporary cooperation with the Chinese revisionists.

Today, the argument of many Maoists is therefore:

*"Until the death of Mao, we were friends, but after Mao's death you have betrayed our friendship!"*

The point is Hoxhaism against Maoism, in particular in the period between the XX. Congress of the CPSU and the death of Mao Tsetung.

This is the period where Hoxhaism had already criticized Maoism internally, but not yet attacked openly.

Both the Soviet and the Maoist revisionists use their own revisionism to jeopardize and annihilate the only correct way to unity of the world communist movement.

Here, the Soviet revisionist world camp was based on the "Moscow Declarations" of 1957 and 1960 – and there, the Maoist camp on the revisionist "Polemic of the General-line" of the year 1963.

Both revisionist world camps accused each other as splitters. Here, both camps have made cleavage in the service of the world bourgeoisie and thus seriously damaged the unity of the communist world movement.

In times of Enver Hoxha, there was no unity with revisionists within the world communist movement, and today no unity with the neo-revisionists within the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement.

The socialist world camp was only able to form a unity as long as it was guided by the principles of Stalinism.

The camp of the Soviet revisionists was explicitly based on the ideology of anti-Stalinism, claiming the "victory of Leninism" over the supposed "cult of personality" of Stalin.

The Soviet revisionist world camp led straight into the camp of world imperialism over the three ideological decomposition stations, starting with the Khrushchevism over the Brezhnevism up to Gorbachev's "Perestroika".

The Soviet revisionist world camp was characterized by the fact that it split the unity of the world communist movement and its Stalinist foundations in the way of the so-called struggle against the "left" opportunism, thus against alleged "dogmatism and sectarianism".

The world camp of Maoism aimed to break the power of the Soviet revisionist world for the purpose to replace it. This Maoist camp held - in contrast to the Soviet revisionists - in words (formal false) "Stalinism" while fighting against it in deeds, to replace it with Maoism. Maoism is characterized particularly by the fact that it split the anti-revisionist world camp.

So these two revisionist world camps were not for the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, but were together with Titoism the three mutually complementary spearheads of revisionism against Marxism-Leninism.

Hoxhaism was and is the only ideology that defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and further developed them against the cleavage by the Titoists, by the Soviet revisionists and by the Maoists. It fought them victoriously and thus the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement was restored again.

The division in the middle of the sixties was the largest division in the history of the world communist movement.

From these lessons the communist world movement will learn to prevent or overcome similar revisionist hidden methods of splitting in the future.

The repetition of such a big cleavage can be prevented or overcome in the future by means of the correct application of the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Maoism has cleavage defined as a "law of development of the world communist movement" and thus resorted to the methodology of Trotskyism.

After overcoming the division by the Maoists, the Marxist-Leninist world movement was consolidated by comrade Enver Hoxha and characterized as the Hoxhaist world movement.

But since the death of Enver there was a new division. This time, the Comintern (SH) acted successfully for its overcoming. This proves that anti-communist splits were always avoided or overcome at a higher level of Marxism-Leninism – namely the level of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

By the pressure from the Marxist-Leninists, the revisionists themselves were put in a defensive which they were forced to "justify". They were forced to paint their revisionist positions with new red color and called them "Marxist-Leninist" positions. In countries where this pressure from the Marxist-Leninists was relatively weak, the revisionists had to do less effort to justify revolutionary phrases with their revisionist phraseology. In countries where the pressure on the revisionists of the Marxist-Leninists was particularly high, much more red color was needed to fool the masses.

The new revisionists are those who are trying to soften the demarcation line to the old revisionists, they are the ones who want to vary in the fight against revisionism and ultimately reach their cooperation. That was also the "anti-revisionist attitude" of the Chinese revisionists against the Soviet revisionism.

The plug end to the neck in opportunism of the Chinese leadership took with time (so as not to spoil the other revisionists) a disparaging, hostile attitude towards the Marxist-Leninist parties. They did not support the revolutionary activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties, but distanced themselves from them. They saw in the true Marxist-Leninist movement a serious obstacle to their conciliatory path towards the world bourgeoisie. That's why they have never known and could have never known seriously a Marxist-Leninist course. The Chinese leadership saw in the Marxist-Leninist world movement only an object for the Chinese propaganda, for the Chinese social-imperialist interests, on the other revisionist parties to whom they wanted a free approach to pressure and deceive the Chinese people and the revolutionary world public with the "firmness of principle" of Chinese leaders reportedly applauded.

Whatever revisionists fostered Chinese bourgeois class' interests - for Mao Tsetung it was all that mattered – China would provide them with applause.

The break with the Chinese revisionism was so far a great victory for the Hoxhaist world movement, because it was expressed that there may be a unit with no new revisionism, even if it pretends to "stay" together with us to fight against revisionism.

It is known that the revisionists do not put in their united front tactics about the firmness of principle and standards of Marxism-Leninism for the mutual relations as a criterion to reason, but the unconditional recognition of the revisionist line.

This is a chauvinist and anti-Marxist criterion.

This amounts to an attempt to prevent the union of all true Marxist-Leninist forces in the world and to create divisions within the revolutionary workers' movement at national and international level.

The revisionists are not really interested in the unity, but only in an even more effective cleavage.

What the Khrushchevist revisionists permeated with the "mother party" and their "baton" was later copied by Mao Tsetung, namely to impose the Chinese revisionist line to all others.

They only wanted to have all subordinated to them, and only wanted to eliminate the only basis for unity – the absolutely necessary indispensable guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The revisionists - and the conciliators with the revisionists - are enemies of the revolutionary unity and any entity which is not revolutionary is unacceptable for Stalinist-Hoxhaists.

The struggle against revisionism can not exist without Marxist-Leninist unity, cannot be performed without global collaboration of Stalinist-Hoxhaists.

For where the international solidarity of the anti-revisionism is missing or where this is poorly developed, the revisionists put their own "unity" lever, to cleave.

The principle, the fundamental lesson of this betrayal of the revisionists is loud and clear:

No to the united front *with* the revisionists ! United front *against* the revisionists!

In the united front of the world proletariat the communist world movement must always be guided solely by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The basis of the revolutionary united front tactic is the recognition and implementation, the inviolability of the hegemony of the world revolutionary proletariat!

But how do we Stalinists-Hoxhaists approach the unity of the communist world movement?

We provide first the cardinal question:

Alliance with which classes and why?

From this, the correct question in mind, we disclaim any unity with such forces that deny the proletariat leadership role in the revolution, who do not recognize the central role of the proletariat as the social main driving force of the present epoch, and instead fusion the proletariat with the reactionary bourgeoisie and all its allies and lackeys in a common pot.

We Stalinists-Hoxhaists disclaim any unity with those who contradict the class interests of the world proletariat.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the true Marxist-Leninist party must achieve its strategic objectives skillful and revolutionary tactics of the unity must be used to conquer the natural allies of the proletariat, to exploit the inter-imperialist contradictions and must create alliances with such forces in particular frame and that for a specific time are interested in the promotion of the proletarian revolution:

**"At the same time, this party must not efface its individuality, enter every sort of front and destroy itself. On the contrary it should always preserve its independence, principles and norms. It must, without fail, ensure its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy. For the revolution to be crowned with success it must be led by its Marxist-Leninist party, but no one will give you hegemony: it must be won."** (Enver Hoxha, *In Struggle and Revolution the Marxist-Leninists Become Strong and Indomitable, Discussion with Comrade Pedro Pomar*, 1967 in: Albania Today, 1977)

**"Without making a clear-cut line of distinction between revisionist views and Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be combated successfully from a correct standpoint."** (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the IV. Congress of the PLA*, 1961)

Consequently, it is clear that one can never struggle correctly against revisionist positions from positions of dogmatism and sectarianism.

That is just the reverse:

To lead the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism on revisionist positions is in truth the revisionist masking of its struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

It is also clear that one can not fight against dogmatism and sectarianism if one does not simultaneously lead an anti-revisionist struggle, as both offer each other the soil against Marxism-Leninism, the one and the other must be equally defeated.

Dogmatism, sectarianism, "left" opportunism are only the reverse side of the revisionist medal.

The so-called "struggle against revisionism" on the part of the sectarians, the dogmatists, and "left" opportunists - in turn, serves only revisionism.

It weakens Stalinism-Hoxhaism and makes it easier to revisionism to gain access through the back door when the "left" opportunism knocks on the front door and vice versa.

Both the right and the "left" opportunism work hand in hand against Marxism-Leninism.

One can not therefore fight the "left" opportunism without fighting the "rightist" opportunism, neither vice versa.

The communist world movement must therefore fight against both, must engage in a two-front war against opportunism, including against the conciliators and centrists who soften this inevitably necessary two-front war to divide, weaken and liquidate it. They do this sometimes with open revisionist masks, sometimes with "left" opportunism, and sometimes also with false "Marxist-Leninist" masks, as demonstrated by the history of Trotskyism [see: *"The Bolshevik Trotsky and the Menshevik Trotsky"*].

The struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism, the fight against sectarianism, dogmatism, the "left" radicalism, "left" opportunism under the fake "Marxist-Leninist" flag – this is a hoax from the neo-revisionists.

**"The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism - Leninism which points out the only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale."** (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA*, 1981)

Those who denounce the principles of strength of the Comintern (SH) and their loyalty to Stalinism-Hoxhaism in a time of theoretical incoherence, in an era of neo-revisionist unprincipled "anti-dogmatism" has either not realized that there is no world socialist revolution without world revolutionary theory, or wants to prevent the world proletariat from acquiring the ideology of its liberation.

Those who instead try to keep the world proletariat away from the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism or even want to "liberate" it like a puppet of world imperialism is betraying the world proletariat. The world proletariat can not be free without revolutionary theory, without the leadership of the Communist International, without a strong communist world movement.

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The Bucharest Meeting and then the consultation of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow meant the definite separation between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchev revisionists and the beginning of the open polemic between them. While the Party of Labour of Albania consistently and resolutely took up and developed the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, the Chinese leadership showed fluctuations and did not take a firm stance against the Khrushchevians, but a stance of reconciliation and cessation of polemics with the foundation of the anti-imperialist struggle alliance including the revisionists.

The Chinese were able to build their centrist conciliatory course against the Soviet revisionists on the basis of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 in order to carry out the changing of the guard at the top, a haggling with principles and power struggle of the two big social-imperialists against the small ones, especially against the only remaining real, socialist country Albania that Stalin defended faithfully. After the fall of Khrushchev, the Chinese tried to stop their "polemics" after Mao openly defended Khrushchev against Stalin in 1956. Khrushchev wanted to use the declarations to swear the world communist movement to the XXth Party Congress, while the two conferences of 1957 and 1960 were used by the minority as a forum for anti-revisionist criticism. The declaration of Enver Hoxha played an outstanding, historical role for the new Marxist-Leninist movement AGAINST revisionism. Albania's courageous stand was able to enshrine many Marxist-Leninist principles in the Declaration, but it did not stop the revisionist majority led by Khrushchev. As a result, it became clear that the declarations could not stop the advance of the revisionists and were not conceived as such - apart from the criticism of Tito (because of the Soviet revisionists' claim to autocracy). The declarations referred to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but they were already strongly coloured by the influence of



the XXth Party Congress, at the same time they contained hardly acceptable compromises and centrist positions towards revisionism and were not suitable as an actual Marxist-Leninist general line of the communist world movement. Let us just take the turning away from Stalin, from Bolshevism and from the Comintern expressed in them. The declarations could not repair what could not be repaired.

Now it was up to "polemics" to take the critics of modern revisionism internationally under the guise of "anti-revisionism" under the Chinese wing and keep them off the revolutionary path. Thus, several revisionist currents appeared simultaneously in the world communist movement, and there were various organisations in many countries which opposed each other as "true" "communist" parties and thus created confusion in the proletariat, which made the building of the Marxist-Leninist parties more difficult and even more so their unification. In other words, the criticism of Soviet revisionism and its followers in the Soviet satellite states was concentrated on strengthening their own national revisionist leadership. Each, under the conditions of polycentrism, tried to create favourable opportunities for itself to take the place of the top position of the Soviet revisionists. Thus, the Chinese leaders tried to force the Albanian Party and other smaller Marxist-Leninist parties to completely submit to the leading role of the CP of China at the cost of their Marxist-Leninist policies. The big words of the interests of the world revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples, which the Chinese revisionists liked to mouth, were only there to deceive about Mao's world strategy, namely, that the CP of China would not only take the Marxist-Leninist, but also all other revisionist parties and national liberation movements, both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, indeed the whole world, at any price, for its great power interests, in order to build its social-imperialist world empire. They accused each other of revisionism, only to camouflage their own revisionism behind this "anti-revisionism". There was no unified revisionist world doctrine, but in their essence all modern revisionists were the same, as comrade Enver Hoxha brilliantly analysed and concluded. As long as there was no longer a Communist International, the revisionists did not need to actively fight it themselves, and they did not want to "wake sleeping dogs". However, they fought the idea of the Communist International, which lived on in the Marxist-Leninist movement. So they fought this idea at the same time as they fought the dissolved Comintern, which they wanted to banish to the historical museum to look at. This attitude will soon change if the Comintern (SH) becomes a threat to them. Thus, the revisionists have so far confined themselves to undermining and disrupting the efforts of the Marxist-Leninist parties to work together and to setting up various international centres as catch-alls.

So, of world historical importance is the heroic attitude of the Albanian delegation who were the only Marxist-Leninists in the world who courageously raised their voice and were heard by the Marxist-Leninists of the world and from now on defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Stalin from the furious attacks of the revisionists. Not only Tito, not only Khrushchev, also Mao and ALL other revisionists cooperated in one way or another with US imperialism, attacked the Marxist-Leninist course of Albania and thus fulfilled - not entirely unselfishly - the US demands: to renounce Marxism-Leninism. The renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the renunciation of the armed proletarian socialist revolution, was also in the list of demands of world imperialism, whereas the class-reconciliationist line, the surrender line of the Khrushchev revisionists was at the centre of the so-called "peaceful coexistence" in order to secure the support of world imperialism in the restoration of capitalism.

One of the fundamental contradictions as still named in the Chinese "Polemic" was the contradiction "between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp". However, at the time of the publication of the "Polemic" - 1963, there was no longer any socialist camp. There was only one socialist country, socialist Albania, all the others followed the path of

revisionism and therefore cannot be called socialist countries. A general line that conceals this truth and still speaks of the "socialist camp" makes no distinction between revisionist and socialist countries. The intention behind the "polemic" is clear. In the so-called "socialist camp", actually only Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and Albania were the only countries which had consistently built socialism, which had unfolded and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and which remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism to the end; all the others worked to dismantle the socialist camp, of course "in the name of the socialist camp".

In the "Polemic", the solution of the contradictions in all countries is concentrated "only on the revolutions of the peoples", the revolutions of the proletarians of all countries are no longer in the foreground in the "Polemic" and certainly not in the revisionist countries where capitalism has been restored. China was never socialist in truth and for many years after the XXth Party Congress continued to defend the Soviet Union as a "socialist" country and practised conciliatory cooperation, which the Maoists today like to keep quiet about. The Chinese revisionists especially disguised their open revisionism only in the last phase of separation from Soviet revisionism, not least because of the ideological shadow battles with the Soviet revisionists, but the moulting process took place mainly because of the growing Marxist-Leninist world movement under the leadership of Enver Hoxha.

The socialist camp can never be built by exporting the already existing socialist countries, however strong they may be. Each country must follow its own road to socialist revolution, albeit through the support of the socialist countries and by the entire world proletariat and its allied toilers under the banner of proletarian internationalism. This revisionism of wanting to export socialism in the world from the Soviet Union was co-decisive for the resurgence of imperialism and this is where the world revolutionary lever of the world proletariat must start. In any case, the Chinese road was historically a dead end. The emergence of Chinese revisionism was characterised by its retreat from Soviet revisionism. Whoever sells the retreat from revisionism as "Marxism-Leninism", whoever tolerates revisionism alongside Marxism-Leninism or unites it with each other, whoever criticises revisionism only half-heartedly and hides the construction of his own national revisionism behind it, is a neo-revisionist and harms the world revolution, is always looking for a way to export his revisionism to other countries. We have seen where all revisionists have ended up, in the bosom of imperialism. Thus, the Comintern (SH) completely separates itself ideologically from the "Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement" of the CP of China of 14 June 1963, because it was a general line of neo-revisionism, i.e. a skinned line of modern revisionism, which hid behind the struggle "against modern revisionism" and presented itself illegitimately as the continuator of the revolutionary line of the world communist movement, even posing as its leading centre in order to be able to destroy it better.

The Marxist-Leninist movement and the Albanians in front of it were to be made a tool of the Chinese leadership through the "polemic", a dangerous tool of division, of dogmatism against Soviet renegadeism. The "polemic" only threatened empty straw, but not revisionism. That is why it was designed from the outset to be discontinued and withdrawn as soon as the time arose. By discontinuing the "polemic", the Chinese wanted to give the impression that now, after Khrushchev's fall, victory over modern revisionism had finally been achieved. However, to speak of "final victory over revisionism" is a reactionary line, because it calls for surrender to revisionism and means increasing the damage that revisionism has done in the world. Therefore, the theory of "final victory over revisionism" must be fought bitterly, this struggle is an important part of the general line of the Comintern (SH). So what came out of the "polemic" in the end, what was its fate? Has there ever been any international conference, any agreements or decisions of the Marxist-

Leninist movement on it? Not a single one! And why not? Because China had no interest in it at all and prevented it according to the motto: "Eat bird, or die!".

With polemics as an international platform against modern revisionism, it would have been more than logical to put the forging of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement in the international struggle against modern revisionism on the agenda immediately, because this task could not have been solved in isolation from each other. However, the road to the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement was not taken by Mao, but by comrade Enver Hoxha. In his "Theses on the Unity of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement", he did not speak of "polemics", but only called them "25 points of the CP of China", from which it became clear that he never regarded them as the general line of the communist world movement.

What were Enver's theses?

"After the split, unity is necessary. The struggle against modern revisionism cannot be waged without Marxist-Leninist unity. The I. And the III. International. There are two conceptions of unity: 1) The revisionist "unity" (with its variants). 2) The Marxist-Leninist unity. We have to expose one and consolidate the other. Does complete Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action exist in the Marxist-Leninist World Movement? Yes, but not to the necessary extent and in the necessary way, because of the growth of this movement and the lack of experience, because of the particular positions of each Marxist-Leninist party or revolutionary group, and because there are not completely the same views on many common capitalist questions, and also because of the organised and combined struggle that revisionism and imperialism are waging against Marxism-Leninism.

So it is essential to find forms and methods to overcome the obstacles. The world communist movement must be guided by Marxism-Leninism, correctly interpreted and applied in the present general conditions and from the particular positions of each Marxist-Leninist party or group. So, an analysis of the present situation is necessary, which cannot be done only by one party whose point of view would be a beacon for the others. What is also necessary is consultation among the Marxist-Leninist parties or groups; from this correct orientations for the struggle under the general and special conditions will emerge. Capital problems that need a common determination that will steel unity and strengthen the struggle against modern revisionism: 1) The definite separation from the revisionists requires special consultation. 2) The emergence of revisionism, its causes, etc., etc. 3) The Stalin question. 4) The attitude in the first place towards the Soviet Union and towards the other countries where the revisionists rule. 5) The more thoroughly thought-out attitude in the sense of organised political, ideological as well as technical and material help towards the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups (...) If they are not clarified and if a more or less united opinion is not reached, contradictions can arise and the germ of contradiction exists, which affects the consolidation of unity. (...) Just as the views of one party cannot be accepted en bloc, so it is with the views of two parties. All must speak their minds. That is why joint consultation and taking joint decisions is important. The consultation will also familiarise itself with and study the forms of work and organisation, it will also set tasks for each party in particular.

China has so far avoided this kind of consultation. Why? a) So as not to be accused of hegemonism, a view that is not correct. b) So that we, the others, do not look askance at its attitude towards these consultations (We have proved our internationalism.) c) It does not want to have partners in decisions. Such a stand and attitude is dangerous. d) It avoids them because it does not yet have unity internally. Then it should tell us that" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. I, pp. 302-306), Tirana 1979, German edition).

The Chinese were not prepared to submit to the Comintern or anyone else, nor to the

dictates of the Soviet revisionists, but only to their own bourgeoisie. While today we start from the foundations of the 5 classics Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, in the "polemics" of the Chinese revisionists Stalin is left out and Mao (as whose disciple?) is put on the pedestal in order to lead the Marxist-Leninist World Movement into the Chinese quagmire with his "general line". The necessity of the continuation of the Communist International is completely ignored. On the contrary, everything that comes from abroad is either "revisionist" or "dogmatic". According to revisionism, the world proletariat cannot develop its own, its internationalist world outlook. Thus, the Chinese have also skilfully evaded the question of organising the world proletariat in an overarching common world party. The Comintern (SH) and its sections are not against the leadership in principle. We are against revisionist leadership, but very much in favour of revolutionary leadership in the sense of Lenin, and it is one thing to recognise the necessity of the leadership of the party in each individual country, and quite another to subordinate it to the leadership of the world party. If we stand against the revisionist "theory of the mother party", we nevertheless defend the Marxist-Leninist theory of the special, caring role of the Marxist-Leninist party of the revolutionary world centre. Because: to learn from the Marxist-Leninist party of the revolutionary world centre is to learn to win. This is part of the ABC of communism. Those who do not recognise the leading role of the CPSU (B) within the III. International, but retreats to a neutral, polycentrist position of "independence, equality, etc. of all sections, is not a Marxist-Leninist. It was precisely the mistake of all sections not to have followed the revolutionary path of Bolshevisation in their own country consistently enough, as it would have been their duty to do. Thus, the VII World Congress, the Chinese "polemic", etc., have also cheated their way around this question, and we hereby exercise self-criticism that we ourselves have so far not paid enough attention to the theoretical question of the international leadership of communism.

There will be no world revolution without common revolutionary leadership. The struggle against the Khrushchev revisionist theory of the "mother party" and the "daughter party", against the blind trust in the world leadership (Enver Hoxha, the PAA and the Marxist-Leninist parties took a correct attitude), was only misused by the Chinese, the Titoists and other revisionists to strengthen their own revisionist parties against the Soviet revisionist tutelage, in order to be able to build their own revisionism "independently" and "equally" and to suppress others. Not wanting to submit to the international leadership of the Comintern was only proof of their betrayal of the hegemony of the world proletariat. Revisionism on a world scale can ultimately only be fought victoriously and imperialism destroyed if the parties - while preserving their equality and independence - unite in a common, superior Bolshevik, centralist umbrella organisation. This is the experience of the history of the Communist International, because it was precisely through the isolation of the individual parties that imperialism was able to split the parties, to use their ideological drifting apart, their national barriers and contradictions to weaken world communism as an organised international force and to permanently isolate the individual socialist country from the alliance with the world proletariat.

The isolation of the CPSU (B) from its brother parties, the isolation of the PLA from its brother parties - the isolation of the leading Communist Party from all other Communist Parties - this is the strategy and tactics of revisionism, and this is how the revisionists split the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. The double strategy and tactics of revisionism on the question of the leading party of the world centre is precisely that the leading revisionist party in power (SU) works hand in hand with a leading revisionist party in the "opposition" (China) to comprehensively secure revisionist influence in the communist movement, one handing the baton to the other. That is, after the successful restoration of capitalism, the next revisionist party takes over the position of its predecessor and at the same time makes way for a new "opposition" leading revisionist

party. To deny the principle of the leading role of the party of the revolutionary world centre by criticising the "mother party" is precisely neo-revisionism as expressed in the Chinese "polemic". And in principle, the revisionist criticism of the leading role of the Communist International is no different.

Imperialism is blamed one-sidedly in the "Polemic" for the split of the SU and China. In the first place, however, this split is to the own account of the revisionist rulers in both countries. The liquidation of the Comintern was not mainly the responsibility of the Chinese, and in the "Polemic" the Chinese did not want to justify their hostile attitude towards the Comintern. In the "Polemic", therefore, no conclusions are drawn from these mistakes, let alone self-criticism or even defending the Comintern against revisionism. Rather, the Chinese tried to project Mao's bourgeois theory of the "struggle of two lines" onto an international level as well, in order to smuggle the bourgeois line into the Marxist-Leninist world movement, to establish it and to assimilate this movement. The necessary lessons of anti-social imperialism and anti-social fascism are not even mentioned in the "polemic" as a fundamental line of the struggle of the world proletariat, which are today a central part of the general line of the Comintern (SH), especially with regard to the particular danger of Chinese social imperialism.

The Chinese revisionists passed off their so-called Albanian "economic aid" as "proletarian internationalism" in order to cleverly conceal behind it their social-imperialist grimace of exploitation and oppression, but today they proceed throughout the world just as openly as the imperialists themselves. The positive thing about the "polemic" was that the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world could better defend themselves against the pressure of the most dangerous enemies of the world communist movement and free themselves from their grip, against the Soviet revisionists. Proletarian internationalism could only be defended by ending the iron line of defence and friendship with the Soviet Union after it had been betrayed. In the future, proletarian internationalism could only mean the opposite: war of the revisionist Soviet Union. This path was necessary to keep the bond with Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, on the old ideological basis of which the parties could develop further, or, where this was no longer possible, to found new Marxist-Leninist parties. But the separation of the individual parties from revisionism is not synonymous with the international overcoming of revisionism, but only a first necessary step. Separation is not an end in itself, it is not the final goal, but a precondition for the new revolutionary unity, which has its meaning in the internationalist gathering, concentration and unification of the revolutionary forces, without which the class enemy cannot be defeated. Revisionism can only be overcome through the organised unification into an anti-revisionist world party, in order to be able to link up again with the old Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

But this kind of unity was not what the Chinese revisionists had in mind. They were striving for unity under their own revisionist leadership, and proved to be the biggest and most dangerous split in the world since the communist world freed itself from Tito revisionism and Soviet revisionism. Thus, for revolutionary unity, "polemics" was not only totally unsuitable, but it was the decisive means to put itself at the head of the anti-revisionist movement in order to prevent this and instead to stab it in the back. The Chinese revisionists never followed the goal of revolutionary unification, but only its destruction. Khrushchev never wanted this either, nor did Tito and all the others. That was the negative thing about the "polemic", and that is why it is completely unsuitable as a general line of the Marxist-Leninist world movement; on the contrary, it contributed not inconsiderably to the split of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and helped the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists to achieve its goal, namely to save world imperialism from its downfall. The "Polemic" was ultimately the ideological starting point for the

counterrevolutionary Chinese "Three World Theory", the world strategy of Chinese social imperialism. With the "polemic", the Chinese leaders endeavoured to "free" the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the clutches of the Soviet revisionists only in order to annex them all the more easily to their own sphere of power, or to deliver them directly to the knife of world imperialism and to cut them off from the alliance with the revolutionary world proletariat, indeed to direct them against the hegemony of the world proletariat. This is in stark contradiction to proletarian internationalism, which the Chinese revisionists posed as the defenders of and finally turned their backs on openly in their rotten process - with Deng Tsiao Ping's infamous UN speech. This direct connection between "polemics" and "three-world theory" has still not become clear to many Marxist-Leninists in the world today, and some neo-revisionists today are still trying in vain to clear Mao of it, to save his revisionism and to cover up and deny any logical connection between polemics and three-world theory. Without thoroughly and comprehensively exposing the negative influence of "polemics", smashing it, the Comintern (SH) will not succeed in building a strong Marxist-Leninist world movement. Here, it is particularly important to learn from Enver Hoxha, but also to further develop his teachings, in particular to unify the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement through the Comintern (SH), to transform it into an international monolithic fortress in order to give internationalist strength to the emerging revolutionary focal points, to unite them into the great stream of world revolution against all opportunist currents, of which the Maoist is still one of the most dangerous today.

Enver Hoxha, in the report at the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PAA in 1957, defended the centralism of the communist international movement against Togliatti's polycentrism:

"He (Togliatti) said that today it is objectively impossible for the international communist movement to have only one centre; it must have a polycentric character". We mention these things because they do not seem right to us."

Furthermore, Enver Hoxha made the following comments on Togliatti's polycentrism:

"The alleged 'autonomy' that the followers of Togliatti preach for the socialist countries as well as for the communist parties shows (...) that the socialist countries and the communist parties must be 'free' from all Marxist-Leninist principles, from any general law, must be 'free' to have their particular specific way, must follow a 'different' policy, make alliances and cooperate with whom they like and as they like. The polycentrist line of the Italian revisionists, the line of creating different, distinct centres of leadership in the communist movement is completely opposed to the idea of unity á la Khrushchev's 'unified command' " (Enver Hoxha, Selected Works Vol. III, page 739, French edition).

If there was no longer a Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, if there could no longer be a centralism, an old Comintern, because the old centre was missing, it had been necessary to create a new centralism, a new Communist International - because, the centre shifted after the fall of the Soviet Union to - Albania, of which the Albanians could rightly be proud! Since this centre no longer exists, since socialism no longer exists, the Marxist-Leninists do not have to put their hands in their laps because of this: If there are Marxist-Leninists in the world - and there are - then they must unite, if they want to become stronger, they must create their OWN centralism in order to support and lead the worldwide liberation struggle against imperialism more optimally and more tightly, in order to facilitate the creation of a new revolutionary centre to help socialism to break through again. But first of all, as a first step, to help each other, to build strong Marxist-Leninist sections that march forward in step. In the age of "globalisation", who forbids us to build and use democratic centralism not only at the national level, but at the same time at the international level? The fall of the

last bastion of socialism is no reason for us lagging Marxist-Leninists to fall back on the revisionist position of "polemics". We take what we need and base Marxism-Leninism on our own national and international residual forces. Who should prevent us from doing this?

If the Comintern (SH) wants to be conscious of its responsibility, it must succeed in convincing the Marxist-Leninists of this world that the "polemic" is indeed a polemic, but not a Marxist-Leninist general line, but on the contrary a weapon against the world revolution of the world proletariat, against the socialist revolution of the proletariat of the individual countries, against the revolutionary liberation movement in the countries exploited and oppressed by world imperialism, against proletarian internationalism and the Communist International, a revisionist general line. Which we have opposed unitedly.

One has to answer the question why Stalin or later Enver Hoxha never left their straight revolutionary path - although their parties ended with a revisionist majority, although the right-wing majority of the VII World Congress called for the end of the Comintern. Although a revisionist majority emerged in the building of the socialist camp and destroyed it, although a Soviet revisionist majority later emerged from the Moscow Declarations, which sealed the end of the glorious communist world movement under the leadership of the former socialist Soviet Union, although a neo-revisionist majority split the Marxist-Leninist world movement with the Chinese "General Line".

Stalin and Enver Hoxha never violated democratic centralism, which demanded adherence to proletarian discipline and resolutions. They behaved in a disciplined manner, but nevertheless they always interpreted such resolutions in the interest of the revolution and socialism, filtered out the positive content and relied on it, were on the post for decades, so that the revisionists in their lifetime never once succeeded ( without exposing themselves to the danger of being exposed as revisionists!) in stripping them of their leading position and depriving them of their revolutionary theoretical as well as practical influence, they - with whatever slippery resolutions and pitfalls. They could never be prevented from faithfully serving the proletariat, socialism, the revolution, proletarian internationalism to the last consequence - despite all this - as leaders of the world proletariat and socialism. If one studies the works of the classics carefully, it becomes clear that they had definitely seen through the dodges of the deviants and that they perfectly applied - had to apply - not only the weapon of the open vesier, but the Bolshevik school of all forms of revolutionary class struggle. As classists, they were first and foremost fighters themselves on the front line, on the most difficult and complicated front, they were vulnerable and yet they helped the cause of the proletariat to victory. The constraints of the class struggle did not allow them to act as "above the classes" observers of events, to simply slip into the "classics shield", to invoke "immunity" as with a diplomatic passport, to disregard the insurmountable contradiction of the present and the past, democratic centralism, etc., thanks to their "infallibility", "unassailability" and "immortality". No classicist has yet been spared falling into the minority and "swimming against the tide", so to speak. When, shortly before his death, Stalin was asked by the revisionist majority in the CC to take over the chairmanship of the CC and be harnessed to their cart, he refused, saying: "You must bear responsibility for what you do. In the past, the Bolsheviks would have shot you for it!" In such minority situations, it would never have occurred to the classics to look silently past right opportunism, or to lapse into "left" opportunism, to "drop the bomb", so to speak, and thus do more harm than good to socialism. The complexity of the international class struggle, the different behaviour and differentiated approach of Marxist-Leninists in this or that particular historical situation, in this or that country, in the global context, etc..., is sometimes difficult to comprehend and understand, but we Marxist-Leninists take the trouble to learn from it, while the "left" opportunists, the sectarians and dogmatists seek in it a welcome opportunity to put us in some pigeonholes, to judge us hastily, to lead us

away from the correct line, to impose a wrong line on us. It is especially the Trotskyists who are good at such slippery discussions, but so far they have not got far with it - how could they, when such people only confine themselves to fishing in the mud!

Whoever criticises "polemics" does not necessarily have to be a Marxist-Leninist. Once the "polemic" has been unmasked by us Marxist-Leninists, once the enemies of Marxism-Leninism appear in a new guise in order to nestle unnoticed in the world movement through the back door, there will be reconciliation tendencies again. The neo-revisionists will claim that they have overcome their mistakes in order to remain in alliance and then turn our backs again. This danger of neo-revisionism thus also threatens against the general line of the Comintern (SH), will they try to revise it piece by piece in order to disarm the world proletariat once again, we must be vigilant against double-tongues and continue to march forward ideologically in order to ward off this attack victoriously, which is not possible without Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism and without the support of all Marxist-Leninists in the world.

The latest forms of revisionism consist, for example, in formally recognising the Comintern in its historical significance, formally wanting to "learn" from its rich experience, even "criticising" Dimitroff, WITHOUT raising the question of the re-foundation of a new Communist International, or, with flimsy arguments, considering its present time to have "not yet come" and putting the brakes on the forces of the foundation of a new Communist International. The Comintern (SH) considers this not only half-hearted but very dangerous, because the theory of the Communist International is not only correct in principle and not only does it not contradict the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, but it also has a practical significance, which, however, is not recognised, because this would result in supporting its construction. It must not be forgotten that the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement against modern revisionism at that time is now split, if not disintegrated, by the international flayings of revisionism. The Comintern (SH) therefore believes that it was a strength of the Marxist-Leninist parties to have fought modern revisionism, but it was certainly also a weakness not to have done so as a new Communist International, as it did in Moscow in 1918 against the Second International. This would certainly have allowed better conditions for the common struggle against the revisionist currents that are gaining influence worldwide and would have strengthened their struggle in the individual countries. To fight revisionism consistently means to permanently fight its striving for international moulting, i.e. its striving to unite internationally (because its enemy, which it fights, the Marxist-Leninist world movement, is an internationalist movement, which cannot be fought only on the national level!) and this task can only be solved by uniting all Marxist-Leninist parties in a Communist International, especially when one can no longer rely on its real existing socialist hinterland, as it was the case with Albania. After all, the revisionists' aim was not only to carry out the restoration of capitalism in Albania, but also to smash the importance of Albania as the world centre of the anti-revisionist struggle, i.e. to split and liquidate the Marxist-Leninist world movement and transform it into a revisionist "world movement" for whose leadership the different revisionist currents in the world fight against each other. So, today, one cannot fulfil the task of founding a new Communist International to organise the socialist revolutionary unity of the world proletariat without breaking with the latest form of opportunism on the international level - without enlightening the whole world proletariat about the inevitability of its fiasco. The building of a Communist International to defeat revisionism is and remains indispensable. It is an indispensable weapon of the world revolution in the hands of the world proletariat as the historical teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the international class struggle prove. This, of course, presupposes at the same time the development of Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world which support each other in the creation of a Communist International, which take the initiative.



It is therefore the most urgent task of Marxist-Leninists in the world to immediately and comprehensively carry out the necessary work of persuasion among those Marxist-Leninists who in principle have a positive attitude towards the foundation of a new Communist International, but who for one reason or another cannot yet decide to actively support its construction in the struggle against neo-revisionism. The members of the Comintern (SH) must pay much attention to these comrades and parties and discuss in a friendly, solidary and comradely manner about joining or at least about loose forms of support and cooperation in order to start the first steps on the rocky road to build the Comintern (SH). What did Lenin call out to the comrades on 1 September 1914, even before the October Revolution?

"The Second International is dead, defeated by opportunism, down with opportunism, long live the International purged not only of defectors but also of opportunism".

Nothing else would Lenin and Stalin shout to us today, for this concerns the Third International to an even greater extent and on a more developed level. It is clear, therefore, that the dissolution of the Comintern could never be a final question, but only a temporary one. The Marxist-Leninists must never question the reconstruction of the Communist International as an indispensable strategic instrument of the world revolution to defeat world imperialism without leaving the ground of Marxism-Leninism. This is the lesson of the history of the most glorious International and its inglorious end. This is the lesson of the mistakes of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress and everything that developed in the world communist movement afterwards. But there was not only the right deviation. There was also the "left" deviation:

## 2

### Against the "left" opportunism in the communist world movement

Which of the two associations must wait and give way to the other: the Association of "Proletarians of All Countries" or the Association of "Marxist-Leninists of All Countries"? This question is actually wrongly posed.

What matters is that there is no reason in the world why a single proletarian or a single Marxist-Leninist should have to "wait" for another to unite? Who is to prevent them from simply beginning joint work, joint action, joint consultation, etc., when the class struggle is raging? If everyone just "waits", they will wait until the end of their lives, until capitalism has ruined everything. So, as simple as the answer is, it is just as difficult to move the stone and get it rolling. Who is stopping us Marxist-Leninists from uniting internationally? Or rather, what are the Marxist-Leninist interests behind not, or not yet, uniting internationally?

There are nonsense-mongers who want to put forward their "misgivings" and "principled" arguments and propose to the world proletariat in all seriousness to postpone support for the unification of the proletarians of all countries as one class of the world proletariat until the "pros and cons" of the Comintern (SH) have been discussed without giving the slightest thought to the practical solution of this task. The world bourgeoisie will thank these smart alecks. They even call themselves Marxist-Leninists, but waiting until the Comintern (SH) has fallen from the international sky or some guru has had the International leap from his pen means that everyone should freeze in expectation instead of starting the initiative where it is possible and not only has this not been possible for a long time, it is long overdue! "Shorten the time! Don't waste time!" is the motto and not "Don't rush! Don't rush things!" Have these ne'er-do-wells "forgotten" that the workers of this globe have been waiting for nearly 60 years(!), since the dissolution of the Comintern in May 1943? - Worse still - the number of those who have long since given up waiting has grown larger with every year and will grow larger with every new year. Every second that passes uselessly for the beginning of the real construction of the Comintern (SH) costs us years of longer, unnecessary persuasion. Every longer wait today means a waste of time, because workers have a habit of being convinced by deeds rather than words - the class struggle has taught them this. It goes without saying that the proletarians of all countries criticise this state of affairs, cannot resign themselves to this state of affairs and have now taken the initiative after the following first conditions have been fulfilled for the time being:

(a) We have worked out a general line of the Comintern (SH) for discussion. It is, in our opinion, quite sufficient as a provisional guideline for taking the first practical step on the road in the right direction - and agreeing on it is what matters now. Its shortcomings and weaknesses at this stage cannot be an argument for refusing to start work. And shortcomings and weaknesses are there to be overcome. But this cannot be done without having started the work.

b) We have the programme of the Comintern worked out by Stalin, - It is almost 75 years

old, but the Communist Manifesto is much older, and still serves its purpose - not only for the beginning, but for the whole period until the victorious end.

c) We have gained yet another classic of Marxism-Leninism for ideological orientation. Now there are 5 classics. Are 5 not enough and should we wait for the 6th, 7th, 8th? to understand from all their teachings only one, that we must finally get serious: By uniting the "Marxist-Leninists of all countries" with the vanguard, the highest form of class organisation of the "proletarians of all countries", with the organised sections of the world proletariat, with the future instrument of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, with the unity of will and action of all sections, of all the organised revolutionary forces of the world, that is, to begin with the creation of the Comintern (SH), so that it can detach itself from paper and find its way into the actual, into the daily, international class struggle and become the driving force which seizes the masses in order to complete the world revolution? !

d) We have comrades internationally who are already participating in the international class struggle in small actions - are they to be prevented from going forward? We have issued the first slogan of the Comintern (SH): "Red Interbrigades in Kosova!" and this slogan has found a positive echo in the world. Did this small contribution help the world proletariat and the national liberation struggle at least a small step further or not? It is clear that we will not start the world revolution with this the next morning, but this is already an incentive, a first experience, the first lesson in revolutionary internationalist practice, a school to one day lead the world actions and destroy US imperialism forever. Or is it our task to hole up in a "united international study room". We cannot make big leaps yet, but every small action counts - isn't that enough to follow it up with the next small action and dare to take on a next, bigger task and develop into revolutionary leaders of the world proletariat after a few years? Let us look at the previous Internationals. What do we learn from their history regarding sectarianism. Have they degenerated because of sectarianism or because of right opportunism? No International has failed because of sectarianism. On the contrary. In all the Internationals, the sectarianism of the individual young parties was not only overcome, but the Internationals helped these individual parties to grow into great mass parties. The world-historical significance of all the Internationals is thus that the working class makes the transition from sectarianism to a mass proletarian party, that the Internationals carry Marxism to the broadest layers of the working people of the whole world. It was the Internationals that held aloft the trampled proletarian flag of the world proletariat. To the workers, the help of the Internationals provided proof that the working class is a powerful force when it is organised and united, and when the leadership of its organisation is in its own hands, and the workers can best represent their own interests.

Behind the bourgeoisie's accusations of sectarianism lies the fear of the proletariat and its party, the fear of its international organisation as an independent class. The world bourgeoisie claims that the world proletariat is "not in a position" to look after its class interests independently and autonomously, that the exploiting classes could "do it for them" much better. It should join the alliances of the ruling class and subordinate itself in order to "overcome" its sectarianism. Especially in situations where the proletarian movement, after a period of lull, takes up a revolutionary upswing again, the bourgeoisie increasingly starts with its accusations of sectarianism in order to belittle and belittle the still weak but rapidly growing force of the proletariat. Thus, this urge of the proletariat to unite internationally in the struggle against capital can also be felt now. It has always been a question of gathering the internationally scattered revolutionary workers and uniting them in an international community of interests. The struggle for the strengthening of this community of interests is not an expression of "sectarianism" but, on the contrary, precisely a sign of overcoming sectarianism. The question of creating a mass proletarian

party was the main task in the struggle against sectarianism, to lift the class out of the masses. The Internationals pursued the goal of helping the workers to create their organisations worldwide, with which they could fulfil their historic mission, which was to

"to put the real organisation of the working class for struggle in the place of the socialist and semi-socialist sects (...) The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real working-class movement are always in inverse proportion. As long as the sects are justified [historically], the working class is still immature as an independent historical movement. As soon as it reaches this maturity, all sects are essentially reactionary (...) And the history of the International has been a continuous struggle of the General Council against the sects and amateur attempts to assert themselves against the real movement of the working class within the International itself" (Marx/Engels, vol. 33, page 328, letter to Friedrich Bolte of 23 November 1871, German edition).

"What is to be done?" That is what the Marxist-Russian revolutionaries asked themselves at that time and answered the question with the October Revolution; and that is how the question is put to us today, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries all over the world, which we must answer with the world revolution, by holding up the banner of the October Revolution together and not letting anyone snatch it from our hands. It is precisely the present weakness of the Marxist-Leninist world movement to agonise over this question of "what to do?", to "wrestle through" all over again to Lenin's difficult path, which he had to travel in order to create the first Bolshevik party in the world, which had brought forth all that has been almost destroyed again today. We cannot cheat ourselves out of this by simply "jumping over" the difficulties with our "left" leg and sometimes with our right leg in order to "shorten" the path and reach our goal "faster". History has proven that, on the contrary, this has always only made the path more difficult, unnecessarily complicated and led to predictable and avoidable defeats. It makes a difference whether one builds a Bolshevik party in one country or combines this with the building of the world party. But this is what we have to do now, because we have no other alternative. This is the general line, this is the road that lies before us today to the creation of the Comintern (SH) and its sections. This path was also always Lenin's path. However, as a disciple of the German revolutionary social democracy, he was forced by its betrayal, by the betrayal of the II International, to take the road alone. If Lenin had been convinced that the October Revolution was only a matter for the Russian proletariat and that building socialism in his own country would be more advantageous, he would not have founded the Comintern one year after the October Revolution and thus cleared the way for the building of the Bolshevik parties in the world. The Comintern (SH) as the second Bolshevik world party was not founded after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but in preparation for the victory of the reconquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the business of our opponents, if they regard this as a manoeuvre, that the Russians only wanted to harness the world to their cart in order to oppress and exploit the world. Now it can be argued that Lenin could only found the Comintern AFTER the dictatorship of the proletariat had triumphed. Who then puts forward such nonsensical theories? Then Marx and Engels should never have built the I. and II. International. Certainly, it is easier for the proletarians of all countries to build their party in their own country when they have a strong socialist homeland behind them, where the workers have triumphed in the world. That is why the sections of the Comintern have been able to develop rapidly through the support of Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union. That is why they could build on the experience of the history of the CPSU(B). But did they apply Bolshevisation consistently enough in their own country, let alone develop it further? Unfortunately, we know that they did not do it consistently enough.... and thus everything is to be explained and deduced to the dot and comma up to the present day. An exemplary CPSU (B) can also lead brother parties to the danger of

falling into the error that it would be quite sufficient for the brother parties to simply sail behind in the slipstream and fairway of the ship of the Bolsheviks, in the wake of the world revolutionary centre. If this world revolutionary centre is weakened, then the parties following it can quickly lose their bearings and - left to their own devices - are hard put to weather the storms of the world class struggle. Lenin and Stalin warned of this, and foresaw the negative consequences. Bolshevism can triumph worldwide only if ALL Bolshevik parties are willing and able, through their own efforts, to go through the same hard and arduous path as the Bolsheviks Lenin and Stalin. Bolshevism cannot be exported, it has to pass the most severe tests in every country in order to triumph as it did in Russia. The process of Bolshevisation took the Bolsheviks decades - and nowhere in the world to this day did it happen as thoroughly and consistently as in Lenin and Stalin's party. Perhaps this is also the most plausible explanation for the end of the first phase of the development of communism.

We need not only the victory of Bolshevism in one country to reach communism, but we need the victory of Bolshevism in all countries. There cannot and will not be any other road to world communism. The Bolshevisation of our international movement must therefore be carried out even more thoroughly and even more consistently today, because the world bourgeoisie has learned from its defeat by Bolshevism and has set itself accordingly to prevent another defeat by communism. This must be clear to us when we set about both the building of the Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries and the building of the world party. The Bolshevik Party of the socialist country can help, but cannot take over the Bolshevik building of the sections of the World Party in its place or export the Bolshevik Party. This was the weakness of the Comintern, was a reason for its vulnerability, for its susceptibility to the influences of bourgeois ideology, especially the social-democratic ballast which the parties did not throw off consistently enough and which then also brought revisionism to power.... and there we are now with the well-known results. Lenin and Stalin recognised this and therefore did gigantic things in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, not only to point out these dangers, but also to help the brother parties to build their Bolshevik party. Never would Lenin and Stalin have thought of shirking this internationalist task, because from the very beginning they never left the common path of all the communists of the world, never slackened in raising the revolutionaries of the world to a higher level so that they could all the better protect and support the socialist fatherland of the world proletariat, which made the greatest contribution to the world revolution. Never did the revolutionaries of the first socialist state put their interests above the interests of the world revolution, above the interests of world socialism.

What do we learn from this? We learn from it that we develop in the struggle only when we rely on our own forces. This Marxist-Leninist principle is not to be confused with sectarianism, which in principle renounces the mutual support of the international forces! Relying on one's own forces does not mean isolating oneself from the common force of the world proletariat. To rely on one's own forces means to become an independent, firm and reliable component of the world proletariat, on which its overall strength depends! We Marxist-Leninists in the world must encourage each other, must take the initiative instead of waiting for the starting signal from someone else. From whom is this to be given? We no longer have a Soviet Union that launched the Communist International, nor do we have an Albania that led the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Shall a new socialist country of the future invite us to the foundation of the new Communist International, full of gratitude that we have waited so long patiently for this country? The world proletariat will thank such Communist Internationalists. Or is there anywhere in the world today such a strong Marxist-Leninist party that it can generously give us support in building the new Communist International? None of this exists, and already we hear the howls that we have chosen the worst possible time to build the Comintern (SH). We are completely on our

own, but was it any different for Lenin with the creation of the Bolshevik Party in Russia in the struggle against social-democratism? We must build up our advanced fortresses of the countries into an advanced international fortress, must begin with the creation of the Bolshevik world party itself.

It is therefore the present task of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world not only to build their own party in their own country, but to unite internationally in order to participate together in the building of the Comintern (SH), a more demanding task than consoling each other with expressions of solidarity. This is a task that demands the highest level of commitment, a double task, but a task that can be fulfilled, a task that helps us all together and benefits us all and shortens the common path to the goal many times over, that facilitates our work enormously, precisely also the building of the Bolshevik Party in our own country, as paradoxical as this may sound: one can immediately imagine which international existing possibilities we can use and which we can build anew to facilitate our cause. We have more modern possibilities today than in Lenin's time, but they can only be put into practice if we really want to use them. We can raise our revolutionary ideas, our forces, our organisations faster and more thoroughly to a higher world level and carry this raised world level again to all corners of the world. We will create a united world driving force and our communist ideas will become a material force everywhere on earth. Once they take hold of the masses in every country, the world revolution will cease to be only a vision. We will raise proletarian internationalism to a higher level by exchanging our experiences not only from one country or another, but also by exchanging our revolutionary work itself, also by practising it together worldwide. The international experiences gained from this are then no longer identical with the previous national experiences: i.e., we no longer act entirely as revolutionaries of this or that country, but are soon also international revolutionaries. From this we have also derived our slogan: "Red Interbrigades to Kosova!". It is no longer only the allies in their own country, no longer the proletariat of the neighbouring countries, but also International Brigades that rush to help. This militant form of struggle of proletarian internationalism is a strong weapon of the world proletariat when the Red Army of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been lost and must first be rebuilt in order to be able to rush to the aid of the peoples of the world. Of course, there are people who shy away from this and try to hide their defeatism behind "left" phrases. But these people cannot seriously stop us on the road we have already taken, which the world proletariat will not only register and welcome, but will also make them willingly follow and give us every conceivable support. There is no other alternative, there is no ideal case that we can choose from the textbook. We have to deal with the situation as it is, and it is not as bad as it looks. An example: It should not escape the attention of all oppressed and exploited people and should not fail to have an impressive effect if on one day at the same hour, everywhere in the world, in a common action, for example, US imperialism is dealt a hard blow on the same spot! Or: What great effect does a hammer have, which - in a single hand of the entire world proletariat - strikes the class enemy on the head worldwide at the same moment? What effect must this have on our class enemy, who now still feels so secure and strong and believes that he has the world in his grip and can make the puppets dance as he pleases? This, dear comrades, can be organised, we will organise it, provided that all join in and all submit to a single revolutionary order in order to carry it out in a disciplined manner in international unison. This can be learned and this we will learn, and we will become a powerful force if we only want it!

Infected by the fear of the downfall of world capital and inspired by a disbelief in world revolution, the opponents always accused the founders of the Communist International of isolationism, utopianism and childishness. Certainly, due to the smashing of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is no longer possible for the world proletariat there to convince itself of facts, how the life of a socialist worker differs from the life of the worker

under capitalism etc. etc. Is it not obvious then that some utopians are again emerging who are digging up the utopian socialism from the 19th century, to which Marx said:

"The significance of critical utopian socialism and communism is in inverse proportion to historical development. To the same extent that the class struggle develops and takes shape, this fantastic elevation above it, this fantastic struggle against it, loses all practical value, all theoretical justification. If, therefore, the originators of these systems were revolutionary in many respects, their disciples each time form reactionary sects." (Marx/Engels: Communist Manifesto)

They embrace the 4 classics in such a way that they have transformed them into their sect leaders - against the historical further development of the world proletariat and must therefore inevitably oppose the 5th classic, which has taken this further development into account. Therefore, "in the struggle for the defence of the 4 classics" they consistently try to blunt the class struggle again and to mediate the opposites and let their dreams be realised on the latifundia of the revisionists. Only on the field of the class struggle will they understand that one either defends the 4 classics by means of the 5th classic or buries them without it. So today, as founders of the Comintern (SH), we are not taken seriously by these sects, because we have linked our fate as the only Marxist-Leninists in "exaggerated love" to our 5th classic and have thus catapulted ourselves "into the sidelines". And without further ado, WE are denigrated by these sects as "sectarians", after their pity for us has no effect whatsoever on our "stubbornness" and because we have allegedly irrevocably "left" the path of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin just because we have taken Enver Hoxha as reinforcement. The revisionists dismiss the Comintern (SH) as "isolated", "revolutionist-adventurist", as "template-like", "dogmatic" and "sectarian", "presumptuous", "self-important", "megalomaniac" etc. etc.. The only correct thing about this is that the Comintern (SH) must separate and isolate itself from opportunism out of ideological necessity. Some of our opponents argue that the 4 Classics are completely "sufficient" in the struggle against today's revisionism, while other opponents have built their neo-revisionism hiding not only behind Stalin but also behind Enver Hoxha. The fact of the existence and work of the Comintern (SH) scratches the "credibility" of the revisionists and forces them to crawl out of their rat holes now, to give up their silence, they prophesy afterwards the "inevitable failure" of the International and try to "prove" that the preconditions for the foundation are missing at all or they impute false preconditions to the foundation. First, they argue in principle against the necessity of an International; then they make the foundation dependent on certain preconditions, which of course "do not" or "not yet" exist for a present foundation; then they do not doubt the foundation, but doubt the founders, in any case they try to "prove" that the Comintern (SH) is "doomed to die" one way or another. The opponents are always concerned with denigrating, complicating, delaying, infiltrating, degenerating and finally liquidating the foundation and development of the International with specious arguments. But all this muck cannot harm the foundation of the Comintern (SH), because it has represented the interests of the world proletariat from the very first day of its young life and has taken sides for the world revolution in word and deed. This has already become a historical fact and can no longer be denied. The opponents of the Comintern (SH) have missed their chance, now they have to face up whether they want to or not. The Comintern (SH) has set out to defend Marxism-Leninism internationally and to help the revolutionaries of the world in their principled struggle, no matter what attack, what perfidy will be launched in the near future.

The argument of the premature foundation sounds almost absurd and ridiculous in view of the half century that has passed since the dissolution of the III. International, it sounds absurd and ridiculous. Nor does the argument that there are hardly any founding members or only one party supporting it so far, and thus the claim to want to become the representation of the entire world proletariat is megalomaniac, presumptuous and a

pathetic pipe dream of "petty bourgeois", who want to "conjure up" the Communist International and in their "rrrrrrrrrrrevolutionary rapture" do not even realise how far they have thus distanced themselves from the "realistic" Marxist-Leninists who strive for unity instead of destroying it through self-aggrandising "orgies of exclusion". Thus, one does not insult the Comintern (SH) from the openly right-wing camp alone as one is used to, but one is astonished: this is what the neo-sectarians accuse us of ["Neo-sectarians are, in the eyes of the Comintern (SH), such people who fight sectarianism in words but defend sectarianism in deeds"]. Who said that the Communist International falls ripe from the tree? If the objective conditions are ripe, and they are undoubtedly overripe, then it is the task and duty of Marxist-Leninists to strengthen the subjective factors, not only at the national level but also at the international level. This includes the foundation of Comintern (SH), participation in the international class struggle, in international actions - no matter how small it is, no matter how many forces support it "at first", etc. etc. This also applies to the Marxist-Leninist party of each individual country. This is a question of quality, not quantity.

"A truly revolutionary party like our party does not give up principled stances under any circumstances.... On these questions, there can be no discussion about whether the party is big or small." (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and Revolution*, Eng. edition, pp. 530-531)

"Small but mighty", however, is not a useful formula of the Comintern/ML elevated to a principle. On the contrary, this tactic made into a principle would end up with all other organisations being wrong and only one's own organisation being right. This is as sectarian as "fight against all, all enmity, "We are only the best!". This tactic only leads down the path of "either with me or against me"; "if you don't think and act as I say or act, then you are against me". This has nothing whatsoever to do with Marxism-Leninism, but a lot to do with petty-bourgeois egoism, intellectual arrogance and sectarian claims to leadership. The revisionist tactic of the personality cult, which is alien to the collective spirit of the proletariat, also goes in this direction. Personality cult replaces the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of a leader. The proletariat does not reject the necessary role, nor the love of their leaders, because the latter embody the best part of their class, emerge from their class and stand out from it, but not in order to rise above the class, but to serve it in the front line.

So it is a dangerous tendency to want to march alone and to believe that we can do without the others. Behind this is not only the fear of having to subordinate oneself and losing one's leadership, because the Marxist-Leninists are not afraid of democratic centralism, but there is another fear among the Marxist-Leninists, namely, to fall under an opportunist majority as a result of the "supremacy of the unity of the others" as a revolutionary minority and to prefer to withdraw observing and waiting. This mistrust, born of the painful experience with revisionism, is all too understandable, but, whether justified or not, mistrust alone only leads to scepticism and fatalism, to desperate steps, to isolation and finally to capitulation before revisionism. Fear of revisionism is no disgrace, but not to want to overcome one's fear, that would be truly strange for a comrade convinced of Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninists are convinced of Marxism-Leninism, otherwise they cannot be called Marxist-Leninists. And if we notice that this conviction is weakening, this need not be due to us alone - it can also be due to the weakening of Marxism-Leninism, namely when it is getting on in years and is decrepit, when it can only reflect the world in a template-like way, is no longer young, creative and argumentative and loses its revolutionary spirit. But who is to blame for this, comrades? Marxism-Leninism or the Marxist-Leninists? It is entirely up to us, comrades. Either we are content with this observation or we change something about it.



We have missed out on decades, and now we need to make up for it. But how? All back to the study rooms? Yes! But not in order to retreat into them - as before. No, but only in order to find the quickest, surest and best way to the working class and its class struggle - with a sharpened Marxist-Leninist weapon in the bag! The greatest teacher of Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary action of the world proletariat. Within the workers' struggle we cannot operate with outdated formulas. We must prove to the workers that we are capable of self-criticism and thus useful and indispensable, because only out of self-criticism will we succeed not only in exposing the mistakes that have been made, but also in pointing out to the workers the ways and means by which they can be overcome in the future. If the workers have to conclude that we have nothing new, helpful, useful to offer, then we can never reduce the massive prejudices against communism. We must come up with new ideas that will not only convince the working class, but also make them use them actively and successfully in the class struggle. This is how we must approach the matter concretely on the ground in the present situation - anything else is a waste of time. Precisely because we run around with nothing but dogmatic formulas (because we ourselves have let the once correct formulas degenerate into dogmatism by doing nothing!), we should not be at all surprised if the revisionists succeed so easily in pushing us into the "sectarian corner" if we rightly refuse to "voluntarily" submit to their revisionist united front. But we can never become strong that way, comrades. This way we cannot create a strong unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, this way we are condemned to passivity and do not get beyond international circles and craftsmanship. Trust is only possible in revolutionary action on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. Whoever wants to create trust can no longer manage with the old basis - as can be seen. So one has to build a new basis of confidence, and this is not possible without building a rejuvenated Marxism-Leninism. It is imperative to build this new base, otherwise we risk that every revisionist who comes along can agree with today's Marxism-Leninism. For every revisionist agrees with the old Marxism-Leninism because it has degenerated into a blunt weapon against capitalism. Other than by rejuvenating Marxism-Leninism, we will never succeed in driving the neo-revisionists out of our ranks, the movement will continue to languish and be doomed to die. Agreeing on old formulas of Marxism-Leninism does not hurt anyone, it is easily done, but such a "united front" is of little use. We recognise friend and foe only to the extent that we have sharpened the Marxist-Leninist sword and use it in the class struggle. If a revisionist is then surprised to have been finished off with it after years of being lulled into self-assurance, then we can be sure that it is sharp enough to be of some use. Confidence in Marxism-Leninism presupposes confidence in Marxist-Leninists, which in turn withers without confidence in the working class. The Marxist-Leninist parties are NOTHING unless they unite and fight together in an organised manner:

"To unite these Marxist elements - however weak they may be in numbers at the beginning - to recall in their name the teachings of revolutionary socialism now forgotten, to call upon the workers of all countries to break with the chauvinists and to rally under the old banner of Marxism - this is the task of the day" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 330, German edition).

It is the class struggle itself that forces us all to merge with each other in the world. And it is through nothing other than the class struggle that confidence also grows in/in the working class, among comrades in the Marxist-Leninist parties, in the Marxist-Leninist world movement and finally in the Comintern (SH). It is here that the highest forms of confidence unfold through the creation of the highest forms of international class struggle, that the confidence of proletarian internationalism develops in the face of nationalist distrust. Without confidence among the proletarians of all countries, there is no self-confidence of the world proletariat, which not only develops spontaneously in the world

revolution, but is promoted above all by the Comintern (SH).

From the standpoint of the Comintern (SH), the main task of the international proletarian movement is to unite the fragmented Marxist-Leninist forces in the world and uniformly advance the building of the Bolshevik parties in each country, so that the efforts for the world socialist revolution may be mutually multiplied tenfold. This main task arises independently of the different conditions in each country. It is a common international task, and it can also only be solved internationally - uniformly through the concrete approach in each country, in order to create the conditions for the founding and building of Bolshevik parties everywhere, under the most difficult circumstances and most diverse conditions, or to ensure that already existing parties are aligned with the general line of the Comintern (SH), as long as there is the possibility to do so.

The organisational break with these existing so-called "Marxist-Leninist" parties, organisations, groupings, etc., however, becomes unavoidably necessary at the latest at the moment when the neo-revisionist betrayal has become an obvious, unalterable fact, i.e. when the opportunist ulcer has long since broken open. This break with opportunism in the individual countries corresponds on the international level to the break with all international organisations which fundamentally reject and fight the general line of the Comintern (SH).

Without divergences, without revealing its divergences, without eliminating its divergences, no Comintern can develop. If it hides the divergences, if it only displays firmness of principle in order to look squeaky clean, then this Comintern is useless for the class struggle, it is indeed dogmatic and sectarian. Of course, every young organisation formally resembles a "sect", in its initial stage it is necessarily first preoccupied with its own problems of development, of necessity it orients itself in a certain way "generally oriented" to the models before it can develop its own, new forms and become a mass organisation, it goes through "teething troubles", it is particularly susceptible to mistakes because it lacks experience. But how is it supposed to gain experience, how is it supposed to stand on its own two feet, if it is accused of incompetence from the outset, if it is refused from the outset to be given the opportunity to develop and grow. With a principled struggle, one must help the Comintern (SH) in solidarity to overcome its mistakes, but one must not beat it to death with principles because of teething troubles. What was the situation at the time of the foundation of the III. International?

"What matters is not numbers, but the correct expression of the ideas and politics of the truly revolutionary proletariat. The essential thing is not the 'proclamation' of internationalism, but the ability to be a real internationalist even in the most difficult times" (Lenin Vol. 24, page 68, German edition).

"To 'wait' for international congresses or conferences is to be traitors to internationalism, our party must not 'wait' but must immediately found the III International." ( Lenin, Vol. 24 page 69, German edition - 1916)

"When the 'Spartacus League' took the name 'Communist Party of Germany', then the foundation of a truly proletarian, truly internationalist, truly revolutionary III. International had become a fact. Formally the foundation has not yet been accomplished, but factually the III. International already exists today." (Lenin, Vol 28, page 442, German edition, 21 January 1919).

Thus Lenin referred to the murdered founders of the KPD, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl

Liebknrecht as representatives of the International even at this moment. The leader of the KPD Ernst Thälmann was also murdered as a representative of the International, as were others from various sections.

The foundation of the III. Just as Lenin struck an internationalist blow against the galvanisation of the corpse of the Second International, we must strike a blow against the galvanisation of the international corpse of modern revisionism.

Who dares to say today that the III. International was founded too early by Lenin in view of this situation, when from the very beginning it proved to be an indispensable instrument for the creation and building of the new parties, and in this respect also a model for the foundation of the Comintern (SH)? The opponents of the International spoke both against its foundation, i.e., that the foundation was still "too early" in view of the small number and weakness of the new, small parties, and conversely in favour of its dissolution, i.e., that the parties had now become "ready-made" mass parties and could thus "stand on their own feet" and no longer needed the International (and just as later no longer needed Stalin's leading socialist world centre! ) The revisionists thus misused the argument of the "strong mass parties" with the intention of replacing the International, making the International superfluous, abolishing it - or even dissolving it - in order to prevent the world revolution. The revisionists' recognition of the International was therefore reduced to its role as a nursery with the alleged aim of raising "autonomous, strong, independent" mass parties in order to carry off their victory in their own country - a highly nationalist and sectarian view. The world revolution would then be as superfluous as the International itself, because world socialism would come, so to speak, automatically, i.e., in self-run, through the creation of one socialist country after another. In the next step, one would also no longer need a socialist revolution in the individual countries, because the socialism of the USSR would expand to more and more countries through "peaceful coexistence". The reverse is true: strong mass parties are necessary to strengthen the International in order to create the subjective conditions for the victory of the world revolution. It is always the same old game of the bourgeoisie as agent in the working class: denigrate revolutionary ideas as pipe dreams before the masses, isolate them from the movement where they try to influence the masses and fight them as sectarianism. And when, despite all this, the bourgeoisie does not succeed, it tries to put itself at the head of the revolutionary movement in order to disarm it and steer it into harmless channels. This game of the bourgeoisie only succeeds through the opportunists within the revolutionary core of the movement.

While the "left" opportunists were stabbing the revolutionary line of the III. While the "left opportunists" stabbed the revolutionary line of the Third International in the back in the "struggle against the right" in order to bring it to the helm in reality, the right opportunists were able to come out more and more openly with this support in order to degenerate and dissolve the Third International revisionistically and to revive the social reformist spirit in it. It is a lesson of the international communist movement that the right-wing opportunists have been able to use this support to degenerate and dissolve the Third International in a revisionist way and to revive the social reformist spirit of the Second International in it. It is a lesson of the international communist movement that whenever the struggle against right opportunism took a decisive victorious turning point, ultra-left currents emerged and they not only gained influence, but in some cases also gained the upper hand. Each time, they then paved the way for the right opportunist to beat the Marxist-Leninists to death with the "anti-sectarian cudgel". Reconciliation with the right usually starts with their extreme "left" wing. Reconciliation with "left" opportunism, conversely, usually begins with their outermost "right" wing. In any case, it is necessary to fight the disguised anti-ultra-left position which refuses to openly attack the Social Democratic Party as a bourgeois party

before the eyes of the workers it influences, on the grounds that this would deter these Social Democratic workers from coming to the communists. In essence, this applies not only to the social-democratism of the time, to the modern revisionism of the time, but also today towards neo-revisionism, towards the neo-revisionist parties and the workers who follow them.

Ultra-left is only that position which fights the individual social democratic worker as a social fascist, but not the fight against the social democratic party as a bourgeois agency in the workers' movement. This is also true vis-à-vis the individual revisionist and neo-revisionist worker whom the ultra-left fight as social fascists. What we Marxist-Leninists fight against is the social-fascist bourgeois terror against the working class, is the social-fascist wedge that the bourgeoisie tries to drive into the revolutionary movement, is to push back the social-fascist influence in the working class, to the point of pushing back this influence in every single worker who is afflicted by this influence. We fight against bourgeois influence in the worker, but not against the worker himself, but on the contrary, for his revolutionary liberation from bourgeois influence, by strengthening Marxist-Leninist influence.

The danger of "left" opportunism consists in overestimating the forces of the enemy, vis-à-vis capitalism, quickly falling into despair, losing confidence in the masses and tending towards petty-bourgeois adventurism and revolutionism. Stalin said in the struggle against Trotskyism: "There is no doubt that a victory of the "left" deviation in our party would lead to the detachment of the working class from its peasant base, to the detachment of the vanguard of the working class from the rest of the working masses and consequently to the defeat of the proletariat as well as to the promotion of the preconditions for a restoration of capitalism." ( Stalin Works, German edition; Vol. 11, page 206)

Promotion of the preconditions for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR - Stalin warned against this "left" (!) deviation in 1928, i.e. already 28 years before the XXth Party Congress!!! And he said this in the context of the struggle against the right (!) deviation, which made it difficult to overcome this "left" deviation. It is known that there was a bloc of the Trotskyists with the Bukharinists because they had the same social base. The "left" and right deviation only use different, allegedly contradictory arguments, but in reality, in essence, they always fight together against the Marxist-Leninist line. That is why the Comintern (SH) and its sections fight not only against those who practise open opportunism, but also against those who want to be more "left" than the Marxist-Leninists and hide their right-wing, opportunist, petty-bourgeois nature behind sounding "left" phrases. Therefore, the Comintern (SH) and its sections also warn against the promotion of the preconditions for the restoration of revisionism by the "left" sectarianism, especially in Russia and Albania, we warn against the promotion of the preconditions of the transformation of the anti-revisionist struggle into an anti-Marxist-Leninist struggle by infiltrating these forces from "left" into the Comintern (SH) and its sections in our necessary demarcation and formation against neo-revisionism. It is, after all, the sectarians who are fighting the Marxist-Leninists as "rights". It is the sectarians who direct the "anti-revisionist" struggle against the Marxist-Leninists when we already have a mass base. In this way, they create the preconditions for revisionism to shed its skin, for revisionism to be restored. As long as the Marxist-Leninist movement, as long as the formation process of the Comintern (SH), is still in the first phase of delimitation, as long as we are not yet sufficiently anchored in the working class and have not yet sufficiently developed our revolutionary practice in the class struggle, it is above all the intellectual neo-sectarians who make themselves important with their discussion clubs and hide behind the struggle against sectarianism in order to disrupt, to prevent the connection of

the Marxist-Leninists with the class struggle of the proletariat, the connection of revolutionary theory and practice. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice," Lenin taught. But while we Leninists press for the translation of theory into practice, the sectarians abuse theory to perpetuate debates. Therefore, it is first of all our task to free ourselves from the "sectarianism" charge in order to fight victoriously the flayings of revisionism. And this is first of all not only a theoretical task, but also directly a practical task that needs to be solved.

One must neither skip the initial stage, the founding and forming phase, and impatiently rush ahead of the movement, as is the nature of "left" opportunism, nor artificially prolong the initial stage according to the motto of "noble communism - small but fine", in order to shirk the task of winning over the masses and the hard class struggle.

"Left" factions also form to threaten to split in order to force the party to the "left". They justify this "left"-liquidationist approach under the pretext of having to save the majority from the "swing to the right". If this fails, the "left" fractions try to induce the majority to refound the party, to leave it, because the organisation has already allegedly "completely degenerated, deviated from the old revolutionary line", and so on. Without having first produced a shred of proof for their allegations, one must not fall for this hysteria, one must keep a cool head and proletarian discipline. Even if the "left" accusations are indeed true, even if the party should obviously be shaken by right-wing fever, a new foundation is liquidatory and suicidal. Without having made a serious attempt to free the party from the disease of opportunism, to immunise it, to steel it, to save it, through persistent and patient struggle and persuasion, it is abandoned and sacrificed to the bourgeoisie on sectarian pretext. There can be only one Comintern because there is only one world proletariat. It must be protected from both right and "left" sectarianism not only by defending its firmness of principle, not only by defending its general line, but above all by strengthening its Marxist-Leninist forces, which oppose the liquidationist forces:

"The theory of two parties, or rather the theory of a new party, arises directly from the denial of the possibility of the victorious construction of socialism, arises directly from the perspective of degeneration. Both the one and the other way out lead to capitulation, to defeatism" (Stalin, Vol. 9, p. 125, German edition).

The sectarians make no distinction between a deviation to opportunism and opportunism itself. But this is not the same thing. A deviation to the right - that is something that has not yet taken the form of opportunism and which can still be corrected. Throwing someone out even though there is still a chance to turn around and correct their mistake is alien to a Marxist-Leninist party. As the experience of Lenin's party shows, it can happen that the revolutionary forces are temporarily outnumbered. It would never have occurred to Lenin to found a new party every time. This may or must only happen when the Comintern (SH) has degenerated beyond repair, when it has already passed into the hands of the class enemy. This was also Lenin's attitude when he took up the difficult struggle against opportunism in the Second International in order to free the revolutionary forces there from opportunism. This was even one of the preconditions for the foundation of the Third International. To deny this would be a "left" mistake, because it was precisely the peculiarity of the Second International that it had an enormously broad mass base in the workers' movement, which would have been left to the bourgeoisie without a struggle and on which it could no longer rely. It is precisely against the necessity of winning back the potential of the wavering and undecided for the party through patient persuasion that sectarianism is directed, so that the party loses this potential. The "sectarians" prefer not to bother, as Lenin put it, to go among the masses or to fight for reforms under the harsh conditions of capitalism, and for this they go even to the most reactionary organisations

that exert their bourgeois influence on the working class. They do not get their fingers dirty, prefer to stew in the socialist juice, place themselves as "theoreticians" above the masses and are not prepared to learn from them, consider the masses "backward" because they themselves are precisely the "chosen ones" who are the only ones who have eaten socialism with spoons. It would also be a "left" mistake if the leading centre of the world proletariat were to elevate itself above the International (or vice versa) and everything had to "dance to its tune", if the leading party in the International were to override all the others and fail to show solidarity in supporting all the other parties. Behind a tightly organised, disciplined world struggle centre of the proletariat, the anarcho-"left" scene would only suspect an "instrument of repression" against the working masses, because they reject the leadership principle of the proletariat.

That is why the anarcho-scene does not distinguish between revisionist and communist centre, is in reality afraid of subordinating itself and losing the "freedom of its criticism", lacks proletarian discipline and self-discipline, does not need self-criticism, but despotically demands it from the masses in order to patronise them. It is the petty bourgeoisie which is not prepared to submit either to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which vacillates radically between the two, despairing of its own social position, challenging "freedoms" and "privileges" to one class or the other, trying to play them off against each other and resisting being pushed down into the proletariat. It is the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia that builds the transitional bridge for the labour aristocracy to intertwine Marxism-Leninism with the bourgeois influences alien to it, in order to rob the proletariat of its world outlook and lead it astray. The arrogance and haughtiness of the petty-bourgeois sectarians, each of whom seeks to "save" the working class according to its own pattern, are anti-working class and far from the spirit of the Comintern (SH). It does not give universal prescriptions, nor does it project international incantations (which even then remain only incantations!), it does not base itself on project-making, revolutionary plotting and decree-making, but on the world experience of the working class in the past and present, purifies this experience of its errors and deviations, generalises its results, recognises and adopts only those formulas which appear to be formulas of mass action and not its proxy. Just as neo-revisionism did not emerge in a single day but goes through a historical process of moulting and systematisation, so the recognition of neo-revisionism by Marxist-Leninists has not been possible in a single day. The "left" critics who today claim that Marxism-Leninism is flawed or that the Marxist-Leninists are charlatans because they allegedly did not recognise these moulting processes correctly and too late have always existed. We are all wiser afterwards. The only question is what THEY have contributed in all this time? Just as the "super-Bolsheviks" blamed Stalin for Khrushchev's revisionism, and as they blame Enver for the emergence of neo-revisionism.

A "left" line is also the line of cosmopolitanism, the exact opposite of proletarian internationalism. It is in fact an ideology of world imperialism to eradicate and erase national characteristics because they hinder globalised business. Cosmopolitanism leads to world fascism. Behind the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, especially among the radical "left", particularly among the Trotskyists, lies the struggle against revolutionary patriotism. Everything national is frowned upon in general - the so-called "left" leaves the national question to the right. "Unpolitical multiculturalism" as a niche of bourgeois society is the order of the day, and so this "left" also has no sympathy for the national liberation struggle of the UCK in particular, nor for the struggle for national self-determination in general, the "left" ZB reject the socialist nation, the unification and federation of socialist nations and the socialist world republic, because they reject nations altogether. They call themselves "a-national". Marxist-Leninists are not anti-national per se, that is a class question. The internationalist characteristics of the revolutionary workers appear in nationally different forms. The "leftists" are not prepared to distinguish bourgeois and

proletarian nations. Marxist-Leninists especially respect the national feelings of the oppressed nations - the "left" does not care about that. Marxist-Leninists are first and foremost for the international culture of the world proletariat. However, this does not grow out of the sky, but is gradually formed in the international revolutionary class struggle, is the product of the fusion of the national, but not the product of the elimination of the national. Firstly, the world revolution does not spread all over the world at the same time, due to the different developments and conditions in each country. Secondly, the national liberation struggle of each country is an indispensable component not only of the social liberation of a country, but also of the international social liberation through the world revolution. Without Soviet patriotism, the Soviet Union would not have existed for one day, let alone liberated the world from Hitler's fascism.

Revolutionary patriotism is a mainspring of every socialist revolution, the renunciation of which would be tantamount to suicide. Lenin teaches:

"When we were principled opponents of the defence of the fatherland, then we had the right to ridicule those who allegedly wanted to "preserve" their fatherland in the interests of socialism. When we won the right to be proletarian defenders of the fatherland, the whole question changed fundamentally. It becomes our duty to calculate the forces most cautiously and to weigh most carefully whether our ally ( the international proletariat ) will be there in time. Capital is interested in striking the enemy ( the revolutionary proletariat ) one by one, even before the workers of all countries have united ( practically, i.e., through the beginning of the revolution ). We, on the other hand, are interested in doing everything possible, in exploiting even the smallest chance, to postpone the decisive struggle until the time ( or "until after" the time ) of such a unification of the revolutionary squads of the great international army." (Lenin, "On 'leftist' childishness and on petty bourgeoisie, 1918, Works Vol. 27, pp. 324/325)

The great danger of sectarianism consists in its intention to isolate the vanguard from the class, from the mass, from the rearguard, in order to make the leadership, the forward fortress, easier to attack. This is especially dangerous for the existence of the party in times of illegality, for example, because any detachment from the masses means being caught more quickly, provoking the smashing of the organisation by the class enemy, forfeiting all strength and turning into nothingness. The Comintern (SH) and its sections perish if they initially encapsulate themselves in their narrow shell or later cover themselves with a bureaucratic crust. To unite with the masses, even to merge with them to a certain extent, as Lenin says, can only be done by beating "left" opportunism, preventing sectarian deviations and avoiding or overcoming "left" errors.

A mature Comintern (SH), steeled in the international class struggle, will not fight advance by retreat and, conversely, will not fight retreat with advance, but will correctly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the world proletariat.

Finally, we must also beware of undue idealisation of our communist idea, especially when we communists have victories to our credit. Communism has no magical powers. It fails when we move away from the objective laws of nature and society.

"W i l l, not economic conditions, is the basis of h i s (Bakunin's) social revolution." (MEW, vol. 18, page 634, German edition)

We must not overestimate our forces, become careless and self-righteous, if we only administer socialism in practice and talk it up with revolutionary phrases. We cannot and must not talk the world revolution into being and even less bomb it into being. This would

not only burden the proletariat's confidence in communism, but also paralyse their revolutionary strength and cause them to sink into disappointment and passivity. We communists do not tolerate petty-bourgeois whitewashing, proletarian cult, personality cult, "left" grandstanding and revolting, salon Bolshevism, elitism, and so on. This is no way to make an impression on the proletariat. It is repulsive. What we say and do must remain credible. Marxism has always rejected the "whipping up" of revolutions, which develop as the class antagonisms that produce revolutions become more and more acute. The form of struggle of armed insurrection can never be applied at all times and in all circumstances. Every abstract truth becomes a revolutionary phrase when applied to any concrete situation. The revolution is neither "made" nor is it a "method" (Lenin Vol. 24 pp. 292, 293, German edition).

The communists who disfigure Marxism-Leninism, who hide their reactionary views behind revolutionary phrases, regard the old cultural heritage of the peoples, the spiritual heritage of the bourgeois nations (yes, even of the socialist nations!), as "worthless junk which one must shake off in order not to carry around the old musty smell". (Was Hegel's dialectics only "old rubbish" for Marx? And is this general line also old rubbish because, among other things, this Hegel was "consulted" when it was written? And on what material did Lenin base his analysis of imperialism? Of all people, the diplomated lackeys of imperialism criticise us in the name of pure "Marxism-Leninism" for polluting our "holy cause" when we transform the knowledge of bourgeois science into a weapon of militant materialism against world imperialism. Lenin was also of this opinion:

"It would be the greatest and worst mistake a Marxist can make to believe that the masses of millions of the people (...) condemned by the whole of modern society to spiritual darkness, ignorance and partiality to prejudice, could come out of this darkness only by the straight path of pure Marxist enlightenment." (Lenin vol. 33, page 216, German edition, On the Significance of Militant Materialism)

If we undialectically separate the revolution of the economic base of world imperialism from the revolution of the world imperialist superstructure, then the world revolution will suffer defeat precisely because of this separation. Whoever believes that one can be content with the revolutionary upheaval of the economic basis, and that the superstructure will then "upheaval" by itself, whoever believes that the imperialist ideas will perish without us having completely refuted and settled them in a revolutionary way, has understood nothing of the ideology of the restoration of capitalism, of the moulting of revisionism. One can learn to swim and fly only in the water and in the air, that is, only if one leaves the solid ground (of the outdated Marxist-Leninist doctrines) and does not cling in fear ( as the dogmatists do).



### 3

## Against conciliationism and centrism in the communist world movement

Centrism within the world communist movement (Lenin speaks of the "swamp" within the Marxist movement) began with the collapse of the II International and one of its worst representatives was Kautsky. This was before the October Revolution and none other than Lenin exposed this Kautskyanism better than Lenin. Lenin described centrism during the First World War as social-pacifism, i.e., socialism in words and in fact words of bourgeois-pacifist hypocrisy. Lenin also described the "centre" as revolutionaries in words, reformists in deed; internationalists in words, abettors of social-chauvinism in deed:

The so-called "centre" consists of people who vacillate between social-chauvinists and real internationalists. All the adherents of the 'centre' profess to be Marxists, internationalists, they are for peace, for all kinds of 'pressure' on the governments, for all kinds of 'demands' on their own government to 'make known the will of the people for peace', they are for all kinds of campaigns in favour of peace, for peace without annexations, etc., etc., and for peace with the social-chauvinists. - and for peace with the social-chauvinists. The 'centre' is for unity, the 'centre' is an opponent of division. The 'Centre' is the realm of pleasing petty-bourgeois phrase, internationalism in words, cowardly opportunism and servility to the social-chauvinists in deed. The crux of the matter is that the 'centre' is not convinced of the necessity of revolution against its own governments, that it does not propagate it, that it invents the very platest - and arch 'Marxist' sounding - excuses against it. The social-chauvinists are our class opponents, they are the bourgeois within the labour movement. They represent those layers, intermediate layers and groups of the working class who are objectively bribed by the bourgeoisie (better wages, honorary posts, etc.) and who help their own bourgeoisie to plunder and oppress small and weak peoples and to wage struggle for the sake of sharing the capitalist spoils. The 'centre' - these are the people of routine, corroded by lazy legality, corrupted by the atmosphere of parliamentarism etc., civil servants, accustomed to warm posts and to 'quiet' work. Historically and economically, they do not represent a particular stratum; they are merely a phenomenon of the transition from the period behind us from 1871 to 1914 - a period which created much of value, especially in the art, necessary for the proletariat, of slow, persistent, systematic organisational work on a broad and most widespread basis - to a new period which has become objectively inevitable since the first imperialist world war, which ushered in the era of social revolution. (...) Of course, sometimes individuals, without realising it themselves, pass from the position of social-chauvinism to the position of the 'centre' and vice versa. Every Marxist knows that classes differ from one another, without prejudice to the free movement of individuals from one class to another; in the same way, the currents of political life differ from one another, without prejudice to the free movement of individuals from one current to another, without prejudice to attempts and efforts to unite the currents" (Lenin, Vol. 24, pp. 61-63, German edition).

The creation of the Comintern was basically the revolutionary answer to Kautskyanism, the

answer to centrism. But this did not mean that centrism had been finally defeated. It continued its root-and-branch work in the world communist movement after the October Revolution. Centrism was, so to speak, saved over into socialism, became the Kautskyanism of socialism "in one country" and thus also on a world scale, by infecting, for example, the VII World Congress later. The slogan of the "simple" restoration of the Comintern has been rendered impossible by centrism, i.e., by the Marxist façade of the right deviation of the VII World Congress. Therein lies the real damage, because this centrism has not been overcome until today. Without separation from centrism, the Comintern (SH) would run the risk of becoming unfaithful to itself before it had taken the first step. The dichotomy between words and deeds has ruined the II. International. The Comintern was also threatened by the dichotomy between words and deeds from the beginning, but Lenin and Stalin were always able to avert this threat. However, this threat was manifested most strongly by the VII World Congress. That is why the Comintern (SH) sees its most urgent task in cleaning out centrism within today's Marxist-Leninist world movement and liberating it from centrism. This is what we see as the touchstone of proletarian internationalism today, this is what we measure the correspondence between the words and deeds of the Comintern (SH).

Centrism spreads through conciliationism towards the deviations to the "left" or to the right in all phases of the development of the Bolshevik Party and correspondingly also in the development phases of the Communist World Movement and assumes special characteristic forms corresponding to these phases. Above all, centrism is a hidden and therefore dangerous variety of opportunism, through which most of the parties of the Second International have become that surviving type. International became that surviving type of socialist party which tolerated in its midst an opportunism which spread more and more in the years of the "peaceful" period of the revolution but flourished in secret, which adapted itself to the revolutionary workers, took over from them their Marxist-Leninist ideology ( Mao: "proletarian way of thinking"; "let a thousand flowers bloom" ) and avoided any clear, principled demarcation.

For example, as the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist world movement against modern revisionism became more and more acute, centrism emerged as a second current, which adapted itself to anti-revisionism in order to reconcile it with modern revisionism, and ultimately to bind it to it, but without shedding its revolutionary façade, which modern revisionism did. The best known centrist current of this kind within the world Marxist-Leninist movement is Maoism. Maoism professes the struggle against revisionism in words, but subverts this struggle in deeds through opportunism. Centrism paves the way for opportunism in the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. We assume that Ramiz Alia was also a centrist, thus opening the doors for opportunism both from inside and outside in socialist Albania. The centrists disguise the struggle of the proletarian line against the bourgeois line by advocating principled struggle against revisionism in words in order to help opportunism to power in deeds. The centrists avoid appearing openly in the bourgeois camp. They work covertly in the proletarian camp. They give "flaming", "radical" speeches and organise revolutionary sham actions like in a play, which therefore do not hurt the bourgeoisie, which it can tolerate as long as their power is not seriously touched. Centrism within the World Communist Movement was embodied by Kautsky before the period of socialism, during socialism the right-wing centrist representatives sat in the majority at the VII World Congress of the Comintern, from where they carried their centrism into the individual parties, and after revisionism came to power it was Mao Zedong and Ramiz Alia in particular who spread centrism in the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. With their "revolutionary" phrases, the centrists are supporters but in deeds opponents of the Communist International, proletarian internationalism and world revolution. The aim of centrist tactics is a fatigue tactic, a disarmament and demobilisation tactic within the

revolutionary proletariat, its parties and above all the world proletarian party. The masses were "fired up" for "revolution" in "peaceful" times, where there was no immediate danger to the bourgeoisie, in order to be able to fob off the masses in the revolutionary situation with flimsy "sweet" excuses and to be able to prevent them from actually taking the step towards revolution (comparable to the trade union bosses who put themselves at the head of the strike leadership with "militant speeches" in order to keep the strike under their control and to stifle it all the more easily). Centrism never attacks the revolutionary positions of communism too openly, does not separate itself from the "revolutionary" phrase, because then it would run the risk of isolating itself and being sidelined, it could no longer exert influence within the Marxist-Leninist world movement. (... and to stay with the example of the trade union bosses, ignoring or even totally refusing the workers' will to strike would result in their turning away from the reformist trade union, and there would be a danger for the bourgeoisie of founding the RGO [Revolutionary Union's Opposition]. This is why it was later dissolved according to the decisions of the VII World Congress).

Centrism, like neo-revisionism, is a variety of covert opportunism, the centrists work into the hands of the neo-revisionists, but one must not confuse the two. The two are different in that centrism seeks to maintain its active role and fixed place within the world Marxist-Leninist movement until the danger to the bourgeoisie is over, while neo-revisionism is a moulting of modern revisionism, i.e. Parts of the revolutionary movement are split off ( through united front tactics) in order to bring them into the camp of revisionism, thus gradually integrating them as an ever more solid component within the capitalist system, where Marxism-Leninism as a shell remnant is finally thrown off completely. "Left" centrism - such as that taken by the Trotskyists in Lenin's time - mostly stayed in the Bolshevik camp because that was where it could best develop its liquidating influence. Trotsky appeared as a "Menshevik with the Bolsheviks and as a Bolshevik with the Mensheviks, and fulfilled his role as a traitor between these two currents without separating himself in principle from one or the other. He wanted to reconcile these two currents, which had nothing in common with each other. Not to demarcate oneself in principle in the name of the "higher principle", to elevate unprincipled tactics to the "Marxist-Leninist" principle, this is the tactic of centrism, is the justification of opportunism in revolutionary garb. While either the "left" OR the right centrism, seeks to vibrate the Marxist-Leninist world movement until it collapses, the Maoist movement is only a replicated movement in which the Marxist-Leninist movement has "modelled", so to speak, i.e. it is fully in the hands of the bourgeoisie. This is nothing new in history. Let us remember Lenin when he gave an example from the German Social Democratic Party. Under the pseudonym of "Monitor", an opportunist of the SPD talked out of the closet, openly revealing the tactics of the bourgeoisie within the Marxist movement. Lenin characterised these tactics as revealing the truth of the

"essence of the policy of the entire international bourgeoisie towards the workers' movement of the 20th century. One can no longer dismiss this movement with a wave of the hand, nor can one suppress it with brute force. One has to corrupt it from within by buying its upper class. (...) The `process of regeneration` of the social-democratic party into a national-liberal workers' party is progressing magnificently. It would, however, be dangerous for the bourgeoisie if this party were to develop even further to the right: `its character as a workers' party with socialist ideals must be guarded by it, for the day it were to abandon this, a new party would arise which would make the disowned programme its own in a more radical version' ('Preußische Jahrbücher' - conservative German journal, 1915, No. 4, pp. 50/51). In these words is undisguisedly expressed what the bourgeoisie has always and everywhere done in secret. For the masses, `radical' words are needed so that the masses believe in these words. The opportunists are ready to repeat them hypocritically. To them such parties are useful and necessary as were the Social-

Democratic parties of the II International, whose fruit is the defence of the bourgeoisie by socialists in the crisis of 1914/1915!" (Lenin, Vol. 21, page 453).

Lenin called Monitor an "open or cynical opportunist. Look at the other variety, the hidden or 'honest' opportunism. (Engels once rightly said that the 'honest' opportunists were the most dangerous for the workers' movement). A specimen of this sort is Kautsky. (...) Kautsky wants to represent the 'golden mean', he wants to reconcile these 'two extremes', which have nothing in common!!! (...) Let the minority, like Kautsky, condemn revolutionary actions and call them adventures, but feed the masses with left words - then unity and peace will reign in the party (...). Kautsky's opportunism differs from Monitor's opportunism only in words, only in nuances, only in the methods used to achieve the one aim of maintaining the influence of the opportunists (i.e. the bourgeoisie) on the masses, of maintaining the subordination of the proletariat to the opportunists (i.e. the bourgeoisie)! Pannekoek and Gorter have very aptly described Kautsky's attitude as 'passive radicalism'. I would, however, prefer to call it hidden, timid, hypocritical, mawkish opportunism (Lenin, *ibid*, pp. 354/355).

It is precisely against the background of these statements by Lenin that one should put aside the "Bolshevik" phraseology in Dimitroff and the VII World Congress. Then one can better follow the traces of Kautsky: Reconciliation of right deviation with Bolshevism through a "united communist united front tactic" which has "freed" itself from sectarianism! On the one hand, to condemn communism as "sectarianism" and "adventurism", to take the edge off it at an acute moment when it is preparing to transform itself from word into deed and is thus really going after the bourgeoisie - but at the same time to maintain a tactic of "revolutionary" phraseology, while at the same time maintaining a tactic of "revolutionary phraseology" by demarcating oneself as far as possible before the masses against openly treacherous social-democratism, against right opportunism, so that the revolutionised and disillusioned masses do not have to feel betrayed by the reformism of the bourgeoisie - this is what Lenin understood by centrist (bourgeois!) disarmament of the fighting bourgeoisie. ) disarmament of the fighting revolutionary proletariat. And even in the situation of fascism, the bourgeoisie can only prevent the radicalisation and revolutionisation of the masses by using this conciliatory tactic. Dimitroff spoke of the "Bolshevik" CP of China because Mao knew how to maintain the two extremes of "left" and right opportunism united in one party, so that the party would not disintegrate and the re-founding of an actual Bolshevik party could not have been prevented as a result.

While the "left" centrism within the Marxist-Leninist movement accuses the Marxist-Leninists of right-wing deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the right-wing centrists accuse the Marxist-Leninists of "sectarianism", that is, of "left-wing" deviation from Marxism-Leninism. One line was represented by Trotsky and the other by Dimitroff, while Mao Zedong, as a centrist in power, was able to combine both "left" and right centrism to develop an independent political system of government. This happened at a time when the international bourgeoisie had to realise that it was no longer possible to make progress with the conventional methods of centrism, when the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism continued to form thanks to Enver Hoxha and the PAA and developed into an independent Marxist-Leninist world movement. This was the time when the international bourgeoisie created Bolshevik parties for itself in order to compete with the "real Marxist-Leninist" parties and to create confusion and division in order to decompose and liquidate the Marxist-Leninist world movement. This line was initiated mainly by Mao and the CP of China and found approval among the international bourgeoisie after they had already fully trusted Mao's policy in the Chinese revolution. Centrism is only waging a fake struggle against right and "left" opportunism under the

mask of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the "golden mean" of centrism is not Marxism-Leninism against "left" and right deviations, but "alien to all extremes". This is what Lenin called the worst deception and this is also the main obstacle to the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement today.

So conciliationism is not a peccadillo in the Marxist-Leninist world movement, even if it is "well-intentioned". By conciliationism, the danger of deviation is underestimated. Conciliationism is a bourgeois tactic of lulling and appeasement. A minority situation cannot be overcome by conciliation towards the temporary opportunist majority, because that would be tantamount to capitulation to the opportunist majority. Nor can one achieve through conciliation that opportunists and Marxist-Leninists stop fighting each other in the interest of "unity". Such a truce would prevent the Marxist-Leninists from purging the opportunists, would be a truce forcing the Marxist-Leninists to tolerate the opportunists in their own ranks.

On no account must one exaggerate the struggle against conciliationism, because otherwise the deviation would be given room to develop by being able to prove that it had been attacked too harshly. This would compromise the Marxist-Leninists.

Even in the struggle against centrism, Lenin warned against "exaggerating" this struggle:

"But to exaggerate, even a little, is precisely to prevent victory (over centrism - the editors). To exaggerate the struggle against centrism means to save centralism, to consolidate its position, its influence on the workers. We have learnt how to lead a victorious struggle against centrism on an international scale in the period of the Second and Third Congresses. This has been proved by deeds. We will continue this struggle consistently" (Lenin, Vol. 32, page 546, German edition - underlining by us - the ed.).

We have by no means uncovered all the errors of the VII World Congress; this work still has to be done and completed. However, what we wanted to achieve has been achieved, namely, to orientate the new construction of the Comintern (SH) on Marxist-Leninist line by freeing the Comintern from the line of the VII World Congress, reinstating the old Comintern line since its foundation and continuing the Stalinist course of the Comintern, the course of the VI World Congress.

In separating ourselves from the VII World Congress, we have avoided the "left" mistake of declaring the Comintern revisionist degenerate in order to build a "left" Comintern. We have defended the Comintern from the beginning, we continue to defend it. What we do not defend is the right deviation at the VII World Congress. In this respect, we continue the old - corrected Comintern line freed from the right deviation, by fighting this right deviation today also in the Marxist-Leninist movement, without giving the right deviationists an argument with which one could actually accuse us of left deviationism. That would then be a ready-made meal for the conciliators. But we do not want Dimitroff people in the Comintern (SH), because we are carrying out the correction of the right deviation of the VII World Congress at a time when by now it is obviously historically proven that this right deviation had necessarily led to revisionist degeneration. We could have spared ourselves the work of this General Line if we had warmly welcomed today's Dimitroff people into the ranks of the Comintern (SH) to carry out the Maoist struggle of two lines there. We will not allow this centrist struggle in the Comintern (SH), because that would hand the Comintern (SH) over to the liquidationism of opportunism. However, in the struggle against centrism we are obliged to encourage the Marxist-Leninists to further develop Marxism-Leninism, to further develop the general line of the Comintern (SH), to further develop the tasks resulting from it, without being afraid of making mistakes. The struggle against centrism

does not fall ready-made from the sky; it is not possible without mistakes. Therefore, should we approach exaggerations towards centrism, we must correct this in time.

Drawing lessons from centrism within the Comintern means above all avoiding the mistake of considering Dimitroff's right centrism in isolation from Trotsky's "left" centrism. Both played a common role in the respective process of development of the Comintern, with "left" centrism preparing right centrism and right centrism replacing "left" centrism. If we transfer this to our present situation, we have to lead the struggle against centrism in the Marxist-Leninist world movement consistently in both directions from the very beginning, because otherwise the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement will be liquidated both with the "left" centrism lever of the "united front of Marxist-Leninists" and with the right centrism lever of the "united front of Marxist-Leninists". Therefore, we fight both conciliationism towards the "left" deviation and at the same time conciliationism towards the right deviation within the Marxist-Leninist movement.

So here we are resolutely opposing Trotskyism, which opposes "left" centrism to the deviation to the right centrism of the VII World Congress in order to save centrism. As for the entrisms of the Trotskyists in the reformist parties, it is precisely the Trotskyists who spread the illusion that it is possible to impose a revolutionary policy within social democracy. Dimitroff was far from that. Dimitroff was not in the tradition of Trotskyism, but in the tradition of Marxism-Leninism. The criticism of the Trotskyists at the VII. The criticism of the Trotskyists of the VII World Congress ("the consciousness of the working class was allegedly destroyed" by "fascism and Stalinism"; "all post-war struggles = failures of the working class"= Stalinist degeneration") cannot therefore be the same as the criticism of the Marxist-Leninists (right deviation from the correct course of deepening the united front tactics towards the dictatorship of the proletariat by revolutionary means, correct implementation by the Soviet Union and Albania with Stalin and Enver Hoxha at the head). To mix these two opposite starting points and not to keep them strictly apart would mean conciliationism towards Trotskyism, would strengthen neo-Trotskyism against Marxism-Leninism, would be a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. Those who study the general line of the Comintern (SH) carefully will see that we did not make the criticism of the right deviation of the VII World Congress and of Dimitroff in order to trade Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern for the IVth International of the Trotskyists. International of the Trotskyists or to get closer to the IV. International. This is what we would be doing if we criticised the right deviation of the VII World Congress NOT from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, but from the standpoint of the IVth International. International. Rather, we are trying to demonstrate that since the VII World Congress, the right-wing forces against Stalin's course have strengthened, based on or emerging from the VII World Congress. We found in Stalin up to the VII World Congress a wealth of most valuable directional support for the Comintern culminating in the VI World Congress. Since Lenin's death, Stalin has proved to be the most outstanding leader of the Comintern. For the period leading up to the VII World Congress, and everything that happened in the Comintern thereafter, we have rarely found documents from Stalin which could have corroborated that he openly actively supported, promoted and defended this policy. There are many indications that Stalin was not necessarily convinced of the Comintern's course after the VII World Congress, to put it mildly. In particular, it is clear with Stalin's Comintern policy that he took a central position in the struggle against Trotskyism, which Tito represented.

It cannot be denied that the Trotskyists supported Tito against the Soviet Union, and it is also no coincidence that Togliatti, of all people, the renegade celebrated by the VII World Congress, supported Tito's Trotskyist position and condemned Stalin's course, which he had still praised in such high terms at the VII World Congress. So one cannot defend Stalin's Togliatti against Tito's Togliatti without taking leave of Marxism-Leninism. And certainly Togliatti was not the only one who followed the road to revisionism since the VII

World Congress. By clearly distinguishing ourselves from the right deviation of the VII World Congress, it will be more difficult for the Trotskyists and all anti-Marxist forces in the future to identify ourselves with the right deviation in order to weaken and attack Marxism-Leninism. This rather clarifies the fronts and is an important contribution to lure our opponents ideologically out of their ambush and to fight them more openly. This does not create confusion, but overcomes it. If the anti-Marxist forces are now raising a wild hue and cry against the Comintern (SH) instead of congratulating us on this step, then we are correct in our assumptions.

We want to strengthen the unity of the working class by freeing the united front policy of the VII World Congress from the influence of the right deviation. The Trotskyists use the criticism of the VII World Congress to deepen not the unity but the division of the working class. With the dissolution of the Comintern and the foundation of the IV. International, the false impression can be created that the Marxist-Leninists have left the solution of the international question through world revolution to the Trotskyists and would retreat to their proletarian revolution in their own country and "defend" Stalin's slogan of "socialism in one country" against the Trotskyists by subordinating the importance of world revolution to proletarian revolution in one country, etc. World socialism and socialism "in one country" must not be regarded as opposites, undialectically separated from each other, played off against each other. This has never been the view of Marxist-Leninists. If someone correctly applied the internationalist doctrine of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice and creatively developed it further, if someone correctly determined and applied the relationship between world socialism and socialism in one country, it was Lenin and Stalin, but it was certainly not Trotsky. The Trotskyists pose as defenders of Lenin's "world revolution". But the Trotskyists did not care about the fate of socialism in one country. They were prepared to betray it and indeed sacrificed it "in the name of world revolution". This was not only a petty-bourgeois capitulation to socialism in one country, but also at the same time a capitulation to the world revolution, because the one lives only through the other. They underestimated the role of the factor of proletarian revolution in one country for the development of the world revolutionary movement and therefore fought the only country of socialism. If socialism in the single country is a prerequisite for victory in all countries, it becomes clear that one must fight this single country if one wants to cut off the road to world socialism. Consequently, the Trotskyists also hold in low esteem the role of the Bolshevik Party of one country and speak - for this reason and in its place(!) - for the necessity of the "world party". They claim that the instrument of world revolution is exclusively the "world party" as long as there is "no socialism in a country". Ultimately, this means renouncing the role of the Bolshevik Party, which it plays not only for its own country but at the same time for the world revolution. Because of the different conditions of development in each country, the world revolution can unfold only through the victorious revolutions in each country, which is impossible without the leadership of the Bolshevik parties, without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in each country. That is why the Trotskyists invented the theory of the impossibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country.

This is well known and is part of the ABC of Marxism in the struggle against Trotskyism. The Trotskyist conception of proletarian internationalism denies the national aspect and form of the revolution and preaches the world revolution outside any national borders, preach exporting the revolution at the cost (!) of the interests of the country or countries where the working class has seized power. The first demand of a truly internationalist stance is thus not ultra-left phraseology about world revolution, but the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks in one's own country as a precondition for the actual success of world revolution. In this correct demarcation from Trotskyism, however, Marxist-Leninists must not fall into the other extreme, namely, to devalue the world revolution as a passive "by-

product" of the revolutions in all the individual countries or even to understand it as a self-run, as growing in, etc., as the right-wingers do. The slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite" is the slogan: "One for all, all for one" and not "I will help you only if you help me". This is in reality the nationalist concept of neo-revisionism, which confines itself to considering proletarian internationalism as a welcome opportunity to keep like-minded and allied "anti-revisionist" brother parties in order to adorn its own politics with internationalism and camouflage its limited nationalism behind it, i.e., to give national "communism" an international character. In fact, it is the essence of revisionism to make use of unity, of internationalism only, because revisionism is an ideology of the bourgeoisie, an ideology of division and discord, of capitalism and nationalism, a sophisticated ideology of exploitation and oppression, which is incompatible with proletarian internationalism, with Marxism-Leninism, with the ideology of the world proletariat. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is a phenomenon of the international class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between capitalism and socialism. In this struggle there can be no "middle" line. The "golden mean", as experience shows, is the line of reconciliation of antagonistic contradictions which can never be reconciled. The split in the international proletariat is the result of "unity-making" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, unity with the dissenters. Trotskyism is the essentially covert, conciliatory theory of revolutionaries and opportunist groupings and factions living side by side in a common party with the aim of destroying the Bolshevik party. The workers' cause needs the unity of Marxists, not the unity of Marxists with opponents. It is Trotskyism that seeks to prevent the party from not leaving the opportunists in its ranks but purging them out. It is the middle way, centrism, which serves to mask the deviation from Marxist-Leninist principles, aiding the regeneration and moulting of revisionism under a new guise.

Centrism is the first stage in the moulting process of a new form of revisionism. The general line can never be a kind of "centre line" through which principles are bartered away with the aim of "broader unity". This applies not only to the elaboration but also to the implementation of the general line. Both as a whole and in detail, we must always stick to the principled general line, otherwise we will become inattentive and unable to recognise when divergences are being concealed or deliberately fomented. Such a general line, which on the one hand sells off its principles and on the other hand hides its divergences in order to always stand there "squeaky clean", but complicates and neglects the practical implementation by embellishing the firmness of principles (for its own sake), is no good, ends sooner or later in defeat and is tantamount to a death sentence. The centrists and conciliators lean on the right deviation to allegedly fight the "left" deviation and they side with the "left" deviationists when it comes to fighting right opportunism in order to save it in reality. They sway sometimes to the right and sometimes to the "left", but they place themselves on the stand of the Comintern (SH) at most only for tactical reasons, in order to betray the general line of the Comintern (SH) all the more sooner or later. The Trotskyists themselves present the matter in such a way that, in their view, our two-front struggle is "centrist", because they call themselves the true "Marxist-Leninists" and there are rights - that is all the rest, including us Marxist-Leninists. Only people who have confused all terms and have long since broken with Marxism-Leninism can talk like this. It is this confusion of terms that today disorients the communist movement and makes it difficult for the working class to still see through, which unfortunately or intentionally leads to turning away from the Marxist-Leninist movement altogether. Precisely for this reason, the Comintern (SH) and its sections must put an end to this eclectic confusion of terms, which leads to the vulgarisation of Marxism-Leninism, i.e. to blurriness, indeterminacy and "unassailability", and create clarity not only for themselves, but also and above all for the struggling masses. The policy of the Trotskyists - as of all opportunists - is precisely to keep the differences of opinion artificially boiling and to invent new ones in order to carry out secret stirring, to cover up the real differences of opinion, to conceal their own



positions behind other positions and to make it impossible for the proletariat and its party to gain clarity, as is the case now in the situation in the Balkans. The Trotskyists "submit" to the general line when it seems opportune to them, only to split the united forces all the better and to paralyse and disintegrate the implementation of the general line. Behind the guise of "unity", to pursue only its own line (against unity!) - this is the Trotskyist method of entrism within the Bolshevik Party. Lenin said: "Never... had Trotsky a fixed opinion, always 'crawled in the crevices' between the different opinions and shuttled from one side to the other". ( Lenin Vol. 20, page 453, German edition). Lenin correctly described Trotsky as an "adventurer who constantly has to wriggle out" ("You have not understood me correctly"/"But that is not what I meant"). The Trotskyists abuse the open criticism and self-criticism of the Marxist-Leninists in order to sow mistrust, pessimism and doubt, and thus run the anti-communist business of the imperialists, are their 5th column. The Trotskyists are looking for arguments to double-tongue the weaknesses and mistakes of the Marxist-Leninists as "proofs" of their "pre-programmed failure", their "wrong, deviant, line", their "dictatorial power over the majority", their "bureaucratic apparatus" and so on. It is the Trotskyists who are power-hungry and unwilling to submit to proletarian discipline, who exercise coercion, who subvert decisions and carry out sabotage and pest work, and not Stalin, whom they want to impute precisely this to.

The Trotskyists appear as "100% communists" who politically and organisationally form the critics of Marxism-Leninism through factionalism against the Marxist-Leninist leadership up to the eventual creation of an open oppositional "unification of all critics" into a "majority" bloc, in order either to coup to power or, if this fails, to gradually - over a longer period of time - pursue the same goal, namely to bring down the Marxist-Leninist leadership. or, if it fails, to gradually pursue the same goal - over a longer period of time - through entrism, namely, to bring down the Marxist-Leninist leadership, to isolate it from the party base, from the proletarians, from the toilers, in order to strangle the revolution, communism, the Marxist-Leninists and hand them over to reaction. It is one of the main features of Trotskyism that it not only condemns the hostility of the Marxist-Leninists to the opportunist elements but also seeks to prevent their consequences. The theory of "overcoming" the opportunist elements through ideological struggle WITHIN the Comintern (SH) conjures up the danger of condemning the Comintern/ML and its sections to a state of paralysis and infirmity, of handing them over skin and hair to the opportunists. Opportunists must never be kept in one's own ranks, least of all in the general staff of the world proletariat.

The counterrevolutionary Trotskyist IV. International directed itself against the leaders of Bolshevism, supposedly to "protect" the III Comintern from them. The Trotskyists claimed that after the IV Congress in 1922 the 'Stalinist decay' of the Comintern had begun:

"The 1938 programme contained a further enrichment over the teachings of the Comintern: the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union posed the task of a political revolution against bureaucratic power.... The IV. International fruitfully continues the work of the first four Congresses of the Communist International in the Transitional Programme and in its application and further development" (Pierre Frank, "Zur Bedeutung des Übergangsprogramms der IV. International", In: "The Transitional Programme of the IV. Internationale", hrsg by GIM, German Section of the IV. International, page 6).

Thus, Lenin's path, which Stalin continued, was to be continued in the direction of Trotskyism. Historically, we know what influence the Trotskyists had at these first World Congresses. They wanted to build on these influences with the IV. International. The counter-revolutionary international line of the Trotskyists, their pest works consist in wanting to "protect" Marxism-Leninism from the Marxist-Leninists. Today, the Trotskyists

do not act alone as "Marxists" or as "Bolshevik-Leninists" as they did in the times of Trotsky, but cheekily use the arguments of both Stalin and Enver Hoxha. This is the result of the ideological moulting process of neo-Trotskyism, which became necessary in the course of the ideological defeat of Trotskyism by the Marxist-Leninists, in order to get rid of their musty smell and to remain dangerous as disguised "Marxist-Leninists" WITHIN the international Marxist-Leninist world movement. The Comintern (SH) is aware of this danger, is armed and will not be taken by surprise. Neo-Trotskyism does not dare to openly oppose Marxism-Leninism as a militant force, it prefers to operate under the flag of Marxism-Leninism and operate under the slogan of "unsectarian"/"anti-revisionist" discussion and interpretation for the "improvement" of Marxism-Leninism. The neo-Trotskyists use the method of "dichotomy", by which they "recognise" one part of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha, in order to simultaneously declare the other part historically "useless" or to ignite an "error discussion" of the classics while at the same time "recognising" them in principle. In this way, they then move more easily to the next step, namely to "dis-interpret" the "acceptable part" as well. It can be stated that the Trotskyists like to characterise the first part of the historical development of Marxism-Leninism as "sectarian", which in the course of development, in the second part, develops into "revisionism" and finally into inevitable, lawful degeneration, in order to alternatively build on this and bring to the man the Trotskyist "Marxism-Leninism", which draws "lessons" from both the sectarian and the revisionist errors.

What has developed, according to the Trotskyists, is therefore not Marxism-Leninism, which has strengthened itself in the struggle against "left" and right, but is a development between "left" and right and from right to "left" WITHOUT a Marxist-Leninist line. "Marxist-Leninist" in their eyes is only that line which develops WITH and not AGAINST opportunism. This is how the neo-Trotskyists ( in words anti-Trotskyism, in deeds Trotskyism) also judge the III Comintern. Old Trotskyism is officially "criticised", but the first period of the III Comintern is "sectarian" and the second phase "revisionist". At the foundation of the Comintern (SH), the criticism of "sectarianism" starts again. For Trotskyism, there is no unified and closed history of the Comintern, but a scheme to undermine the unity of the Comintern. The neo-Trotskyists try to present Marxism-Leninism as an eclectic theory to make it easier to pick apart. The theory of the bifurcation of Marxism-Leninism is the theory of the destruction of Marxism-Leninism, the replacement of Marxism-Leninism with Trotskyism. However, Marxism-Leninism is a closed theory which has passed the test of many revolutions, not least the October Revolution, and which is carried forward by the Comintern (SH) as the banner of struggle of the world proletariat, and will one day be proved by the world revolution - not on the basis of Trotskyism, but on its ruins.

The essence and strength of the general line of the Comintern (SH) and its sections is precisely to be able to DIFFERENTIATE between Trotskyism, the "left" and right opportunism of the past and the Trotskyism, the "left" and right opportunism of the present and to PREVENT or RESOLVE its moultings and possible splits and resulting factional blocs. Moreover, the general line of the Comintern (SH) and its sections know very well to distinguish that there is a conciliationism towards "left" opportunism and a conciliationism towards right opportunism, and that Trotskyism tries to Trotskyism tries to derive from this its "theories" and "tactics" of splitting with the aim of forming blocs against socialism, against the proletarian line, against the Marxist-Leninist leadership, against its revolutionary connection to the masses, even against the revolutionary struggle of the masses. To separate everything and everybody from communism in order to unite everything and everybody against communism in the name of "anti-Trotskyism", that is the neo-Trotskyist line of liquidationism, that is the line of the outermost outpost of the defenders of capitalism. Lenin exposed the centrists as "lackeys of opportunism". Today,

the centrists are lackeys of neo-revisionism. In an effort to create an international coordination centre for the various groups into which the Trotskyists divided and frayed, they propagated the thesis that "proletarian internationalism remains abstract unless it is linked to an International." Of course, militant, active internationalism is by no means always linked to the creation of a world centre. This problem depends on some historical conditions. From 1873 to 1889, no International existed at all, but this does not lead to the conclusion that internationalism "disappeared".

This was even less true for the years 1917 to 1918, when there was also no International, but proletarian internationalism was very much alive during this period to support the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Even later, after the dissolution of the III. International, proletarian internationalism did not disappear. Its determination was expressed in the support given to the Soviet Union in the struggle against Hitler's fascism, in the condemnation of the North American aggression against Korea, in the help given in general to the peoples of the whole world. What in reality determines internationalism is the revolutionary attitude of the proletarians in the class struggles in their own country - but also beyond that, with which they make their contribution to shake and eliminate the world system of capitalism, is the defence of socialism as well as the determined support of the liberation movements in the different countries. The call of Marx and Engels "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" does not automatically, schematically imply the creation of Internationals (even the founders of Marxism participated in the dissolution of the International). A true understanding of this historic call is that proletarians unite in their revolutionary struggle to smash capitalism and build the new, socialist, communist life worldwide. The Trotskyists' untenable argument on this question has the sole purpose of justifying the repeatedly failed revival of their rotten, anti-communist IV. International and to make the building of the Comintern (SH) "superfluous".

### **Maoist centrism**

If we start from Enver Hoxha's statement that the CP of China was basically not a Bolshevik party throughout its history, that it was never guided by Marxism-Leninism, that it was never the revolutionary party of the Chinese proletariat, then we cannot leave it at that, but we must draw conclusions about the Comintern and the whole communist world movement and also about the Marxist-Leninist world movement, because we all considered the CP of China in our own ranks as a Bolshevik party, even as one of the biggest Bolshevik parties next to the CPSU (B), and we ran after a cause which only seemed to be in agreement with our cause, but could not be reconciled at all. It was only 50 years after the founding of the CP of China that we Marxist-Leninists drew the line of separation, although there were comrades who were critical. But we did not listen to them. Our whole revolutionary thinking must be raised to a completely new level if we want to take the destiny of the world revolution in our hands in the future. If we ask ourselves why then socialism was temporarily defeated by capitalism, one of the most important reasons was that most of us in our world communist movement were not consistent enough to carry the work of the October Revolution to a victorious conclusion, otherwise we would not have allowed a bourgeois party not only to "swim along" with us, but to this day still to some extent to maintain its pernicious counter-revolutionary influence in the world Marxist-Leninist movement. We rail like sparrows against the revisionists, including Mao, against the traitors to communism, but we do not rail against ourselves, although it is in our hands whether someone betrays socialism or not, because we WERE even in power, we could have prevented revisionism from the outset if we had consistently and faithfully advanced along the line of Marxism-Leninism and not deviated.

Only the weakness of the Marxist-Leninists has brought revisionism to power, only we ourselves, comrades - we and no one else. We ourselves are the cause that revisionism was able to spread because we allowed it to spread, and we must never absolve ourselves of this responsibility. The cause of helplessness in assessing one's own situation is always the lack of self-criticism, not to say the capitulation to self-criticism. Therefore, the lessons of the communist world movement can only be understood as self-criticism. Only those who come to this clear realisation will take the decisive serious and credible step to never repeat this mistake. What revisionism has done must be an unforgettable lesson for us. It is all the more urgent not only to defend the doctrine of Enver Hoxha against Maoism, but to develop it further in the direction of: "Fire on revisionist treachery!". So what does it mean to develop Enver Hoxha's doctrine? It means to thoroughly eradicate the errors we committed against Mao in Enver Hoxha's way in all fields, errors that we still defend and carry around today "in good faith" and "with full conviction", but from which we must free ourselves. A history of the CPSU (B) has been written, but what is missing is the history of the world communist movement, especially the Comintern. When we realise the gigantic significance of Enver Hoxha's criticism of Mao, then we get a faint inkling of what still awaits us in the serious search for the truth about the communist world movement, and what a valuable contribution this will make to our common progress. But there is no other way to cut off the old braids that prevent us from boldly moving forward to create a new Marxist-Leninist world movement. We never question Marxism-Leninism, but we must permanently question ourselves whether we have not only applied Marxism-Leninism correctly, but above all whether we have also developed it correctly, because it is the further development that is most important. This also means that we have to question more critically than before our previous assessments of our own history, of the communist world movement, and above all correct them with the aim of reawakening the old Bolshevism of Lenin and Stalin and reviving it in a new, fresh spirit. We want to bring together and unite only those Marxist-Leninists in the world who want to follow with us this road to the creation of a new Bolshevism.

The bourgeois subversion in our ranks is of gigantic proportions. If the bourgeoisie sent its spies into the Russian revolutionary movement in the time of tsarism, the system of subversive activity of the bourgeoisie has been perfected in the meantime, if we consider the example of the CP of China. The world bourgeoisie has its own "Bolshevik" parties, has its own "Marxist-Leninist" parties, has its own "strategy and tactics of the world proletarian revolution", has built up all this in order to use it in the struggle AGAINST us!!! Of course, it also continues to pursue the old tactics as long as they remain effectively applicable against us. But what is at stake here is to establish that we must completely rearm ourselves to turn bourgeois subversion against the bourgeoisie itself and defeat it. As far as centrism is concerned in this context, the methods of centrism have become much more dangerous since Kautsky's time, centrism has even succeeded in coming to power in China. Enver Hoxha speaks of an amalgam of the most diverse ideological currents feeding Chinese centrism. Relativism and eclecticism are the essential basic bourgeois philosophical elements. The disarmament of Marxism-Leninism is carried out from within. The principles of Marxism-Leninism are juggled in such a way that they contradict each other or neutralise each other in their effect and significance, as we have tried to expose in the united front tactics of the VII World Congress. This mutual neutralisation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism is then packaged in "Marxism-Leninism" to sweetly disguise this disarming tactic. And this very construction of contradictions by false and arbitrary juxtapositions of principles of Marxism-Leninism to the extreme in order to gain the greatest effective benefit for the bourgeoisie, and then to sell this benefit to the revolutionary proletariat, the Marxist-Leninists, this is the tactic of the bourgeoisie to pass it off as a guideline for the bourgeois "Marxist-Leninist world

movement" as is the case with Mao Zedong ideas. The maintenance of the weakening of the unity of the "Marxist-Leninist" world movement ("maintenance" = tactically cleverest "annihilation", because the bourgeoisie cannot of course annihilate the Marxist-Leninist world movement, even if it creates its own sophisticated competitive enterprises!) through the subversive "united front tactics" in permanence, that constitutes the permanent liquidationism of centrism in the bourgeois "Marxist-Leninist world movement". So this tactic does not want to destroy its own bourgeois "Marxist-Leninist world movement" in any case, so that no true, new revolutionary movement in the world can separate from it. A detached movement that becomes independent is more difficult for the world bourgeoisie to control and therefore much more dangerous. This is the problem that the world bourgeoisie now has with the Comintern (SH), which has succeeded in freeing itself from the bourgeois grip of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" world movement. There is nothing special behind today's nebulous "Marxist-Leninist" movement. It cannot be compared with the real Marxist-Leninist world movement of Enver Hoxha's time, no matter how hard it tries to pretend to have emerged from it. The sooner one says goodbye to the illusory world of the bourgeois "Marxist-Leninist world movement" and draws a clear line and settles accounts with it, the better.

Mao Zedong's myth as a "Marxist-Leninist" must be overthrown by the Marxist-Leninist world movement, by the revolutionary world proletariat, by the revolutionary peoples and, last but not least, by the Chinese people themselves, in order to be able to continue victoriously on the road of world revolution. "Mao Zedong is not a Marxist-Leninist, but a progressive revolutionary democrat, and it is from this point of view (...) that his work must be studied" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China, vol. II, page 802, Tirana 1979, German edition).

Why does Mao appear here in the section of centrism within the communist world movement of all places? Because to this day he fills the central figure of the world centrist, i.e. he places himself "above Marxism-Leninism". Why else does his picture hang both in the luxury villas of the Chinese social imperialists and in the primitive guerrilla shelters of the remotest corners of Peru, and again next to Enver Hoxha's picture in American-Russian study rooms? Mao Zedong differs from all centrists in the world in that he elaborated centrism from a mere current, to an independent, "closed", eclectic doctrine, with which he built a great social empire through the path of various revolutions and counter-revolutions. This makes Maoism the first centrism in power - and over a relatively long period of time. So we need to rethink our own theoretical picture both of Mao Zedong and of centrism per se. Comrade Enver Hoxha has done a tremendous service to the world Marxist-Leninist movement by subjecting Maoism to a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis and critique, which he was only able to secure over a period of 20 years, because Maoism was extremely difficult to understand by its very nature. Enver Hoxha has left us the task of further illuminating the descending line of Maoism's development:

"The views of Mao Zedong are being developed today, in the epoch of the rot of imperialism, in the last stage of capitalism, in the epoch, that is, when proletarian revolutions are on the agenda and the example and the great teachings of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the teachings of Marx and Lenin are an infallible guide for us. Mao Zedong's theory, the "Mao Zedong ideas", which emerged under these new conditions, would try to clothe themselves in the garb of the most revolutionary and scientific theory of the time, Marxism-Leninism, but in essence they remain an anti-Marxist theory, because it is opposed to the proletarian revolutions and comes to the aid of imperialism, which is in rot. Therefore, in Mao Zedong's ideology, all aspects of the ideas that capitalism and imperialism have produced throughout the many years of its decline

and not have found expression. The "Mao Zedong ideas" are an amalgam of ideologies from anarchism, Trotskyism, modern revisionism à la Tito, à la Khrushchev, Eurocommunism à la Marchais-Berlinguer-Carillo to the use of Marxist-Leninist formulas. In this whole amalgam we must also distinguish the ancient ideas of Confucius, Mencius and the other Chinese philosophers who had an extraordinary influence on the formation of Mao Zedong's ideas, his cultural and theoretical development. Thus, it is difficult to determine a single or, so to speak, clear line of Chinese ideology" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 802-803).

From the day Marxism-Leninism set foot on Chinese soil, the CP China has never - that is, at any time - developed into a genuine Bolshevik party of the Leninist and Stalinist type which

- a) actually merged proletarian science with the proletarian class,
- b) would have led the proletariat with the allied peasants to socialist revolution and social liberation
- c) and helped it to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These goals of the revolutionary Chinese proletariat and peasants have not been achieved until today, have remained unfulfilled, have been prevented by Mao Zedong's ideas and the bourgeois class, which they still serve today. This is also a betrayal of the overall goals of the world proletariat and all labourers of the whole world. Thus, not only Marxism-Leninism, socialism, but also the world revolution and the Marxist-Leninist world movement have suffered a huge damage, Mao Zedong ideas continue to split our ranks, we are threatened with final destruction, we are scattered to the winds. Therefore, we want to wake up all comrades with the general line of the Comintern (SH), let us lead all Marxist-Leninists to the struggle against Mao Tsetung ideas - a struggle to the death. Marxist-Leninists of the whole world - recognise the Maoists as enemies of Marxism-Leninism and destroy them as enemies of Marxism-Leninism if you want to save us, if you want to save Marxism-Leninism, if you want to save the world revolution! Choose between the two anti-revisionist paths: either Enver Hoxha's or Mao Zedong's, either the proletarian or the bourgeois path. These two roads do not lead in the same direction, they lead in two opposite directions which are mutually exclusive, which will end either with the destruction of Mao's ideas or with the destruction of Enver Hoxha's ideas. We are accused of "claiming autocracy". Yes, Marxism-Leninism can only belong to Marxist-Leninists, to no one other than the world proletariat, we will not share it with anyone, we will defy any "united front" that claims to share Marxism-Leninism with anti-Marxists. Marxism-Leninism is indivisible. Either one sides with it or against it, It is as simple as that! We will convince the waverers comradely, but fight the enemies mercilessly.

Mao Zedong always had pragmatically at hand what was needed at the moment and who, with his leader personality, was able to balance the equilibrium between "left" and right in the service of the centrist unity of all opportunists. Centrism can only ever work where the Marxist-Leninists are in the minority or where they had little influence, as in China. Mao managed to maintain this balance for decades, and thus managed to ensure that the Marxist-Leninists never had a chance to play a role in the leadership of the CP of China, and this party was, after all, a section of the Comintern, which Dimitroff claimed was one of the best sections of the Comintern! Since Enver Hoxha, we know that this was a big lie. How did Mao do it? The way it worked was that the centrist Mao, relying on the "left" or right trend of deviation prevailing at the moment, used the corresponding "left" or right minority trend as a dustbin for Marxism-Leninism. If the right deviation is predominant, then he threw Marxism-Leninism into the "sectarian dustbin" and if he let the "left"

deviation predominate, then he promoted Marxism-Leninism into the right dustbin for a change, depending on the actual state of affairs in the Chinese revolution. But in doing so, he always presented himself as a Marxist-Leninist. Nothing else is basically the so-called struggle of two lines, where neither one nor the other can be a true Marxist-Leninist line - where Marxism-Leninism has merely been batted back and forth as a ping-pong ball "in the struggle of two lines"! And the Chinese, after all, have worked their way up to a social-imperialist superpower by playing this ping-pong game. So the Marxist-Leninists must always be kept in the minority in this game, or preferably kept out of it altogether, otherwise this centrist tactic will not work. Only through the "revolutionary" changing of the guard of the two deviations staged from time to time - which is of course directed by centrism, i.e. from above by the "wise helmsman" - can the deception manoeuvre remain undetected, and everyone is then supposed to believe that here "the Marxist-Leninist" line has won in the "revolutionary struggle of two lines" thanks to the great helmsman in the struggle against the respective predominant deviation. Once you let the right deviation "win" against the "left" deviation, only to have the "left" opponent win the next game after some time (when the balance threatened to get out of hand). A ping-pong ball, however, never has a chance to win, because its destiny is to be batted back and forth. For this, Mao needed Marxism-Leninism. There is only one thing left to do, leave the playing field to build a new Marxist-Leninist party, and allow NO deviation. With this general line, ping-ponging in the Comintern (SH) is thus strictly forbidden from the outset.

If Marxism-Leninism is the dominant tactic of the communist party, the two deviations amount to revisionism on the one hand and "left" sectarianism on the other. In China, however, Marxism-Leninism was never the dominant tactic of the Chinese Communist Party, but its two deviations. This was not least related to the development of the workers' movement in that country:

"Backward economic conditions or those lagging behind in their development always lead to the emergence of adherents of the workers' movement who adopt merely some pages of Marxism, merely individual parts of the new world outlook or individual slogans and demands, without being able to break decisively with old traditions of the bourgeois world outlook in general and the bourgeois-democratic world outlook in particular" (Lenin, Vol. 16, page 354, German edition).

Basically, with the revisionist tactic of the so-called "struggle of two lines", the Chinese have cleverly tried to crack the old Bolshevik two-front struggle against "left" and right, and it was only Enver Hoxha who exposed this in painstaking puzzle work. A "battle of two lines" only really comes to fruition through a "wise" helmsman like Mao was (who never placed himself on the right and never on the "left" in order to be able to maintain patronage for both sides). This was the whole secret why only under the control of a Chinese general line could this "struggle of two lines" function within the Marxist-Leninist parties and ensure the control of revisionism over the Marxist-Leninist world movement. Bolshevisation does not mean keeping the opportunist sparring partner in the party to be always fit in the "struggle of two lines". The "struggle of two lines" is not the law of development of Bolshevisation, but the sharp struggle for the monolithic unity of will and action of the proletarian party. Bolshevisation means fighting offensively for the consolidation and permanence of the party by isolating and pushing aside the carriers of the right and the "left" deviation, the deviation from the Marxist-Leninist line, and by placing real staunch proletarian Marxist-Leninists in the leadership of the party and by involving both the whole party and the masses in this struggle. Bolshevisation does not mean covering up and patching up differences of opinion or even unity for unity's sake, nor does it mean artificially fomenting internal struggle in the party. Both endanger and damage the unity of the party, as does the centrist balancing of various opportunist currents in the party. Not

even a rudimentary opportunist phenomenon in the party must be tolerated, rather a resolute principled struggle must be waged against it. In a two-front war, the party does not develop, but is weakened, worn down and ground down, it becomes incapable of action and paralysed. The law of development of the party is rather the complete, fully developed criticism and self-criticism. Only if the Bolshevik Party unites into a cohesive unit, if it maintains an iron proletarian discipline, will it remain capable of fulfilling its revolutionary task. It was precisely this two-front war that weakened, split or even liquidated the individual parties in the young Marxist-Leninist movement that were under Maoist influence. Fluctuations, petty-bourgeois elements of volatility, had at that time inhibited or made impossible the Bolshevik development of these young Marxist-Leninist parties, it had come to the fragmentation of the whole movement. And to bring these fluctuations under a workers' aristocratic hat in a centrist way, instead of eradicating them, had exactly the opposite effect.

### **So what is the definition of neo-revisionism on the question of Bolshevisation?**

**To mouth the correct Bolshevik struggle against the "left" and the right deviation from the line of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Marxist-Leninist World Party and the Marxist-Leninist movement, but to liquidate the Marxist-Leninist line with the centrist "struggle of two lines", this is the neo-revisionist tactic of Maoism in the question of Bolshevisation of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Marxist-Leninist World Party and the Marxist-Leninist movement -.**

Only by turning away from this centrist "struggle of two lines" - i.e. from the revisionist counter-variant to the Bolshevik struggle against "left" and right - it became dicey for revisionism and thus for world imperialism - and at that moment the international counter-revolution then brutally struck into the Marxist-Leninist world movement in a disintegrating and liquidating way, hardly that it had freed itself from Maoism. Enver had to die and so many leaders of the Marxist-Leninist leaders followed him! So, whoever wants to advance Bolshevisation must destroy its neo-revisionist distortions, must smash Maoism on the question of Bolshevisation.

So, those who cobble together a centrist = superior, eclectic ideology (with a corresponding world umbrella organisation) with the help of these two antagonistic ideologies ( and a hundred other "left" ideologies are cordially invited to do so - including the falsifications of Enver Hoxha's ideas! - they only need to call themselves "anti-revisionist" and "Marxist-Leninist" - and the more the better for "unity" and the greater the counterweight against the Marxist-Leninists!!!!) This will give Maoism, and not only Maoism, but all other anti-Marxist-Leninist, "anti-revisionist" currents, a way out to survive, help them to shed their skin and continue their active role in the united front against Marxism-Leninism as NEO-Maoism, etc., at the international level and then also in the individual countries. **Let us free the unity of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement from the grip of the centrist world movement!**

Mao's recipe for success was not to openly attack Marxism-Leninism in order to destroy it with one blow, but to weaken it "on the long march" and to divide it into a domesticated "sectarian" chain dog and a domesticated right chain dog, which are both set on each other according to the political weather situation, in order to calm them down again afterwards, and then let them loose on each other again. If the "left" chain dogs become too strong (one must not be sectarian, one must not be dogmatic, one must heal the patient to save him, unity - criticism - unity, one must not instigate conspiracies, one must



educate each other in solidarity, one must continue the struggle of two lines in the party, etc.), one releases the right chain dogs and vice versa (cultural revolution, against the revisionist ruler, against the ultra-right, against the renegades, against the revisionists, etc.). This is how one finally keeps power under balance control again after factional struggles have ended, after some disagreeable left and right extremists have been fired to the satisfaction of the opposite faction when they had gone too far out on a limb. All agreed in their loyal devotion to Mao's "creative further development of Marxism-Leninism". Anyone who doubted this was out of the window. Through the cult of personality propagated among the people, no one was allowed to contradict Mao, everything was done on the instructions of the great leader, and he saw to it that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was maintained "in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat" like a Chinese emperor over his empire.

The lack of a new centrist leader in the style of Mao has so far prevented the transfer of this tactic to the international level. But the Marxist-Leninist movement is awakening and producing new leaders. So the centrists will try to create a united front in which they will get the leadership and into which they will then try to integrate the Marxist-Leninists, which means nothing else than disciplining and subordinating them with the help of centrist centralism. If this does not succeed, they are isolated as sectarians, but for the purpose of domestication they are lured again and again into the (centrist) centre, they are courted because they are needed as opponents in the centrist power game. The present time is favourable for this, because the Marxist-Leninist world movement is still paralysed, weakened, divided, disunited, scattered by the loss of socialism. At this moment, when the Marxist-Leninist world movement recovers, when we gather, unify, strengthen each other and create a common centre, this new Marxist-Leninist centre can be useful to centrism to influence, manipulate and subdue the leadership of Marxist-Leninists or eliminate them to take their place. To this end, it is necessary to provide convincing deeds to the Marxist-Leninists to win their confidence so that they gradually get used to centrist rules of the game. Revisionism does not want to die. It is even prepared to make sacrifices if it has to. So it allows itself to be tactically "attacked" by the Marxist-Leninists within the framework of centrism. Heads may roll, but the place of the revisionists in the united front, in the common organisation, must not be vacated. It will be filled by new revisionists. Centrism remains hidden in the anti-revisionist struggle and thus protected = the life insurance of revisionism. It is suggested to the Marxist-Leninists that they are allowed to fight revisionism in their own ranks, in the united front etc. - but only as far as the existence of revisionism is not endangered. With this fight against windmills, the Marxist-Leninists are supposed to wear themselves out against the revisionists. This is also how Ramiz Alia proceeded, by using the personality cult around Enver Hoxha and as his "best comrade-in-arms" to deceive the true followers of Enver in order to push them into the sectarian, dogmatic corner and to beat them up better there. If that does not work, they will be put on a short leash or eliminated (social fascism).

We will never allow ourselves to be made the tool of these flayings - flayed or not, we will destroy centrism or we will perish. There is no other way to understand and apply the teachings of today's Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in a revolutionary way. Maoism can only shed its skin through the wrong application of Enver Hoxha's critique to Mao Zedong ideas and other hostile ideologies. If we apply the 5 Classics correctly in the struggle against Maoism and other anti-Marxist ideologies, they cannot possibly skin themselves, they cannot find food to skin themselves with us. Until Stalin's death, the revisionists were not allowed to venture out of their holes, it was no different with Enver Hoxha. Modern revisionism was only able to shed its skin at that time because we not only supported Maoism, but also actively ensured that it could spread so widely in the new Marxist-Leninist world movement.

Therein lies our self-criticism and therein lies our weakness, which we must now overcome. Without Enver Hoxha's criticism of Maoism, without the break with the CP of China, we would not have come so far with it, because Maoism proves to be extremely difficult to see through and to fight because of its opportunist, elastic universality. Although we owe so much to comrade Enver Hoxha in the struggle against Maoism, the unmasking of Mao as a centrist, there are voices in the Marxist-Leninist world movement that accuse him of this very thing, even accusing him of having written the diaries only after the break with the Chinese. We reject this accusation. The traitor Ramiz Alia can be blamed for everything bad against Enver Hoxha, but we defend Enver Hoxha. It is easy to talk about underestimating Maoism afterwards. Yes, certainly it would have been better in the interest of the world revolution to expose Maoism earlier and to get rid of Maoism more quickly in order not to let it develop so far in the first place. Certainly, this did harm; in the future, one must learn from mistakes more quickly. But we do not share the view that Enver Hoxha, of all people, is responsible for this, even though we have seriously asked ourselves why Enver smelled a Chinese rat at the Moscow consultation and only made the break 20 years later. We have not been able to talk to Enver Hoxha personally about this, but we have read his diary of 8 September 1977, from which we could gather that he had a hard time solving the riddle of the "Chinesiad". He also commented on the tactical approach against the Chinese in many places in his diary,

"... we could influence the Chinese Communist Party with our views. Neither the comrades nor I lacked positive and even very positive statements about China in public speeches, although we knew the Chinese reality and had our doubts about many different questions and problems of China (...) ... but we also intended to influence the Chinese comrades in a comradely way, i.e. indirectly (...) in favour of the Marxist-Leninist path. And we understood our explanations as a critical statement on many of their actions" ( Enver Hoxha, "Revisionist Manoeuvres. Anti-Marxist Structure", From the Political Diary, Vol. II, pp. 643-644).

Differences of opinion are not trumpeted to the world in order not to play into the hands of the opponents, but one tries to solve them internally among friends in a comradely manner. This is the common principled and proletarian internationalist attitude among comrades of different brother parties. Enver Hoxha never deviated from this attitude. The Comintern (SH) and its sections also proceed from this principle that differences of opinion and misunderstandings may arise between different parties and states, even if close friendly relations exist between them. Regardless of which side is at fault, these disagreements require joint discussions to resolve them. This principle must be applied all the more between socialist countries and communist parties. Norms such as consultations and mutual clarifications among comrades are absolutely necessary, because these Marxist-Leninist norms protect pure friendship from hypocritical friendship with bad intentions, they protect the purity of our scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, they strengthen the proletarian world revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples.

This is exactly how the majority in the Marxist-Leninist world movement behaved towards Albania after Enver Hoxha's death, when it became more and more obvious that doubts about Ramiz Alia were appropriate. But since they refused to receive us to raise our concerns internally in a comradely way, we published our criticism in a "diplomatic" way and sent it to Ramiz Alia's address - of course it was met with silence. Only when Enver's monument was toppled from its pedestal in Tirana did we openly attack the counter-revolutionaries.

"It also happened that we clashed directly with Chou En-lai and with Li Hsiän-niän and openly criticised them on many important problems on which they wanted to impose their

wrong positions on us. We were in open opposition to the Chinese comrades on first-rate political questions, especially on the Stalin question. We defended Stalin, they attacked him fiercely (...) As for all these contradictions, as for their vacillating attitude towards the Soviets, too - from Bucharest until today - we fought ( The Chinese leaders - Mao Zedong too - were in favour of stopping polemics (...) they wanted to develop friendly contacts with the Soviets (... ) we must fight against these conditions with the utmost firmness, notwithstanding the temporary defeats we have suffered (...) likewise, our Party's resolute attitude also forced him ( the short notice correction of Deng Hsiao Ping's conciliatory speech on Khrushchev at the Moscow Consultation because of his attacks on China - the editors) to do so, and this is a long history" (Ibid., pp. 646-647).

We do not know this "long history", but it is clear to us from this quotation that the Albanians were able to exert so much influence on the Chinese that the latter, despite or precisely because of their vacillations in the face of the Soviet revisionists, were forced to resume their polemics anew in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism in order not to run the risk of exposing themselves and being discredited. The Albanians held this trump card for a long time, and they were also ready to play it when the time came! That was good. It was even very good; a victory in the struggle against the most dangerous enemy in the communist movement - against the Soviet revisionists; a victory to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist world movement against modern revisionism. The Chinese, of course, knew that the Albanians could be dangerous if they were told too much. That is why they kept a low profile and guarded their secrets from the Albanians. However, it was not Enver Hoxha's tactic to use the Chinese as an anti-revisionist "mouthpiece in the world", so to speak, but a much more important aspect suggests itself to us. Enver Hoxha pushed for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania - why? After the polemical egg dance of the Chinese, he had to reckon with the fact that the pronounced Chinese tendencies would lead to conciliatory unity with the Khrushchevians and thus a threatening situation could arise for the last socialist bulwark in the world. It is these consequences of the Albanians breaking too soon that Marxist-Leninists must seriously consider. So we draw the conclusion that for Enver Hoxha and Albania at least much depended on continuing to exploit and maintain the contradictions between China and Russia in order to prevent their joint action against Albania. Today, we start from the assessment that Chinese and Soviet revisionism, modern revisionism and neo-revisionism together have directed and continue to direct their counter-revolution against socialist Albania and the world Marxist-Leninist movement in order to liquidate our movement. This is done on behalf of and in dependence on world imperialism with the US imperialists at the head. By the way, Tito was also involved in the ping-pong tactics of China and this was also a dangerous situation on Albania's doorstep. The Chinese betrayal of the friendship between Mao and Tito was decisively and successfully repelled by the Albanians. This also eliminates any doubt about the correct Marxist-Leninist stance of Enver Hoxha.

Only when all attempts failed, only when the CP of China took an openly threatening, hostile, aggressive stance towards Albania, did the PLA terminate the friendship, did it, for its part, confront the CC of the CP of China in a principled manner in its letter of reply. This letter of the CC of the PLA has become a historical document of extraordinary far-reaching importance and serves us as a lesson for the correct attitude of Albania. It is not insignificant for us to point out that it was China that broke with Albania, not the other way round. We think that Albania has done everything to prove friendship with a brother party through persistent comradely criticism. We take it from Enver Hoxha that he was plagued by a thousand doubts about the Chinese and that he did not make it easy for himself to look for a right way out of this difficult situation. Whatever one may judge, the Comintern (SH) defends Enver Hoxha: He has proved to all of us as always - whether belatedly or not

in this case: he never moved away from his principled Marxist-Leninist stance, but protected Albania and the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement from Maoism, kept Marxism-Leninism pure. This is a historical fact and for this he deserves extraordinary thanks as the 5th classic of Marxism-Leninism. He has given us a sharp weapon against Mao Zedong ideas - let us use it now to settle accounts with Maoism. But those who have criticised Enver Hoxha are now challenged to prove that they will do everything to overthrow the myth of Mao and the most dangerous social imperialism in the world. We will help them in solidarity. It is all too easy to forget, when criticising the question of the struggle against Maoism, that the main enemy in the Marxist-Leninist movement was not Maoism but Soviet social imperialism. Do not forget comrades that this struggle had only just begun at that time and that it had to be waged with all means - and it was waged heroically - led by Enver Hoxha! Soviet revisionism was far from defeated, posed a dangerous threat not only to Albania. Albania was therefore obliged to win China as an alliance partner against the Khrushchevians, however fickle this might be and however dangerous it was for Albania itself. Albania was aware of this and acted correctly. After all, all the other revisionist states were against Albania. With a wrong tactic towards Chinese revisionism, Albanian socialism would have been endangered (not least in economic terms). But in this way Albania has shown the world proletariat the shining path to world revolution: Socialism is stronger than revisionism in power - this historically important proof was provided by Enver Hoxha. To build on Enver Hoxha means to give socialism a future in the world again and to deal with revisionism! Finally, we would like to let Enver Hoxha himself speak about "reacting with great delay":

"Thinking thoroughly and taking a correct decision, even if belatedly, is a very good thing, and that is how it must be. But to reflect belatedly and not reach a mature decision is very bad.

The good decisions must serve the present and the future, must be forward-looking, that is, they must also take the future into account, and tomorrow's decision must consistently emerge from yesterday's and also be related to the one of the day after tomorrow, i.e. all decisions must be links in a chain. One or the other chain link may be weak, which of course affects the chain, but it does not break as a result. However, if it has cracks and fissures everywhere, in all the links, then it is no longer a chain.

One must know the peoples, their lives, their development and their feelings exactly, so that one can develop a correct Marxist-Leninist policy with them. Otherwise, one commits mistakes or develops a template or schematic line based on formulas, on chance moments and events. Consequently, one misses the decisive moment of the situation, the main chain link that one must seize in order to develop a far-sighted, correct Marxist-Leninist line" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", pp. 97-98, Tirana 1979, German edition).

So we have to look at ourselves and prove that we have learned from our self-criticism, we have to uphold Enver Hoxha by finishing the struggle he started against Maoism. This is what the world proletariat will measure our self-criticism by - nothing else. And our failures will certainly help us to overcome our mistakes all the more thoroughly. If the Marxist-Leninist world movement wants to save itself, it must consistently continue on this road, it must not stop halfway, it must completely free itself from the influence of Maoism, it must not enter into a unity alliance with it in order to allow it to shed its skin. Whoever wants to fight revisionism together with Maoism, whoever enters into a united front with Maoism, runs straight into the arms of revisionism, fights not revisionism but Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist-Leninist world movement will degenerate into a centrist world movement, will

be liquidated and not "saved". Revisionism will paint itself on the wall as an anti-revisionist united front spectre, as a "great common super-enemy" of all "traitors to Mao", all "traitors to Enver Hoxha", all "traitors to the ML movement" etc.etc., not to save Marxism-Leninism but to skin itself. The dying revisionism wants to keep itself alive through us Marxist-Leninists by trying in vain to convince us that it can allegedly be "finally" defeated by Marxism-Leninism "competing" with Mao Zedong ideas in a common united front where the capitalist and the socialist road of anti-revisionism will be "decided" in the struggle of "two lines". This centrist world united front is in the process of removing the "constricting" ideological "obstacles" of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as "sectarianism", in order to then procure for itself the world organisational shell by means of which it can carry out its moulting process undisturbed.

Lenin and Stalin, the CPSU(B) and the Comintern took the principally correct Marxist-Leninist position. Mao Zedong and his "left" and right factions adopted a wrong attitude, an anti-Marxist-Leninist attitude, which was justified with a "Marxism-Leninism" as a façade, with a "Chinese-type Marxism-Leninism", with the Mao Zedong ideas as a "further development of Marxism-Leninism", with the Mao Zedong ideas as a "Marxism Leninism of today". Marxism-Leninism without Mao Zedong ideas is considered "outdated". The classics are "outdated" and serve at most to justify and "prove" the correctness of Mao Zedong ideas. Any Marxism-Leninism is considered high treason if it raises the slightest doubt about Maoism, and Marxist-Leninists who openly criticise Maoism as anti-Marxism are liquidated, whether as "foreign agents of Soviet revisionism" or a "gang of four" or whatever. So Mao Tsetung also accused Stalin of left adventurism, because Stalin had no confidence in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party:

"When China was liberated, Stalin expressed the suspicion that the Chinese leadership would go the Titoist way. If one takes a look at all the essential principles of Mao Zedong's revisionist line, then one can confidently say to everything he puts forward against Stalin that Stalin was really a great Marxist-Leninist and correctly foresaw where China was going, saw in time what Mao Zedong's views were, that he judged them to be revisionist, titoist views in many respects - both in international and domestic politics, regarding the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, and so on". "(Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", vol. II, page 390, Tirana 1979, German edition).

Only in Marxism-Leninism did Mao see the appropriate revolutionary bait to persuade the poor peasants and proletarians in China to help the rising bourgeoisie to liberation and domination. Without the workers and peasants, the rising bourgeoisie alone was unable to achieve its aims. Therefore, it formed a class alliance with the peasants and the proletariat and passed off the interests of the bourgeoisie as the interests of the whole people, as the interests of the workers and peasants. The most revolutionary class is the proletariat, but it was subordinated as an ally of the peasants so that the leading role could not develop too strongly and become too dangerous for the bourgeoisie.

The aim of international communism was the establishment of the Chinese soviet power of the workers and peasants, was the Chinese road to the October Revolution, to the dictatorship of the Chinese proletariat in alliance with the peasantry. But Mao followed this socialist road only partly in words, but never in deeds. He rather continued Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionary-democratic path with the national liberation struggle against the occupation of Japanese imperialism, in order to carry out the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China and, after its victory, to establish a bourgeois society, a new democracy, a people's democracy of a new type, which was given a "revolutionary-anti-revisionist, "proletarian",

"socialist", "Marxist-Leninist" veneer.

The centrism of Mao Zedong's ideas would be insufficient to fight with the old directionalist cliché of centrism, because it means more than just swaying back and forth between "left" and right opportunism. This vacillation as a process of petty-bourgeois attrition and alternation between absorbing and regurgitating the sour mixture of bourgeois and proletarian ideology, of suspending their alternating state of power, of deliberately controlling the revolutionary clash of proletariat and bourgeoisie, the way of China between the antipodes of socialism and capitalism, between the Soviet Union and Albania on the one hand and Western capitalism with the USA at its head on the other, as well as through the so-called "Third World" and various revisionist states such as Yugoslavia, Romania, the Soviet Union and the USA. e.g. Yugoslavia, Romania etc.

Mao declared the "Third World" as the leading centre, renouncing the leading role of the international proletariat and its world revolution. In this way, Mao was able to build a new type of social imperialism. He was the "great helmsman" of this scenario of the most diverse factions of the classes fighting with each other and this in a giant empire - inconceivable and difficult to see through and only practicable in that he never took sides, but gathered his secret "general bureau" of loyal servants around him, in which none of the faction representatives had access. Until the struggle between the "left" so-called "Gang of Four" and the rightists Deng Hsia Ping and Hua Guo Feng broke out after Mao's death and was decided in favour of the ultra-right. However, Mao remained as a great "helmsman" for both the right and the "left" all over the world to continue his work against Marxism-Leninism.

"Their errors and presumption go so far as to claim: 'Mao is the one who created the people's wars, he is the father of the people's wars'. In other words, the peoples who have fought for centuries (...), they have done nothing. Consequently, the Bolshevik Party and the Party of Labour of Albania, which have waged the People's War, have also done nothing. To be people's wars, these struggles must bear the stamp of Mao and his ideas. This is how you put a full stop behind the great classics, how you put a full stop behind the theory of revolution and people's war. This posturing is not only unacceptable but also intolerable" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. I, page 391, Tirana 1979, German edition).

The revisionist distortion of socialism is the main bourgeois current in the communist world movement. Also to be noted is the current of centrism, which vacillates between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism, which advocates their unity. In the question of the Communist International, centrism has always tried to "save" the opportunism of the old Communist International into the new Communist International. This is also true today with regard to the Comintern (SH). The Comintern (SH) is saving the Bolshevik, revolutionary spirit of the Comintern, while the centrists are reviving revisionism in the Comintern. The leader of the proletariat in the struggle for its international liberation is only the new Comintern (SH), which is in fact founded by the formation of Marxist-Leninist parties from the genuinely proletarian elements of the individual countries. Only such a Communist International, which has completely liberated itself from revisionism, i.e., which has at the same time liberated itself from centrism, will acquire sympathies among the broad masses. This Comintern not only returns to Marxism-Leninism according to its name, but it also realises with its whole ideological-political content, with all its actions, the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism purified of bourgeois opportunist distortions throughout the world.

As for the solution of the revolutionary tasks of the Chinese proletariat today, Enver Hoxha has pointed the right way:

"Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution will triumph in China and these renegades will succumb. Of course, this revolution cannot be victorious without struggle and without blood, because many efforts will be needed in China to create the main subjective factor - the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, which did not exist in the past and does not exist today.

Likewise, the masses must be prepared to understand that one cannot live with illusions. The masses must understand politically that at their head are not Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, but elements of the bourgeoisie, of capitalism, who have chosen a path that has not the least thing in common with socialism and communism. But in order to understand this, the masses must realise the basic question, namely that the 'Mao Zedong ideas' are not Marxism-Leninism, and that Mao Zedong was not a Marxist-Leninist. He remained true to himself, so to speak. We say that Mao Zedong is a renegade, an anti-Marxist, and indeed he is. We say this because he tried to disguise himself with Marxism-Leninism, but in reality he was never a Marxist.

It can be said that the revolution in China in general had some features in various respects that were designed for socialist development, but the measures that were taken got stuck halfway or were reversed, as is happening at present, and one mask after another will fall. All this must be understood by the Chinese people, but it must also be understood outside China, because unfortunately the whole development of this country - the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people, the establishment of an advanced people's democratic bourgeois power - has gone down in history as a proletarian revolution, which in reality it was not, China has gone down in history as a country where socialism is being built, which is also not true" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", vol. II, p. 801, Tirana 1979, German edition).

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**Last chapter:**

## **Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Marxist-Leninist World Movement and the perspective of a reconstructed Communist International**

In his 1966 report to the 5th Party Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha clearly expressed his revolutionary, internationalist attitude towards the Comintern and paid tribute to its immortal merits:

"Precisely as a result of the struggle of the great Lenin at the head of the Bolsheviks against the opportunism traitorous II. It was precisely as a result of the struggle of the great Lenin at the head of the Bolsheviks against the traitorous Second International that the world-historical victory of the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was secured, which marked the greatest turn in the history of mankind, opened up the epoch of transition from capitalism to communism, ensured the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism, over revisionism and over social democracy, and led to the founding of the Third, the Communist International, which raised the world communist movement to a higher level. Thanks to the struggle of the continuator of Lenin's work, J.V. Stalin, at the head of the CPSU, and the struggle of the Comintern, the Trotskyists, the Bukharinists, the bourgeois nationalists and all other opportunists were crushed, which ensured the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and brought forward the world revolutionary and liberation movement (long applause). This struggle directly contributed to the creation and steeling of the communist and workers' parties, confirmed the basic principles of the building of the Marxist-Leninist parties, consolidated the revolutionary unity of the communist movement against the bourgeois ideology and its various varieties, equipped the parties with a great experience to understand and apply Marxism-Leninism correctly, according to the national conditions. The results of this work and struggle in the CPSU, the Comintern and individual communist parties, were particularly evident in the struggle against fascism and after the Second World War, which ended with the complete military and political defeat of fascism, brought about the general weakening of the imperialist front, ended with the great victory of the Soviet Union, with the treading of the socialist road by many countries of Europe and Asia, with the upsurge of the national liberation movements, the growth of the role and authority of the communist parties of the world and with numerous political and economic victories of the international working class" (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 5th Party Congress of the PLA, p. 1). Party Congress of the PLA, pp. 223-224, Tirana 1966, German edition).

The Comintern was in its process of dissolution. But with Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania, at the same historical moment, those communist internationalists entered the historical stage of the revolutionary proletarian world movement who took up the struggle against the betrayal of the Comintern by the revisionists and liberated the Comintern from the clutches of modern revisionism by beginning to continuously advance the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement against the revisionist betrayal. Of course, they were not and could not have been aware of this at that time, because



outwardly the world communist movement stood united on the side of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union. Guided by this, Enver Hoxha and the PLA, true to Marxism-Leninism, built the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the founders of the Comintern had demanded, and precisely with this they then also took on the historical legacy of the Comintern, which - as I said - was of course not yet clear to them at that time. Only at the Moscow consultation did the Albanians realise for the first time that they were the only socialist country to hold high the flag of the Comintern, Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism in general, they grew very slowly into the role of leader of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, which was then only finally completed with the criticism of Mao Zedong's ideas:

"I do not believe and have no doubt that there is now no other way than the correct and revolutionary way of our party" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Tirana 1978, German edition).

For the loyal communist parties and for the minority Marxist-Leninists from the revisionist degenerated parties all over the world, this was a great encouragement and an important support to proletarian internationalism to regroup in the struggle against modern revisionism at home and to continue the revolutionary internationalist line of the Comintern alongside socialist Albania, to repel the revisionist split of communist world movement and to protect and rebuild its unity.

No party in the world - except the CPSU (B) of Lenin's and Stalin's comrades - has served the Communist International, the Marxist-Leninist world movement, the world proletariat and the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence more faithfully and honourably than the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head.

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania highly appreciated the revolutionary process of the emergence and growth of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and were always in solidarity with the correct line of these parties. They were supported in every way, ideologically, politically and organisationally. Enver Hoxha and the PLA have always considered the real and sincere help to these parties as an internationalist duty. For Enver Hoxha and the PLA, not to support this revolutionary process properly, not to support it according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and furthermore, under the mask of "help", to cause ideological and organisational confusion and confusion to arise in the process, would be to cause great harm to the cause of the world proletariat and the world revolution. Enver Hoxha and the PLA were firmly convinced from the beginning that the future belonged to the young Marxist-Leninist parties, however small they were at the beginning. The revisionist parties, on the other hand, however large and strong they may have been at the time, would end up where the social-democratic and reformist parties of the Second International ended up. For the most part, this foresight has been fulfilled historically. Thus, the Albanian foresight will also be historically confirmed one day, that the class struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world will become stronger and stronger, that the revolutionaries will unite in them. Under the leadership of the genuinely Marxist-Leninist parties, the world proletariat and the rest of the labouring masses will become more and more conscious of their role in carrying out and successfully crowning the revolution, the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front will expand day by day, and the victory of the proletariat, the victory of the peoples will come ever closer. It will be an honour for the Comintern (SH) not to disappoint this faith of the Albanians in the future of the Marxist-Leninist world movement and to hold high this banner of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Learning from the Marxist-Leninist parties, first of all the PLA, means learning to win. This has never been so important for us as in the present situation.

The modern revisionists of all shades have not succeeded, and thus will never succeed, in completely destroying the international cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist parties, although they have caused and are still causing immense damage through splitting and decomposition. Thanks to Enver Hoxha, it was also not possible to exchange the dependence and paternalism of the Marxist-Leninist world movement on the modern revisionists in Moscow with the dependence and paternalism on the neo-revisionists of Beijing. Nobody could prevent us until today from uniting with each other in the international unity of all Marxist-Leninists, nobody can prevent us from forging and wielding the common hammer that will smash imperialism and its lackeys completely. No one can prevent us from sweeping neo-revisionism off the face of the earth with united forces.

In its struggle for - and in its loyalty to - the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the leading role of the Albanians within the world Marxist-Leninist movement, we consider today Enver Hoxha and the PLA as the true continuators of the best traditions of the Comintern, the Comintern (SH) is completely based on the line of the Albanian struggle for the unity of world communism, although the Albanians have not directly responded to the shortcomings of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress. The Albanians have not directly addressed the shortcomings of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress, because throughout their history they built socialism along the general line of the Comintern as it existed between the I - VI World Congress, and not along the general line of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress of the Comintern, from which most revisionist parties later developed. And we judge the Albanians by their deeds, even if we do not consider all their words to Dimitroff and the VII World Congress to be correct. What is decisive for us is that Enver Hoxha described the CP of China as a party that was never communist, never Marxist-Leninist, never Bolshevik. So if Dimitroff said exactly the opposite about the CP of China, then Enver Hoxha was not mistaken about the CP of China, but about Dimitroff. If Enver Hoxha was on the right path to see through Maoism, he was also on the right path to see through the right deviation of the VII World Congress, he would publicly correct his opinion to Dimitroff just as he did to Mao. One conclusion follows from another - and so the whole mosaic picture of revisionism is assembled. One can neither think nor act differently towards revisionism as a critical and self-critical Marxist-Leninist.

Just as the victory of the October Revolution was unthinkable for Lenin without keeping contacts with the Western (at that time still) revolutionary social democracy, without his activity abroad, without creating allies in the world beforehand, the Marxist-Leninist movement fighting against modern revisionism was unthinkable without Enver Hoxha and the PLA. The unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement created by them corresponded in theory and practice to the spirit of the Comintern. We comrade Marxist-Leninists have always remained faithful to this Albanian line of unity and have continued to defend it despite all weaknesses and difficulties, even without the Albanians. And today we consider this unity as a step towards the Communist International, although the last step could only be taken with the foundation of the Comintern (SH) - that is, after the death of Enver Hoxha, after the degeneration of the PLA, after the fall of the last dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. The Comintern (SH) does nothing else but continue in an organised way this establishment of close contacts among the Marxist-Leninists all over the world, which Enver Hoxha began and systematically carried out in laborious, patient and enthusiastic work after the betrayal of the revisionists.

While the Comintern was creating the new communist parties in the world, it was trying to help them become independent from the bourgeois parties. This task was undertaken by the PLA, with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, against the revisionist parties, by helping the new Marxist-Leninist parties to organise independently, against the process of fusion with the social-democratic parties, as was done after the VII World Congress. And the

Comintern (SH) is striving for nothing else, to help the Marxist-Leninists in the world to distinguish themselves through their own organisations against neo-revisionism, which wants to merge the Marxist-Leninist movement with the old revisionism, since the latter has allegedly become as "harmless" today as social democracy was at the time of the VII World Congress. Socialist Albania is and remains a child of the victorious ideas of the October Revolution. The centuries-old Albanian history is closely linked with them. The foundation of the PLA and its path from the liberation struggle against the Nazi-fascist occupiers through the people's revolution to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism against modern revisionism is based on the October ideas. If one follows the line of Ramiz Alia, on the other hand, one comes to the descending line of the VII World Congress, to the "peaceful" class struggle in socialism, to the "peaceful October Revolution", with which the revisionists started to establish their counter-revolution in order to go the peaceful way to bourgeois socialism and thus back to capitalism. Enver Hoxha spoke of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern, and the Comintern (SH) also speaks of this:

"The Comintern, the Third Communist International, led by Lenin and Stalin, advised the Albanian communists to find the right path of struggle, that path which Marxist-Leninist ideology showed them. It taught them to unite with the working class, to penetrate into the masses of the people, to draw forces there like Antaeus and to create their Communist Party under the appropriate concrete conditions. We Albanian communists won precisely because we followed this path" (Enver Hoxha, "The Party-led Democratic Front is the great organisation of unification, organisation and political education of the people, Tirana 1979, page, 10/11, German edition).

It was the October Revolution, which also ushered in the epoch of national liberation revolutions in the oppressed countries, and for which the Comintern and its sections did so much credit, to eliminate colonialism forever and to shake off the yoke of world imperialism forever as well. Thus, today's anti-imperialism can only win under the banner of the October Revolution, truly revolutionary anti-imperialist organisations can only be created under the banner of the Comintern (SH). And this was the path taken by Enver Hoxha and the Marxist-Leninist parties under the leadership of the PLA.

The Communist Parties, were all founded as parties of the October Revolution, at the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the II. International and its lackeys betrayed Marxist ideas. Revisionism continued the anti-Marxist work of the Second International as the October Revolution triumphed, trying to prevent the building of socialism through the restoration of capitalism. Stalin prevented the fascist dictatorship, and Enver Hoxha and the world Marxist-Leninist movement fought against the social fascism that the modern revisionists established after Stalin's death. Then, at the time of Enver Hoxha, the Marxist-Leninist parties consolidated when the modern revisionists had seized socialism including the neo-revisionist traitors in China. The Party of Labour of Albania became the leader of the Marxist-Leninist parties to defend socialism and the October Revolution against modern revisionism and to continue on its path:

"In all countries of the world dozens of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations have arisen. This unstoppable revolutionary process shows that a new situation has arisen in the bosom of the international working class, that it is freeing itself from the fetters of the social-democratic and revisionist parties, and that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are increasingly taking hold of the minds and hearts of the broad masses of the working people" (Enver Hoxha, "25 Years of Struggle and Victory on the Road to Socialism", Tirana 1970, page 68/69, German edition).

Today, the Comintern (SH) is concerned with the creation of new world revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties that will usher in the new phase of socialism, socialism on a world scale, and thus raise the banner of the October Revolution against neo-revisionism, because neo-revisionism is today the most dangerous ideological weapon of the world bourgeoisie to prevent the rebirth of socialism and thus its final victory through world revolution. If we succeed in defeating neo-revisionism, then the international communist movement will assume unprecedented proportions, not only will the idea of Marxism-Leninism spread all over the world again, but it will also be confirmed by the final victory of the October Revolution over world imperialism. Thus, the October Revolution was the embodiment of proletarian internationalism, united all parties into one, while the open and hidden opponents of the October Revolution were the worst splitters and liquidators of the world communist movement and have remained so of today's world Marxist-Leninist movement. The world revolution today is the practical application of Marxism-Leninism, and it has been replaced by neo-revisionism by today's international gangs of traitors and renegades. The neo-revisionists are speculating with the socialist past of Albania, speculating with the name of Enver Hoxha, in order to thwart the continuation of their struggle against revisionism, in order to save world imperialism from its final downfall.

It is in this context that one must understand Enver Hoxha's remarks about the Comintern, which he made in confrontation with the provocations of the Chinese agent E. Hill, of the CP of Australia/Marxist-Leninists. E. Hill, in fact, tried to make the PLA dependent on the CP of China and to subordinate it to its dictates, just as the CP of China tried to do with all Marxist-Leninist parties that were not ready, that refused to go along the road into modern revisionism. E. Hill fought the 7th Party Congress of the PAA because Albania would have called for a Comintern against the CP of China. With the Comintern argument, however, the Chinese only wanted to put pressure on the Albanians, which the Albanians naturally opposed. So this is a very complicated but extraordinarily revealing dispute, which has to be judged very carefully in order not to fall for the provocations of the Chinese. The whole thing is still explosive today because one can come to the wrong conclusion from Enver Hoxha's statements if one looks at it superficially. At first sight, it seems that we of the Comintern (SH) are taking the stand of Hill and the Chinese against Enver Hoxha, but in reality it is the other way round! What we think of the Chinese polemics and how they hated the Comintern, we have already explained, and with what revisionist methods the Chinese treated the Marxist-Leninist parties is historically common knowledge as a painful experience. Enver Hoxha opposes Hill's criticism (which unfortunately is not available to us) as follows:

"Hill writes to us that in the statement of accounts of the Central Committee of our Party we subject the activity of the Comintern to an analysis which, in his opinion, is not correct. In connection with this question, he passes over in silence, not without intention, the fact that we emphasise in the statement of accounts that our intention here is not at all to analyse the activity of the Comintern, but only to say that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, in view of the great danger threatening them on the part of modern revisionism and the two superpowers, must necessarily hold not only bilateral but also multilateral consultations in order to discuss common problems there. We also pointed out that the Comintern, through the work it did in its time, made a great contribution to the consolidation of the young Marxist-Leninist parties. Finally, we clearly emphasised in the statement of accounts that today is by no means the time to create an international organisation like the Comintern. We were not for that and we are not for that now, but consultations of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties must become a normal practice.

From this conclusion we came to, Hill infers that our view that multilateral consultations

should be held is aimed at 'putting the Chinese Communist Party on the right track'. Somehow Hill accuses us of thinking that the Chinese Communist Party is deviating from the line. He has no evidence for this at all, because at our Party Congress we do not attack the Chinese Communist Party, notwithstanding, our opinion on many of its views and opinions. On the other hand, Hill takes this opportunity to attack the Comintern, accusing it of having committed serious mistakes, which he says Lenin also recognised. He also makes accusations against us, saying that we cannot excuse the Comintern with the few statements we made about it at our 7th Party Congress, when we also admit that it is not impossible that it made mistakes. Mr. Hill would like us to analyse in the statement of accounts what the mistakes of the Comintern were and how serious they were. But this was not the moment for us to do so. Nevertheless, Hill is getting at something else.

With the Comintern, Hill also attacks Dimitroff. In his opinion, Dimitroff made mistakes, since his famous speech was allegedly criticised by Stalin because it did not speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As is well known, in this speech Dimitroff developed the thesis of the struggle against fascism. He spoke of the necessity of creating people's fronts together with progressive elements and parties in order to break off the danger of German and Italian fascism, which at that time was becoming threatening to the peoples. We are not aware to this day that Stalin criticised Dimitroff's speech on this question.

Secondly, Hill concludes that Dimitroff's speech 'caused later consequences in the form of the deviation and degeneration of Marxist-Leninist parties', citing ex-leaders of such parties - Togliatti, Thorez, Harry Pollitt, Sharkey, etc. - as the cause. - etc. He ignores the fact that Dimitroff's speech had an exceptionally strong echo all over the world at that time, forgets that it gave a great boost to the struggle against fascism and to the creation of popular fronts in France and especially in Spain, which offered political and armed resistance to German and Italian fascism. Hill also forgets that it was the Communist Parties of the West that organised these fronts and the struggle against fascism that the Comintern propagated. Later, when their countries were occupied by Nazi fascism, the reactionary bourgeoisie there capitulated and nobody except the French and Italian partisans went to the mountains and fought. He forgets to say that neither Togliatti nor Duclos, nor Marty, nor Longo committed treason in the Spanish war, but rather fought against fascism on the Marxist-Leninist road, on the road of the Comintern.

Thus Hill's criticism of the Comintern, which is presented as real and well-founded, is only a soap bubble" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", vol. II, pp. 350-352, Tirana 1979, German edition).

If Enver Hoxha condemned the provocation of the Chinese agent Hill, it was not in order to reject in principle the necessity of the continuation of Lenin's and Stalin's comintern policy, but this could have been created in due course only on the condition that the Marxist-Leninist parties necessarily free themselves from the dictates and influence of Maoism. A Marxist-Leninist world movement under the general line of the CP of China would be entry to revisionism through the back door in order to break the neck of the anti-revisionist resistance of the remaining loyal Marxist-Leninist forces in the world after all:

"The International Liaison Department of the CP CH Central Committee in Beijing, which supposedly looks after liaison with foreign countries and the international communist movement, has in fact become a centre where plans are being made to split the genuinely Marxist-Leninist parties and to form new parties or groups following the new revisionist Chinese line. Of course, these latter are not Marxist-Leninist communist, but revisionist, pro-Chinese parties (...) in short, they fulfil espionage tasks. (...) These parties are created

to pretend that the Chinese Communist Party enjoys broad support among the world proletariat. (...) In the countries where there are truly Marxist-Leninist parties, China is fabricating so-called Marxist-Leninist communist parties to propagate the revisionist, anti-Marxist, pro-imperialist theses of Mao Zedong's China, against Marxism-Leninism, against our Party and all other truly Marxist-Leninist parties. This wild Chinese revisionist current attaches itself to the other wild revisionist current, the Soviet one. Both currents are not different from each other in essence ( they even complement each other - the editors) and constitute a great, a colossal force against the revolution. We Marxist-Leninists, fighting in truly Marxist-Leninist parties, must confront and expose this blind anti-Marxist current. (...)

Therefore, it is our duty, the duty of true Marxist-Leninist communist parties, to coordinate actions, especially as regards the general features of our politics and ideology. We must strive to avoid fluctuations in our ranks. Every party of Leninist type must act in accordance with the conditions in its own country, but must assess these conditions very carefully, subject them to Marxist-Leninist analysis and, on the basis of this real and concrete analysis, determine the tactics that will really lead it from victory to victory.

None of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties should think that it is necessary to take directives from somewhere. Each should learn from the directives of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The main source of guidance for all of us is Marxism-Leninism. It is imperative to act together based on this ideology without one party depending on the other. We are against the thesis that there must be a mother party and daughter party. We are in favour of parties with equal rights, as Marx teaches us, but this equality presupposes that these parties have a clear ideology to guide them, and this clear ideology cannot be anything other than Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, in order to fight against the enemies, to see through their ploys, their lies and their attempts to divide and fight us, we must have a good command of Marxism-Leninism.

It is very important to master Marxism-Leninism, which in no way excludes, but absolutely requires, that we work closely together and exchange experiences. We must draw on the experience of the brother parties, and they equally on ours. This indispensable cooperation does not at all mean that we are dependent on each other. We apply the platform of Marxism-Leninism, we are closely connected with this platform and we talk about each other's successes because they make us happy. It is urgent, indispensable that we speak about each other and do not remain silent under the pretext that we will then be considered dependent, it will then be said that the party of one is dependent on the party of the other, etc. No, this insinuation of the enemies, who look at our cooperation with a sour eye, must in no way be an obstacle on our path of common action and common struggle against the main enemy. We are allied, but not in a formal, bourgeois way. Our alliance is solid, internationalist, it has a unified, excellent, infallible leadership: Marxism-Leninism, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We must understand how to apply it, and in order to apply it correctly, we must acquire it as well as possible. It is necessary that we set the task for a certain time, for a certain moment and on certain problems with this theory as a guide. (...) Our party always has before its eyes as an example the activity of the great Lenin, who was never an opportunist, but always saw the great interest of the world revolution" ( Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", vol. II, pp. 563-568, Tirana 1979, German edition).

As the Albanians were still unofficially defending Marxism-Leninism against Maoism at the time of the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, not naming names and not yet openly fighting the struggle against the CP of China, the Maoists were raging with anger, and sent their Australian spy to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, because this Party Congress was unofficially the declaration of war against the Chinese revisionists:

"The question of unity and alliances in different fronts and organisations, in which the Marxist-Leninist parties never conceal their identity, is a first-rate and very delicate problem. A mistake in the line, an incorrect and inelastic attitude, a disregard of the progressive views on this friendship and unity created in the struggle brings great dangers.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries have the same enemies and are waging the same struggle, basing themselves on the same fundamental principles, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But their struggle cannot be the same, it cannot be waged without taking into account the conditions and circumstances in each country. It is impossible to give prescriptions on how to proceed in the diverse and complicated situations that arise, which cannot be foreseen; moreover, they would not always be useful. On the contrary, they could sometimes be harmful and dangerous, since one would be tempted to apply a rigid line which corresponds neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to the concrete conditions of the individual countries in which the Marxist-Leninist parties operate" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Party Congress of the PLA, section "The Struggle Against Modern Revisionism", German edition of the KPD/ML, 1977).

With this, Enver Hoxha condemned the Chinese Party, which acted as the "mother party" of the Marxist-Leninist parties, trampled on their autonomy and independence, and thus carried out the splitting, decomposition and destruction of the Marxist-Leninist parties, because only by respecting equality does the way open to the unity of the parties and their unification in a world party:

"As far as the position of our party in the world communist movement is concerned, it has never considered itself as a `mother party` and the other parties as `daughter parties`. Our party has never and in no single case imposed its opinion on any brother party. On the contrary, as often as we have the opportunity to talk to comrades representing brother parties and present our opinions to them, we constantly acquaint them with our views on this or that problem, with the experience we have acquired. Moreover, each party has its own independent opinion, judges and decides on everything itself. Above all, we constantly stressed and emphasise that every opinion and every attitude of the brother parties must be based on Marxism-Leninism, and only on Marxism-Leninism (...) We also stressed this emphatically at the 7th Party Congress" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. II; article "The agents of China begin to venture forth, 16 December 1976, page 358, Tirana 1979, German edition).

Enver Hoxha writes further in it:

"He is fighting the Comintern because he thinks we want to take up its banner and organise the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world against the Chinese Communist Party (raising the banner of the Comintern against Maoism, you can't object to that as a Marxist-Leninist, can you? - the editors). This is shown by the fact that he opposes the idea of multilateral consultations which we raised at the Party Congress. In his view, only bilateral consultations can and should take place" (ibid, page 352).

Hill and the Chinese feared that the PAA was leading the world Marxist-Leninist movement in the direction of the Comintern, this was what all the revisionists were afraid of, and so the PAA was angrily accused of wanting to build the Comintern. In the situation at that time, this time was perhaps not ripe, it would have harmed the movement, and that is probably why the provocation of Hill took place, in order to induce the PLA to careless actions and statements and thus to isolate them. Therefore, for tactical reasons, Enver

Hoxha could not react to Hill's provocation in any other way than to strictly adhere to the wording of the 7th Party Congress, where there was no open talk of the Comintern to be founded, but it was a clear new internationalist general line to free the Marxist-Leninist movement from the influence of Maoism. Enver Hoxha's struggle against Maoism opened the way for us to finally defeat Maoism. And to build an internationally organised instrument for this purpose we consider useful and necessary - hence our move to found the Comintern (SH)!

"In its time, the Comintern developed an extensive and very useful activity to organise and steel the communist parties. It was created at the time when it was absolutely necessary for Marxism-Leninism as a scientific theory to penetrate deeply into the masses of the world proletariat, when it was necessary to enlighten the revolutionaries infected by the opportunist ideas of the social democracy of the Second International and to make them aware in the struggles that the ideas of Marx and Engels must be applied consistently" (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Party Congress of the PLA). Party Congress of the PLA, section "The Struggle Against Modern Revisionism", page 257, German edition of KPD/ML, 1977).

This completely correct assessment, in our opinion, naturally applies fully to the need for the Comintern to continue to steel the revolutionaries and the world proletariat under the conditions of modern revisionism and to overcome Maoism in the struggle against modern revisionism in the world Marxist-Leninist movement:

"The modern revisionists interfere wherever they have the opportunity in order to smash and overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leaderships (...) in the first place with the slogan of 'non-interference' (...) . We must not sit back and do nothing in the face of their hostile activity. We must expose them and work against them, fighting an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. One of the fatal blows for them, besides the one we deal them in the international arena through our attitude and struggle, is also the all-round support and help we must give to all Marxist-Leninists, without exception, wherever they are fighting" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. I, pp. 231-232, Tirana 1979, German edition).

So Marxist-Leninist unity of all Marxist-Leninist parties in their struggle against modern revisionism precisely on the ground of Marxism-Leninism and not on the ground of Maoism - this is what we draw lessons from Enver Hoxha's statements:

"The revisionists are savagely attacking the great work of the Comintern precisely because it created and carried forward the communist parties in the world, through which the millions of the proletariat were educated on how they had to fight against the bourgeoisie of their own country so that the latter could not perpetuate its power. The modern revisionists, and with them the bourgeoisie, constantly attack the Comintern and insinuate that it was allegedly a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid*, pp. 257-258). And this is exactly how the Chinese, through their agent Hills, attacked the Marxist-Leninist world movement, because it was allegedly a tool of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha.

Enver Hoxha is right when he fights attacks of the revisionists on Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. That is what the revisionists are still doing today and that is why we continue to defend Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern, because what the revisionists are attacking on the Comintern is the Comintern course of the old Bolshevik, violent overthrow course of Lenin and Stalin. We defend this course of the October Revolution for the whole epoch of imperialism, and we Bolsheviks make no exception to the phase of fascism - on the



contrary - if we also develop a special anti-fascist strategy and tactics, then this is exclusively the strategy and tactics of Lenin and Stalin ( overthrow by winning the majority of the working class), but not that of Dimitroff (winning the majority of the working class if possible without overthrow - overthrow is not excluded). In principle, however, there is no such middle ground for us. This is our general line of defence of the Comintern by the Comintern (SH) against the revisionists. We adhere to this ironcladly. But in our opinion, this alone is not enough, because the revisionists present their criticism of the Comintern in a much more differentiated way. In our opinion, therefore, it is necessary to expose not only the revisionists in general, but also in their particular varieties, otherwise it will not be possible to root out the revisionists' criticism of the Comintern - and this is precisely what we consider indispensable if a new Comintern is to be built which is guided exclusively by the Bolshevik course of Lenin and Stalin. In Dimitroff's new course, the revisionists saw the possibility of breaking away from Stalin. In the centrist transitional phase they still had to do this in a hidden way, but after Stalin's death they were able to openly advocate the peaceful way and from now on Stalin no longer appeared next to Dimitroff. Stalin = Bolshevik = old wrong way - so away with it. Dimitroff new, right way - so here it is - but please without Stalin ( socialism by the majority of the working class in alliance with the social democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie without overthrow, because there is the Soviet Union). So, if the revisionists criticised the VII World Congress and Dimitroff at all, it was on the one hand from those, i.e. the ultra-right, who did not like Stalin's influence on it and on the other hand from the centrist wing, who considered the new course of the VII World Congress as Marxist. Finally, there is the "left" wing of the revisionists, i.e. the neo-revisionists, who criticise Dimitroff as "Marxist-Leninist" in words, but continue Dimitroff's new united-front course in deeds, or at least behave in a conciliatory way towards him. No matter from which revisionists the criticism of the Comintern came, there is nothing but praise for the new course from all revisionist sides in the MAIN SIDE. There have been hundreds of books written on Dimitroff by the revisionists. During Stalin's lifetime Dimitroff was celebrated as his disciple, after Stalin's death Stalin was deleted and not mentioned in connection with Dimitroff. These are facts that have been proven.

To pick just one example out of many:

In the CC - communication on the death of Dimitroff it says: " The death of comrade Dimitroff, the faithful disciple of Lenin.... whose great name etc." (Georgi Dimitroff-Biographical Outline, Institute for History of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the CC of the BKP, Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1972, German edition, page 316, translated original edition, Sofia 1972); The name Stalin was replaced by 3 dots by the Bulgarian revisionists and in Harry Pollit likewise : "Georgi Dimitroff followed the path marked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin.... and left his mark in the history of the world revolutionary movement..etc." (With his works, his vision, his contribution to the elaboration of new problems of scientific communism, Dimitroff is our contemporary in the struggle for the triumph of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin" (ibid., p. 344); (...) His remarkable report to the VII World Congress of the Communist International represents the first step in the history of the Communist International. (ibid., page 342); Here is another example of how the revisionists regarded the XXth Congress of the CPSU as a further development of Dimitroff's line: "The line of the April Plenum of the Bulgarian CP in 1956 represents the continuation and further development of the general line as it emerged from the legacy of Georgi Dimitroff" (ibid., page 325). Dimitroff also served the Soviet revisionist Breshnev and his Bulgarian lackeys demagogically to defend the Soviet Union against the Chinese, "(...) who, by their anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet course, are in reality opening a new front against the international communist movement, against the anti-imperialist forces, and complicating the struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world. The group around Mao Zedong, which has long directed its efforts to replace Marxism with Maoism

(...) (ibid, page 340).

It is also interesting and significant to note that comrade Enver Hoxha took a stand against Tito at every Party Congress. Dimitroff did not do so at any Bulgarian Party Congress. Thus, at the 5th Party Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), in December 1948, one looks in vain for the slightest clue, although Dimitroff knew about the well-known letter from the CC of the CPSU to the CC of the CPY six months earlier. In the Dimitroff works, too, the account of the 5th Party Congress ends with the cry: "Under the invincible banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin forward...." (page 641, vol. 3). We assume a revisionist forgery by the editors of the works in 1958.

The revisionists misuse Dimitroff in order to portray us Marxist-Leninists as opponents of Dimitroff and thus as opponents of Marxism-Leninism. And in essence, the old sectarian criticism of the VII World Congress against the Marxist-Leninists is recognisable in this. We have never doubted the merits of Dimitroff, we know how to appreciate his contribution in the struggle against fascism, only we will never do this to please the revisionists, namely, as they do, sweep his weaknesses and mistakes under the carpet. Dimitroff was on our side at the time of the VII World Congress, not on the side of the revisionists, but to defend Dimitroff's mistakes is to defend revisionism, or to work into the hands of the revisionists. Only those people who do not want to see this difference can accuse us of double-talk on the Dimitroff question, and who are annoyed that we do not move away from Enver Hoxha in the general line, even if he had not elaborated his criticism of Dimitroff, as he had already done with Mao Zedong. However, Enver Hoxha started things rolling with his reflections on China, and no one can stop them now. The contradictions within the Marxist-Leninist world movements are breaking out more and more clearly, and the fermentation process will inevitably separate the wheat from the chaff!

At that time, Albania defended Mao Zedong in public, but at the same time as the biographical sketch on Dimitroff appeared, Enver Hoxha condemned Maoism in his "Reflections on China", which had only appeared in 1979. So while the Soviet revisionists were attacking the Chinese for their betrayal of Dimitroff, on whose side the Albanians were, and thus the Albanians were also attacked, the Chinese, through their agent Hill, were accusing the Albanians of defending Dimitroff's mistakes. We know that there were also hostile forces within the Marxist-Leninist world movement who attacked the Albanians with Dimitroff's arguments, and there were also other hostile forces who, like Hill, used Dimitroff's mistakes against the Albanians. Against both hostile manoeuvres we have always defended the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha.

"Some people do not fail to say that the Comintern committed mistakes. It is not impossible that mistakes were made, but they were not mistakes in the great principles. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that even the mistakes that may have been made were made either deliberately by deviants who had crept into the world communist movement, or some also by inexperienced revolutionaries. Thus, the Comintern received wrong or inaccurate information, and as a result, since it was not properly informed, willy-nilly in some cases wrong decisions were also taken by it. Nor should we forget the difficult conditions of bourgeois-fascist terror under which the communist and workers' parties with their Comintern sections carried out their activities. Those who criticise the Comintern today do not understand that the communist and workers' parties had to seek and establish alliances with progressive elements and groupings at that time, which also changed their positions. Thus, the directives issued by the Comintern were useful for certain actions and times, while later, when new circumstances arose, they lost their value.

It is not our intention here to analyse the activity of the Comintern, nor to raise the question of whether such a body should be created again at the international level. In the present circumstances, it is not suitable and it would not bring the expected benefit to the revolutionary struggles that the Marxist-Leninist parties are waging and will wage all over the world. Our Party believes that, with a correct understanding of the once great role of the Comintern of Lenin's and Stalin's time, we Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties are faced with the task of continually strengthening and steeling the close cooperation between our parties, of course without depending on each other and taking orders from one or the other. It is necessary that we, as internationalist communists, exchange experiences among ourselves and that each one acts under the conditions of his country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is essential because, of course, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists also cooperate with each other (....) In our opinion, the cooperation between our Marxist-Leninist parties on the truly revolutionary road should be all-round. The exchange of experience can be bilateral or multilateral. A situation may also arise where a large consultation of representatives of all Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties is appropriate. This question was pointed out by our Party a long time ago, already at its 5th Party Congress. Our party is determined to defend and apply the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, page 259).

In his conversation of 29.11. 1979 with the then Chairman of the KPD/ML comrade Ernst Aust, comrade Enver Hoxha gave highly topical and absolutely important advice for cooperation:

"World capitalism, social democracy and modern revisionism have always fought, deformed and dragged proletarian internationalism into the mud, as well as the cooperation between communists, the unity of action and thought of the communist and proletarian parties. We, the Marxist-Leninist parties, have the urgent and heavy task of responsibly advancing these problems on the right path.

The so-called joint meetings that social democracy and modern revisionism organise from time to time are sterile, formal, and have only one aim, to grill the partners who attend them. At these gatherings, each aims only at gaining the greatest possible advantage to the detriment of the other.

We Marxist-Leninists also need meetings, of course, but not purely formal associations without cohesion, or with the mere end in itself of confirming our existence. What we need are gatherings that allow us to exchange our experiences, to coordinate essential actions in a given situation, gatherings in which a militant spirit prevails, but not a gathering that produces only quarrels and splits.

The success of these gatherings (amalgamations) depends on the seriousness of each party, the selection of the problems that require common solutions and the choice of the most favourable moment for their implementation. Moreover, we believe that one should not issue slogans such as 'general unions of all communist (Marxist-Leninist) parties' without having first weighed and determined exactly the problems to be discussed there.

In our opinion, the unions, be they bipartite, tripartite, multilateral and finally general, are determined by the necessary aims of the struggle, by the need to exchange experiences, by the quality of our own analyses of problems of the same nature that confront us. At its VII Congress, our Party clearly defined this conception (Enver Hoxha, *From : Oeuvres choisies Vol. 5, pp. 757-781, French edition*).

The Comintern (SH) considers these guidelines of Enver Hoxha as the most essential basis of the construction of the Comintern (SH) and considers it imperative to follow these guidelines practically step by step. This is the only right way in the right direction in order to advance the process of unification and to reach one day the level of a Communist International capable of acting.

Enver Hoxha has done a lot for the new Marxist-Leninist parties to grow and steel themselves all over the world. In his last account, at the very end of the 8th Party Congress of the PLA, he points out that the times are revolutionary for the Marxist-Leninist parties and that unity will be achieved on the correct line of Marxism-Leninism:

"The strength of the world communist Marxist-Leninist movement consists in the correctness of the idea for which it fights and in its unity" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Party Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1981, German edition).

We had to ask ourselves why the communist Marxist-Leninist world movement is no longer in such good shape today - as it was in Enver Hoxha's time - and then logically tried to self-critically examine the correctness of the ideas for which we are fighting in this general line. What Enver Hoxha can no longer verify is neo-revisionism, which had historically triumphed by overthrowing the dictatorship in Albania. So, in order to be able to turn our defeat into a victory, we must

- a) check the correctness of our ideas - and we have consistently focused the general line on the idea of world revolution as the final goal, in order to put socialism "in one country" on a secure footing
- b) further developed comrade Enver Hoxha's critique of revisionism - that is, set out neo-revisionism in its particular manifestations, but also in its general essence, i.e. in its legality, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism in the future.
- c) from this results firstly the demarcation of the Marxist-Leninist world movement from neo-revisionism and secondly - building on this - the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists in the world with the emphasis on the creation of the Comintern (SH).

These are the conclusions we have drawn from Enver Hoxha's indications.

And further, Enver Hoxha in his report to the 8th Party Congress of the PLA stated:

"The Marxist-Leninist parties are guided in their struggle by the teachings of our great classics, exploit the rich and all-round heritage of the Comintern, base themselves on the experience of their struggle against revisionist betrayal and keep in mind the negative experience of the revisionist degenerated parties" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid* page 312-313).

We have explained in detail why the Comintern (SH) classifies comrade Enver Hoxha as the 5th classic of Marxism-Leninism, and the general line has been largely based on the classics, as evidenced by the numerous quotations. Furthermore, we have drawn some lessons from the Comintern in great detail and draw on its legacy. Keeping in mind the negative experiences of the revisionist degenerated parties, we have inevitably come across the weaknesses of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress, as far as we have been able to do so for lack of documents. The centrist position of Dimitroff (to please everyone and to place unity higher than principles, so that everyone could pick out his own course

as the only correct course and defend it against the others) leads to a difficult assessment, since the revisionists praise Dimitroff and the VII World Congress for deviating from Stalin's line. But the revisionists' criticism boils down to the fact that Stalin's signature is still far too much in evidence. Up to this point, we agree with the defence of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress against revisionist attacks, and therefore we also defend the position of Enver Hoxha, who starts from the open struggle of the Comintern against revisionism. But we make a serious mistake if we pretend that there was no hidden right deviation behind the open struggle against revisionism. This had historically helped the revisionists, which is why they always and everywhere justified their revisionist class conciliationist line with the "Marxist-Leninist line of Dimitroff", but at the same time condemned the line of Stalin. That the centrism of Dimitroff and the VII World Congress had an impact on the revisionist course of the communist parties on a world scale, we do not want to doubt today, we are even quite convinced of it. We had to criticise - as I said - the right-wing, centrist deviation of the Comintern, which made it easier for revisionism to come to power. And this is exactly what must be prevented in the future, without wanting to feed sectarianism on the opposite side. We have made it clear that we criticise Dimitroff not from a sectarian point of view, but from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. We therefore consider it justifiable and even indispensable not only to have pointed out the right deviation but also to draw political-ideological conclusions from it for the general line of the Comintern (SH). We could never have taken up the Comintern's legacy without making our contribution to ridding the Comintern of its right deviation through Dimitroff and the VII World Congress.

"Our Party of Labour considers it an honour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which are equal sections of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the great historical struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid* page 314).

We defend this honourable place of the Party of Labour of Albania by continuing its struggle. When Enver Hoxha speaks of "equal departments", we understand by departments of a movement in a further developed logical consequence only one thing: to centralise the friendly cooperation of the departments of this movement in the course of the international class struggle organisationally, ideologically, politically and propagandistically-agitationally and to create from the equal departments= equal sections of the Comintern (SH), or how else is one to understand Enver Hoxha when he calls on us to take up the heritage of the Comintern? We are strengthened in this point of view with the statement made by Enver Hoxha against E. Hill:

" (...) he is trying to destroy this unity and leave the strengthening and expansion of the world communist movement to spontaneity" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", vol. 2, page 358).

Enver Hoxha's struggle against the Chinese ideology of spontaneity of the world communist movement clearly speaks for the idea of the Comintern! One cannot take up the legacy of the Comintern without overcoming the spontaneity of the world communist movement, which destroys the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Hence the aim of creating a new Comintern! This is what Enver Hoxha has been working towards in theory and practice, has been striving - like no one else in the world - to create the necessary conditions for this. However, to our knowledge, Enver Hoxha never clearly stated this doctrine openly, probably in order to avoid hasty steps. He defended the historical role of the Comintern, but did not consider its *raison d'être* appropriate in his time, for reasons he could understand. Therefore, if Enver Hoxha did not set himself the concrete task of

founding a new Communist International, it was not for reasons of principle, but for tactical reasons based on particular circumstances of the given or not yet given preconditions of the main international subjective factor - the state of the Marxist-Leninist world movement at that time. Enver Hoxha has always remained a defender of the principle of democratic centralism of the Comintern, indeed he consistently and decisively separated himself from the polycentrism of Titoism and Euro-communism just as he did from the monocentrism of the Soviet and Chinese revisionists. In this way, he gave the Marxist-Leninist world movement a clear direction and made it independent of the various international currents of revisionists. Furthermore, by criticising the polycentrism of Togliatti, he also indirectly criticised Dimitroff - with whom there was a close collaboration, but without openly saying so, because Dimitroff gradually dismantled the democratic centralism of the Comintern after the VII World Congress (to the point of self-dissolution = complete) - in the direction of polycentrism.

"Of course, times have changed and it is not a question now of our adopting or imitating the forms and methods of work, the forms and methods of organisation in the leadership of the Comintern which corresponded to those times, with all their defects and merits, but the establishment of links for cooperation and collaboration in accordance with the new current conditions is, in the opinion of our Party, an indispensable and urgent question" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Party Congress of the PLA, reprinted KPD/ML, 1977, pp. 268-269).

Furthermore, Enver Hoxha emphasises the need for cooperation as follows:

"(...) urgently need the joint discussion of opinions, the exchange of experience on these capital questions, the more or less comprehensive determination of procedures and methods of work, which cannot be the same in form, but in essence must be correct, directed towards one or many specific goals in the interests of our great, vast and complicated cause. Marxist-Leninist seriousness is at the top of the agenda; any mistake will cost dearly. So we will make fewer mistakes if we consult, if we seriously and correctly coordinate our actions" (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China", Vol. I, page 99, Tirana 1979, German edition).

"What is our Party's line on this question? It adheres to the principle that the Marxist-Leninist parties must consolidate their unity, clarify conflicting points that may exist in their strategy and tactics against the enemies of the revolution, and coordinate their common activity on the international level. This action steels them and shows the enemy that communism is an indomitable force, that the communists are not divided and that modern revisionism has failed to achieve its goal. As is well known, modern revisionism has the aim of ensuring its unity in disunity in order to eliminate the unity of Marxist-Leninists" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid.* vol. II, page 483).

"The major internationalist event in Rome on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the death of Antonio Gramsci, the great manifestation of proletarian internationalism of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) which took place in Lisbon, as well as the two preceding events, one in West Germany following the 3rd Congress of the German Communist Party and the other in Italy organised by the Italian Communist Party/Marxist-Leninists, they all have great significance for the communist movement in the world. These events of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, in which representatives of the Marxist-Leninist brother parties participated, including representatives of the Party of Labour of Albania, are an extraordinarily great help for the communist movement in the world. We show the peoples and the communists that despite the betrayal of the Soviet

and the other modern revisionists, despite the opportunist deviation of the Chinese Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism never dies, on the contrary, it breaks ground, consolidates, steels itself in class battles against American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and the fascists who have raised their heads.

The rallies organised by the Marxist-Leninist communist parties are an encouragement for the revolutionaries who, in the threatening moments of the great crisis of capitalism, see that that force exists which shows the proletariat of all countries and the peoples oppressed by the superpowers, the great capitalist powers, etc., that it is always necessary to act courageously and to fight hard, even armed, against these their savage enemies. Moreover, we can say that these events arose after the 7th Congress of our Party, and that was only natural" (Enver Hoxha, *ibid*, pp. 482-483).

These indications of comrade Enver Hoxha correspond to our heart. However, it would be easier for us today to conduct our struggle for the Comintern (SH) if Enver Hoxha had more openly brought to the fore - at least in perspective - the necessity of the Comintern for the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle against modern revisionism, or if he had at least pointed out not only to learn from the legacy of the Comintern, but to learn the most important lesson of the Comintern, namely, that we Marxist-Leninists must tackle its organised continuation ( - precisely with new forms of work and methods to be developed, with new forms of organisation and methods to be developed in the leadership of the Comintern - and precisely not to imitate and adopt -) and create the necessary preconditions and conditions for this in the interest of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, the world proletariat, world revolution and world communism. Unfortunately, we did not find in the works of Enver Hoxha any reference for an analysis of the Comintern nor detailed reasons why the Party of Labour was never directly and openly in favour of the creation of an international world party like the Comintern. We have found very little at all from the Marxist-Leninist parties on the re-founding of the Comintern. Is this only because of the lack of documents? We think that the struggle against modern revisionism was strongly directed towards emphasising the independence and equality of the individual parties, in order to escape the clutches of the revisionists who mistreated the brother parties in a fascist manner. This position is confirmed by the line of comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech delivered at the Consultation of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on 16 November 1960:.. The main danger of revisionism still exists and that is why the PLA was of the opinion that the Marxist-Leninist parties must consult, cooperate and coordinate actions in conferences in order to practically advance the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Enver Hoxha had maintained this position also later in the struggle against Maoism and had always practised it in the relations with the Marxist-Leninist brother parties. We think that that period of consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the period of liberation from the tutelage of the revisionists, must be continued in principle. After the death of Enver Hoxha, this has become very difficult for all of us, most of the comrades have turned away from Enver Hoxha's line, we do not even have such a situation as Enver Hoxha's appearance at the Moscow consultation. The situation has deteriorated considerably. First, those conditions have to be created again in order to be able to work among themselves as they did during Enver Hoxha's time. This seems to be a contradiction when we founded the Comintern (SH) at a much less favourable time. But this is only a seemingly theoretical contradiction, because moving together in the face of adversity is first and foremost a practical task for us, a question of survival. And to solve this question, for this alone we have made an effort with this general line, because it is the common bond that has been missing until now to bring about unity. So it will bring closer together those who want unity on a principled basis and repel those who want to see the general line openly or covertly as an obstacle to unity.

Either way, this can only be a good thing for the movement and will definitely help it. Today, in our opinion, we cannot stop at the discussion and pretend that everything will be all right. Far too much time has been wasted for that. There are Marxist-Leninists who want to continue, but not as before. They are rightly dissatisfied with the confusion out of which nothing sensible comes, just as we are. They do not want to resign themselves to the situation and criticise those who have repeatedly affirmed that they want to change something without proving it through action. There is a lot of advice, but it is important to create an organisation that starts to put this advice into practice. Each one alone is too weak for this, but together in one organisation we are strong, with it we will be able to strengthen the movement in all countries - this is the basic idea of the Comintern (SH) in the present situation of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. We think that it can be a viable way to bring about a visible turn in the present dangerous situation of decomposition of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. In this general line, this turn is already visible to all who do not close their eyes to it. Only the class-conscious workers will already be able to recognise this at this point and understand the necessity of our step precisely in spite of all contradictions and counter-arguments. They are the most revolutionary and valuable comrades one could wish for today. In their hands the Comintern (SH) is in the best hands, because for them to support the Comintern (SH) is a conscious decision which will demand everything of them.... "To make the impossible possible" - all those would never be prepared to do this who prefer to watch and wait and see what will come of it, in order to decide at the given moment to lie down "in the made bed".

So we raise the banner of comrade Enver Hoxha so that Marxist-Leninists worldwide can unite under this banner. Enver had to go his way against all revisionists and he finally got the support of the Marxist-Leninist parties. We will continue his way, and we are convinced that people will support our serious efforts in the world:

"We support each other in all fields, by all means and in every way" (Enver Hoxha, "Our policy is an open policy, the policy of proletarian principles", Tirana, 1974, page 48, German edition).

**We unconditionally committed ourselves to this leitmotif of comrade Enver Hoxha when the Comintern (SH) was founded.**

In this way, we want to continue the legacy of the Comintern in the spirit of comrade Enver Hoxha by establishing in perspective the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties by way of consolidation and strengthening through their union in the Comintern (SH). In our common struggle we will base ourselves on the principles of the Comintern, but we will not adopt the old Comintern statutes in a template-like way. If we have formulated "firm" ideas on the statute, these are only to be considered as proposals, because they cannot yet correspond to the conditions in the near future. However, we wanted to express our desire to transform the spontaneity and craftsmanship, the disorientation in the Marxist-Leninist world movement through our perspective into a first small piece of Bolshevik bindingness, as far as this is somehow possible. We want to work in a bindingly organised, disciplined Bolshevik way from the very beginning - just as we do in our own Marxist-Leninist organisation. And where the Bolshevik style of work has been lost, it must be immediately shaken awake again - preferably with a powerful jolt! In no way will any tinkering with a bureaucratic "Comintern colossus" on feet of clay help us at present. In our opinion, the construction of the Comintern (SH) and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement cannot be achieved today in any other way than the way Enver Hoxha took to unite the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world. We do not claim any birthright or any privilege. We do not want to dictate to any comrade or organisation. We have therefore clearly and



unmistakably separated ourselves from the Soviet revisionist as well as from the Chinese general line, because it only wanted the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement in words, but in reality only split it and tried to liquidate it. We do not strive for dominance or hegemony, nor do we seek to impose formal, dogmatic forms of organisation of cooperation on the world movement, as is the method of the revisionists. But at the same time, we have explained and justified why we cannot create unity in a spontaneist or liberalist way.

We are now starting to organise our work. Only in the struggle do we develop new organisational forms and structures that are adapted to the requirements and conditions of the present time and have a common optimal benefit for all Marxist-Leninist forces. At the same time, we have been aware from the beginning, and we are all previously of the unanimous opinion, that these new organisational forms must in principle reveal the Bolshevik spirit already in the stage of their germinal form, even if a finished democratic centralism in the classical sense is not yet possible in our work. We think it has become clear what we want to say with this and what we intend to avoid at the moment. The course has been set, so let us all go to our posts and begin to work together.

We demand Bolshevik comradeship but also discipline and commitment. We therefore consider a united and centralist world party of the proletariat of the type of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern to be fundamentally indispensable for the successful implementation of the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, and we seek to persuade the Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world in this direction and to persuade them to act together accordingly. We therefore urgently appeal to the Marxist-Leninist forces to make proposals on their part and to openly state their opinions on the general line, so that binding agreements accelerate the process of common action. We wish for a unity based on Comrade Enver Hoxha's general line, the unity of contemporary world communism:

"The world communism of the present must be characterised by a revolutionary militant spirit of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin, of the Comintern."

(Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Party Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, November 1966, reprinted KPD/ML, page 268, 1977)

Instead of a closing word... a song to start with

Revolutionaries all over the world have never stopped and will never stop singing together the song of the International. Yet - for the time being - very few comrades realise that it is the song of the International, i.e. the organisation of the world proletariat, which "fights for human rights!" The comrades of the Comintern/ML are convinced that the revolutionaries - after having carefully studied this general line - will reflect again on the meaning of the International and draw the right conclusions and one day, united in the International, we will all raise our voice and the song of the International will resound around the globe as if from one mouth:

## **The International**

Arise ye workers from your slumbers

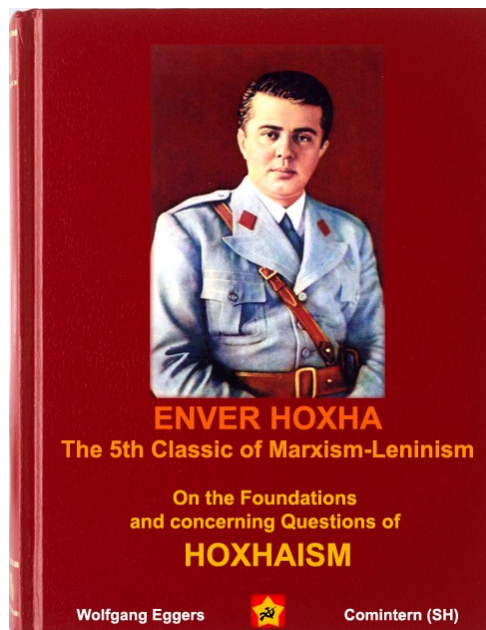
Arise ye prisoners of want  
For reason in revolt now thunders  
And at last ends the age of cant.  
Away with all your superstitions  
Servile masses arise, arise  
We'll change henceforth the old tradition  
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

*Refrain:*

So comrades, come rally  
And the last fight let us face  
The Internationale unites the human race.

No more deluded by reaction  
On tyrants only we'll make war  
The soldiers too will take strike action  
They'll break ranks and fight no more  
And if those cannibals keep trying  
To sacrifice us to their pride  
They soon shall hear the bullets flying  
We'll shoot the generals on our own side.

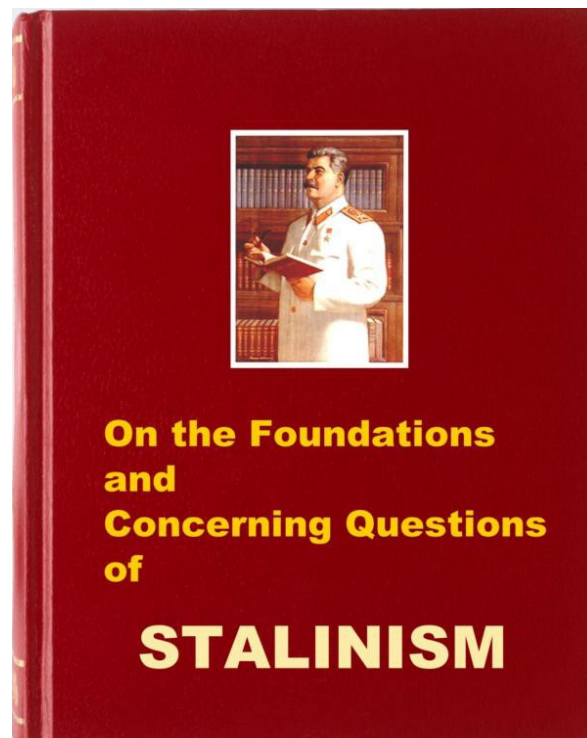
No saviour from on high delivers  
No faith have we in prince or peer  
Our own right hand the chains must shiver  
Chains of hatred, greed and fear  
E'er the thieves will out with their booty  
And give to all a happier lot.  
Each at the forge must do their duty  
And we'll strike while the iron is hot.



**ENVER HOXHA**

## **The 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism**

### **On the Foundations and concerning Questions of Hoxhaism**



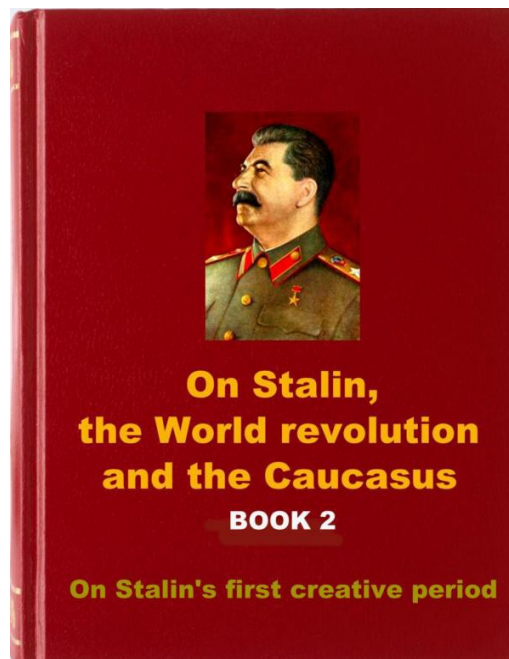
### **On the Foundations and Concerning Questions of Stalinism**

[Chapter 1](#)

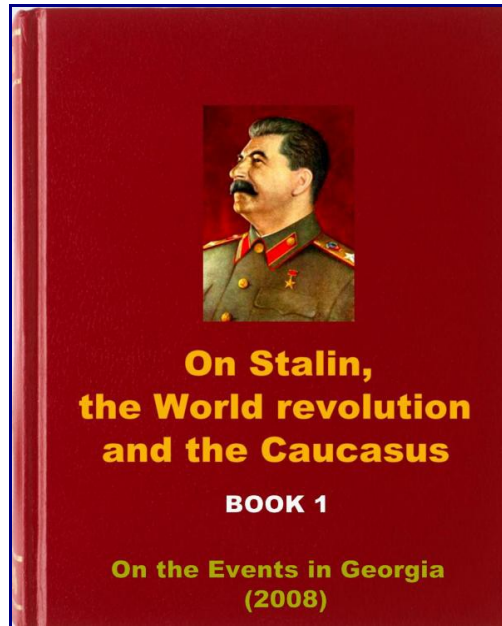
[Chapter 2](#)

[Chapter 3](#)

(will be completed ...)



On Stalin's first creative period



[On Stalin, the World Revolution, and the Caucasus](#)